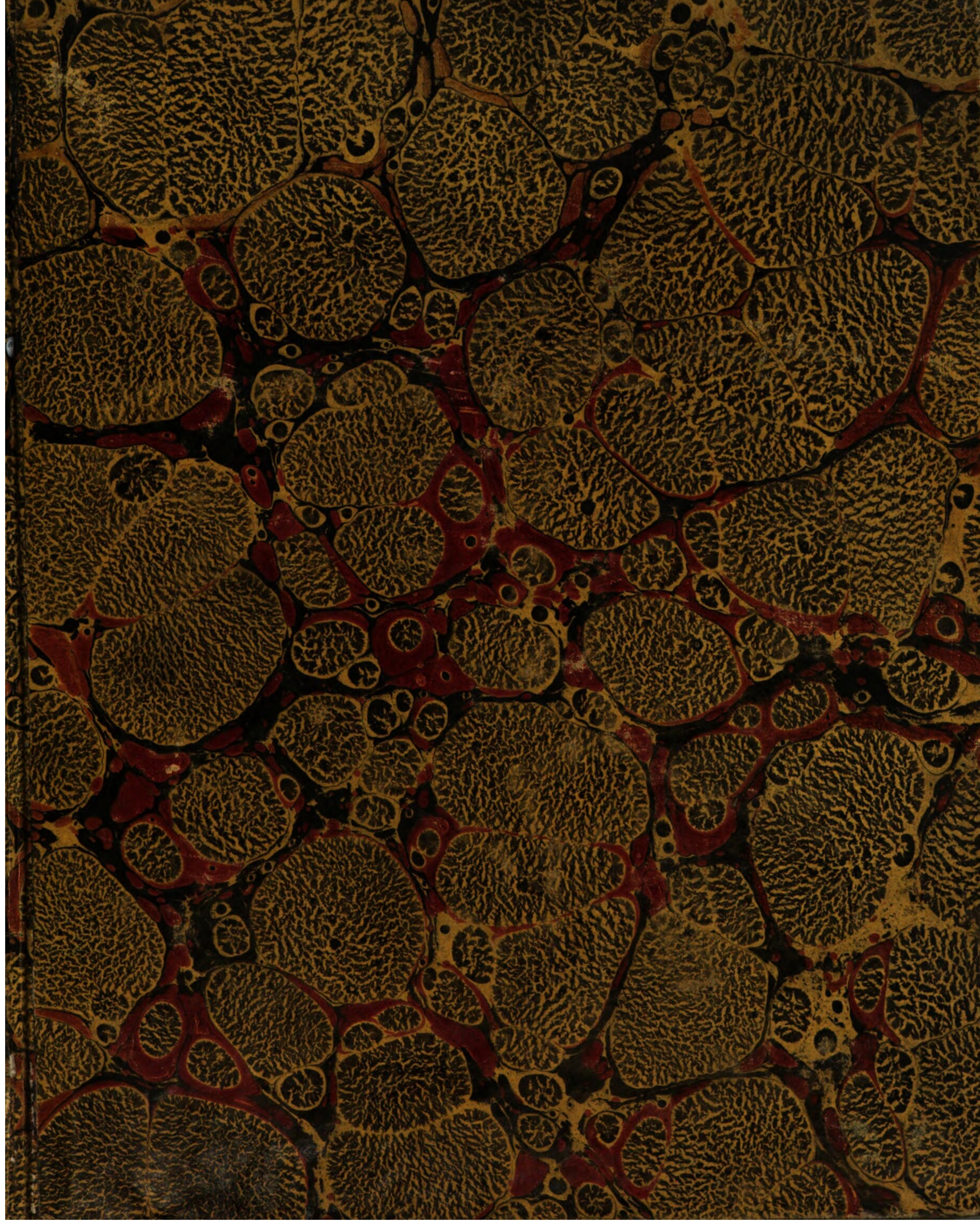




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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER
TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS;

CONTAINING

THE LATTER AGES OF Hellenic Greece,

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK COLONIES IN ASIA AND AFRICA,
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;

WITH

A PRELIMINARY HISTORY OF THE GREEK NATIONS, FROM THE FIRST
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREEK COLONIES IN ASIA AND AFRICA,

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND F.A. LONDON, D.D. EDINBURGH,

AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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FROM THE REIGN OF *ALEXANDER*
TO THAT OF *AUGUSTUS*;

COMPREHENDING
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AND
THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA,
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;
WITH
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS, AND AN ESTIMATE
OF HIS PLANS FOR THEIR CONSOLIDATION AND IMPROVEMENT.

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.
F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH,
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Ἐκ μὲν τοι γὰρ τῆς ἀπαντῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθεσέως, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως αὐ-
τὶς ἐφίκοιτο· καὶ δυνήθειη, κατοπτευσάς, αἶμα καὶ τὸ χρεσίμον καὶ τὸ τέρπον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.
POLYBIUS.

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OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, F.R.S.
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FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

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PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS died five years before the conclusion of the first and longest war between the Romans and Carthaginians. In friendship with both powers, his impartiality and love for peace had restrained him from taking part in that obstinate conflict. His successor, Ptolemy Euergetes, observed the same neutrality, but from totally different motives. Euergetes, and the con-

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Third generation of Alexander's successors.
Olymp. cxxxiii. 3.
cxxxix. 4.

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B. C. 246—

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temporary Syrian kings, his rivals, were men of rash enterprize, destitute of moderation and sound policy. They engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, by which Syria was greatly injured, and from which Egypt derived no substantial benefit. Syria was farther deformed and exhausted by revolts in the eastern provinces, and by domestic discord between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax. The boundary of the Danube had been overleaped; and the Barbarians on the north of Macedon continually alarmed or infested that kingdom under Demetrius II. and Antigonus Dofon. Relieved from the pressure of Macedonian power, the Greeks resumed their ancient spirit, and renewed those bitter animosities, by which they had so often been afflicted. In this fresh struggle, three nations distinguished themselves as principals, each exhibiting, under every aspect, and by exertions singularly memorable, the opposite principles on which they acted: the Achæans, their love of liberty and patriotism; the Lacedæmonians, their martial rivalry and ambition; the Etolians, their audacious boldness and insatiable rapacity. Such is the subject which I have to treat for a period of thirty-three years from the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the first hostilities between the Romans and the fourth Philip of Macedon, successor to Antigonus Dofon. Having established, or rather greatly extended their naval force at the expence of Carthaginian merchants and Illyrian pirates, the Romans interposed with a strong arm in the affairs of Alexander's successors. The warfare lasted, with short interruptions, for half a century, in which space of time, by policy still more than warlike skill and bravery, Rome gained either an immediate jurisdiction, or an acknowledged supremacy over all the Greek kingdoms and republics on this side the Euphrates. Before we proceed to this most interesting subject, it remains to examine the history of the thirty-three years above-mentioned, comprehending the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror.

Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus mounted their respective thrones in the same year, Ptolemy legally and honourably, but Seleucus, through the execrable perfidy of his mother Laodicè, and in direct violation of a treaty between his murdered father and the late king of Egypt. To revenge the infraction of this treaty and the cruel death of his sister Berenicè, Euergetes hastened to attack the heart¹ of the Syrian monarchy. The powerful forces transmitted to him from Philadelphus would have secured success against an adversary better prepared than Callinicus; whose bloody usurpation had provoked and alienated the more liberal portion of the Syrians, and almost the whole of the Greeks. While he yet hesitated to drag his mother-in-law Berenicè and her infant son from their sacred asylum at Daphnè, many Greek cities in Lesser Asia declared their abhorrence of this impious design, not sparing menaces to prevent its execution². But the fury of Laodicè having precipitated the destruction of Berenicè her own rival, and that of the son of Berenicè, who, as rightful heir to the monarchy, was rival to Callinicus, the rebellious Greeks expecting to be abetted by the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, advanced in martial array towards Syria, at the same time that several provinces on that side mount Taurus transferred their allegiance from Seleucus to his younger brother Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Hierax³. In this distracted state of Seleucus' affairs, Ptolemy entered Syria; the territory was not defended; many cities opened their gates; he gained possession even of Seleucia Pieria, which, from its vicinity to Antioch, was regarded as the harbour of that capital. We are not informed

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Euergetes' expedition against Syria. Olymp. cxxxiii. 3-4. B. C. 246-245.

¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 58.

² Justin, l. xxvii. c. 1.

³ The hawk, a name, according to Justin, derived from his rapacity, l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo mentions the surnames Callinicus and Hierax without assigning the reasons for them, l. xvi. p. 754. and Plutarch in Aristid.

contrasts the title of "Just" belonging to Aristides, and which, he says, no king had hitherto desired to wear, with the boastful appellations of "thunder, eagle, hawk," &c. Plutarch, it seems, knew not that the Parthian kings assumed the title of "Just," which often appears on their coins.

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Euergetes'
expedition
into Upper
Asia.
Olymp.
cxxxiii. 4.
cxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 245—
244.

Why ho-
noured with
the title of
Euergetes.

by what means Seleucus escaped his vengeance: but the more guilty Laodicè fell into the victor's hands, and suffered just punishment⁴.

Having shaken the Syrian kingdom in its centre, Ptolemy, without waiting to reap the nearer fruits of his success, was carried by a juvenile ardour towards Upper Asia. The provincial governors opposed not any resistance to his arms. In a short expedition, he overran a vast extent of territory, pursuing his victorious career to the Oxus and Indus⁵. His plunder was estimated at forty thousand talents of silver⁶; but what appeared far more valuable, to his Egyptian followers, was the recovery of their idols, detained disgracefully in Susiana and Persis, ever since they had been torn from their venerated shrines by the tyranny of Cambyfes. These cumbrous images of Egyptian gods, amounting to two thousand five hundred in number, were embarked on the canals⁷ of Susiana, communicating, as we have seen, with the Euphrates, that they might be conveyed up that river to Thapsacus, and thence transported by land to the Mediterranean sea. Their arrival in Egypt occasioned an enthusiasm of joy. The natives of that country contrasted the religious zeal of Ptolemy with the impious persecution of the Persians, their former masters. He was saluted with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, but would have still better deserved that appellation had he preferred the internal improvement of his kingdom to distant

⁴ Appian Syriac. c. 65. p. 635.

⁵ Polyænus, l. viii. c. 50. p. 802. Conf. Marm. Adulitan. Ptolemy's Assyrian expedition is noticed also in the contemporary poem of Callimachus, still preserved in Catullus's translation. Berenicè, the daughter of Magus and wife of Euergetes, consecrated her hair in the Cyprian temple of Zephyrian Venus,

Qua rex tempestate novis auctus hymenæis,
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

De Coma Berenices, v. 11. & 12.
The queen's votive offering for the safe re-

turn of her husband, having disappeared from the temple, the mathematician, Conon of Samos, then residing at Alexandria, showed seven stars near the tail of the lion hitherto little noticed, which he said were Berenicè's lost hair: upon this flattering conceit, the courtly Callimachus wrote his poem. Nonnus in Historiarum Synagoga. Hygini Poetic. Astronomic.

⁶ Hieronym. in Daniel, cap. xi.

⁷ The Adulitic inscription ends abruptly, but our local knowledge enables us to supply its defect.

and

and precarious conquests. He is said to have appointed⁸ governors over subdued provinces: these provinces, however, remained not long in his possession, nor are we informed of any exertions made by him for retaining them. In his return to Egypt, having halted at Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to Jehovah, and presented many precious dedications in his temple⁹.

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During Ptolemy's expedition to the East, Seleucus had been assiduously employed in collecting the scattered remains of his western empire. Through the loyalty of the Syrians and Phœnicians to his family, he assembled a considerable fleet, and sailed to the coasts of the peninsula, with a view to re-establish his authority over the revolted cities. His armament was overtaken by a tempest; and great part of it shipwrecked. This disaster, which might have been expected to ruin him irretrievably, redounded on the contrary to his advantage. The Greeks, it is said, considering¹⁰ the direful storm as a judgment of the gods, who had thus taken on themselves the punishment of his past crimes, began to feel compassion for the grandson of Seleucus Nicator, the worthiest and most magnanimous of all Alexander's successors. But their returning allegiance must have been hastened by the consideration that Ptolemy their ally was remote, and that Antiochus Hierax, the rapacious brother of Seleucus, having entered into a close connection with the Gauls, was preparing to extend his usurpation in Lesser Asia through the mercenary aid of those odious Barbarians¹¹.

The disasters of Seleucus followed by a revolution in his favour. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

The renewed friendship of the Greeks, enabled Seleucus to reinforce the garrison of Antioch, to fortify his other strongholds in Syria, and even to take the field against Ptolemy for recovering his lost possessions in that country. He was defeated, however, in a battle attended with much bloodshed; and compelled to shut himself up within the walls of Antioch, from which place he negotiated a

His negotiations with Antiochus Hierax, and alliance with the republics of Smyrna and Magnesia. Olymp. cxxxiv. 1. B. C. 244.

⁸ Hieronym. in Daniel.

⁹ Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 5.

¹⁰ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 2. Repente veluti

Diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus, &c.

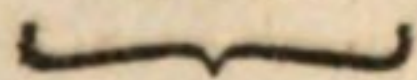
¹¹ Strabo, l. xvi. Plutarch. de Fratern.

Amor.

peace

C H A P.

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peace with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and an alliance, far more sincere, with the Ionian cities Smyrna and Magnesia. In this latter treaty, which still remains engraven on a marble column, these cities appear as independent states, but professing the utmost gratitude and devotion to the Seleucidæ. The column was raised for an unperishing memorial of a written instrument, which had been drawn up with nice formality, recorded in the archives of both states, and attested by their public signets as well as by the signatures and seals of the magistrates who were parties to the contract¹².

Suspension
of hostilities
between
Ptolemy and
Seleucus,
and war of
the latter
against An-
tiochus
Hierax.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 2.
cxxxv. 1.
B. C. 243—
240.

From this time forward, Ptolemy's attention was engrossed by very extraordinary undertakings that will afterwards be explained, and which occasioned the conclusion of an armistice for ten years with Seleucus¹³. The latter prince, thus delivered from his more formidable enemy, was at leisure to watch the designs of his perfidious brother, who, instead of the amity which he had just stipulated seemed ready to prosecute the war with all the virulence of fraternal discord. Seleucus accused his brother of levying the very forces against him, which he ought to have brought sooner to his assistance against Ptolemy; Antiochus accused Seleucus of an intention to divest him of those possessions in Asia Minor, of which, according to the treaty between them, he ought to have been confirmed in full sovereignty. Both accusations were but too well founded¹⁴; and a fierce war was thus kindled between the brothers, and carried on with various success for three years in Syria, in Lesser Asia, and in Assyria. The first memorable engagement was fought at Ancyra, where fortune declared for Antiochus through the assistance of his Gallic mercenaries¹⁵. But the fury of these Barbarians, upon a false rumour that Seleucus had fallen in the action, threatened to destroy Antiochus also, that they might appropriate to themselves the whole

Battle of
Ancyra, and
danger of
Antiochus
from his
Gallic auxi-
liaries.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 242.

¹² Marmor. Oxon. p. 5. & seq.

¹³ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 8.

¹⁴ Id. l. xxvii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

¹⁵ Polynæus, l. viii. c. 61. & Plutarch de Fratern. Amore.

advantages

advantages of victory. Antiochus was thus prevented from prosecuting his good fortune, and compelled even to redeem his life by a large ransom. The pride of the Gauls now reached such a height as rendered them equally terrible and odious in every part of the peninsula. But shortly after the battle of Ancyra, they were defeated at Sardes by Eumenes of Pergamus¹⁶; and in the year following, by his successor Attalus, in an engagement so decisive as compelled them to quit their predatory mode of life, and to resign that ambulatory dominion which they had held for the space of forty years in Lesser Asia¹⁷. The more irreclaimable part of the nation, exceeding an hundred thousand in number, still followed the standard of Antiochus Hierax, and accompanied him to Seleucia-Babylonia in hopes of plundering that wealthy capital. But they were completely defeated by Seleucus, powerfully reinforced on this occasion by the Macedonian inhabitants of the place, and by a body of eight thousand Babylonish Jews¹⁸. On this victory, Seleucus probably assumed the boastful title of Callinicus¹⁹, while Antiochus avoided the vengeance of his enraged and now triumphant brother by a precipitate flight. He first sought refuge in Cappadocia, and afterwards in Egypt, in which kingdom he was detained prisoner thirteen years by Ptolemy Euergetes. Having escaped from his confinement through the assistance of a courtesan, he attempted to return towards Syria, but was slain in his way thither by Arabian robbers²⁰.

The war between the brothers, though it commenced in Lesser Asia, and terminated in Babylonia, seems to have raged with greatest fury in Syria. To mitigate its effects there, recourse was had to the following expedient. Aradus was a Phœnician city allied with Tyre and Sidon, and had united with them in building Tripolis for the seat of their common councils²¹. The fame of Tyre and Sidon had

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Their influence and chastisement.

Total defeat of Antiochus Hierax in Babylonia. Olymp. cxxxv. 1. B. C. 240.

Honourable interference of Aradus in the war between the brothers.

¹⁶ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 445.

¹⁷ Pausanias, l. x. c. 15.

¹⁸ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20.

¹⁹ "Illustrious conqueror." He was sur-

named also Pogon from his long beard. Polybius, l. ii. c. 27.

²⁰ Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

²¹ Diodorus, l. xvi. f. 41.

hitherto

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hitherto eclipsed that of Aradus, their unequal confederate, which stood on a rocky island, two miles from the continent, and scarcely one mile in circumference, but whose buildings are compared in loftiness²² with those of insular Tyre, which vied with the highest edifices in Rome²³. Like other cities in Phœnicia, Aradus acknowledged its dependence on Alexander's Syrian successors: it paid tribute, received protection, but was prepared to resist oppression. In case of a siege, to which it might sometime be exposed, though this evil had hitherto been prevented by the prudence of its magistrates, the only want of Aradus had been that of fresh water. This deficiency was now fortunately supplied by discovering an abundant spring at the bottom of the narrow frith, which washed the walls of the city. The pure element was obtained by dropping into the sea a huge bell of lead, perforated at top, and having a leathern pipe nicely fitted to its mouth. At first, salt water came up equal in bulk to the capacity of the bell; but immediately afterwards, the fresh stream began to flow copiously through the well-contrived conduit, into boats prepared to receive it. Thus happily provided with the means of subsistence as well as of defence, the rocky island aspired to higher dignity, and assumed a sort of independent neutrality in the civil war between Seleucus and Antiochus. The pretensions of Aradus were admitted by both kings, with a view to the mutual safety of their respective adherents. In a contract with the Islanders, it was stipulated that those of either party who might take refuge among them, should find an inviolable asylum. The fugitives were not, indeed, to quit the island without permission from the prince that happened at the moment to prevail, yet neither were the Aradians held justly compellable to surrender them to their enemies²⁴. As many persons, thus protected in Aradus, came afterwards to be invested with great power, their gratitude towards the island was

²² Strabo, l. xvii. p. 753.

²³ Id. p. 757.

²⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744.

signalised by extending its domain on the opposite continent, and by bestowing other important benefits on this equitable and peaceful community²⁵.

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Seleucus had been fortunately delivered from the resentment of Egypt, the fury of the Gauls, and the rapacity of his own merciless brother. Other enemies still remained; the rebellious Parthians and Bactrians, the former of whom, during the war between the Syrian brothers, had strengthened the defences of their country, added to it the neighbouring territory of Hyrcania, and threatened to invade Media²⁶, the finest province of the East. Seleucus, finding himself disengaged from his other antagonists, conducted an army against the Parthians, now strictly allied with the Bactrians. This army was repeatedly reinforced, and the war by different inroads²⁷ protracted during four years, until the royal invader fell into the hands of the enemy, after being defeated in a great battle decisive of the independence and future dominion of the Parthians²⁸.

Seleucus' war with the Parthians. Olymp. cxxxv. 2. cxxxvi. 2. B. C. 239—235.

His life was spared by Tiridates, who had assumed the place and name of his elder brother Arsaces²⁹, the author of the Parthian revolt. Seleucus was retained ten years in the roughest province, and among the fiercest people of Upper Asia, but during all that time treated by his conqueror, with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes³⁰. Syria and its dependent provinces, meanwhile, transferred their obedience, (such was the loyalty towards the house of Nicator), to the son of their captive monarch; and the son would have well justified their partiality to his race, had he really attained his surname of Keraunus or Thunder, from the resistless rapidity with which he broke into Parthia, and rescued the person of his

Captivity and death of Seleucus. Olymp. cxxxvi. 2. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 235—226.

²⁵ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 744.

²⁶ Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Conf. Justin, l. xli. c. 4. & Appian Syriac. c. 65.

²⁷ Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

²⁸ To this battle properly, the words of Justin are applicable, "quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis,

observant, l. xli. c. 4.

²⁹ Arrian in Parth. apud Syncell. The kings of Parthia thenceforward assumed, all of them, the name of Arsaces, in addition to which they are distinguished by the names which they bore before mounting the throne.

³⁰ Athenæus, *ibid*.

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father. But this improbable tale³¹ seems the invention of later times to explain the unknown origin of an ostentatious and unmerited title; for the captive, Seleucus, it should seem, perished in Parthia by a fall from his horse³² in hunting, a royal exercise in which he was indulged by Tiridates during his loose confinement in that country. According to this account, he died in the same year with Hierax, who had remained still longer a prisoner, and under much severer restraint, in Egypt. Death might appear a benefit to imprisoned kings; but even imprisonment was beneficial to Seleucus and Antiochus, so shamefully had their freedom been disgraced in acts of fraternal discord.

His successors, Seleucus Keraunus. Olymp. cxxxviii. 4. B. C. 225. and Antiochus III. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223.

The Achæan league. Olymp. cxxv. 2.— cxxxi. 3. B. C. 275—254.

The former of these princes left two sons, Seleucus Keraunus just mentioned, who, having marched against Attalus I. of Pergamus, perished by treachery in Lesser Asia before he had time to perform any thing memorable³³; and Antiochus the Great, who would not seem altogether unworthy of the title early conferred on him, had not his evil destiny brought him, in the decline of life, into a disastrous conflict with Rome.

According to the method above prescribed, I proceed to a third series of events more circumstantially related than either of the former, and in themselves far more interesting. The diminutive cities of Achaia preserved, as we have seen, the germs of virtue and true liberty, which the influence of military tyrants had blasted on all sides around them. Upon the misfortunes which assailed Macedon

³¹ Frælick. Annal. Syriac. p. 32. does not cite his authority; but the report of Seleucus' escape receives some countenance from Polybius, l. v. c. 89. Yet, in that text, instead of "Seleucus the father of Antiochus," critics read the "brother of Antiochus." It is not necessary, however, to have recourse to this alteration, if we consider that Seleucus who even in Parthia was treated as a king, *αγομενος βασιλικως*, would be considered as such during his life by his own subjects, and that the government would be carried

on in his name by the ministers of his son.

³² Justin, l. xxvii. c. 3. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 153. Demetrius Poliorcetes had been allowed the same amusement when prisoner with the first Seleucus.

³³ Polybius, Appian & Justin. The traitors were Apaturius and Nicanor two of his officers, who are said to have poisoned him. Appian Syr. c. 66. They raised a mutiny in the army, which was quelled by the brave and generous Achæus, as will be seen hereafter.

in the reign of Ptolemy Keraunus, Dyma, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, ventured to renew their ancient confederacy, but without commemorating this act, as usual on such important occasions, by the erection of a pillar, or any other public monument. Five years afterwards, the people of Ægium expelled their Macedonian garrison and joined the association. Bura, Carynia, and three remaining³⁴ cities of Achaia, successively followed the example, either destroying their domestic tyrants, or compelling them to abdicate their ill-gotten power. From this time forward, each of these ten communities enjoyed a government nearly resembling that of Athens, while her democracy subsisted in its purest form: each had its senate, popular assembly, and an annual magistrate, entitled *Demiurgos*, whose office closely corresponded with that of the Athenian archons. Full freedom of speech, perfect equality of law, universal right of suffrage, and universal eligibility to office, formed the four corner stones of the Achaian cities individually, while all of them collectively were united in a confederacy of sentiment, as well as of interest, with the same hatred of tyrants and tyrannical republics, with the same love of equality and true freedom, the same laws and institutions, and even the same coins, weights, and measures³⁵. Twice every year, at the beginning of summer, and the end of autumn, deputies assembled at Ægium; they were chosen from each state by a plurality of voices, and according to the same liberal mode of election, they named two generals of the league, and a common secretary, entrusted with the records of the nation, and with the duty of preparing and expediting public business. For twenty-five years, this arrangement continued; but, at the expiration of that

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Government
and laws.

³⁴ These were Leontium, Ægira, and Pellene. The confederate cities were originally twelve. But Helice had been destroyed by an earthquake and inundation 372 years B. C. Olenus for some unknown rea-

son did not join in the new league. Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 384. Polybius, l. ii. c. 41. Some differences, however, occur in Pausanias Achaic. & Herodotus, l. 1. c. 145.

³⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 37. & 58.

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Civil liberty
and national
independ-
ance.Aratus joins
Sicyon to
the league.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 3.
B. C. 250.And Co-
rinth.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 243.

time, Marcus of Carynia obtained the sole military command ; and the nomination of one general only became in future the unvarying rule ³⁶.

From this short description it appears, that the object of the Achæans was not only to secure to each citizen civil liberty at home, but a matter far weightier in its consequences, to maintain each member of the confederacy on a foot of national independence. For this purpose each Achæan state had but one vote in the general council : no individual state could contract alliance with any prince or people without the approbation of the whole ; the same universal consent was requisite for admitting any new associate into the league ; but when associates were thus approved and accepted, their rights became, in all respects, the same with those of the original members.

This liberal equality, which had never hitherto prevailed in the same extent, appeared to the few real patriots still remaining in Greece, the fittest basis for supporting a confederacy which might yet emancipate that illustrious country, from the overwhelming preponderance of Alexander's successors. Only four years after the generalship of Marcus of Carynia, the territory of Sicyon, bordering on that of Achaia, joined the league through the zeal and enterprize of Aratus, a youth in his twentieth year, and who, at the next following election, was chosen general of the confederacy ³⁷. Eight years afterwards, and when he was invested for the second time with the military command, he gained by arms and address the important city of Corinth, the key, as it were, to the Peloponnesus ; and having expelled the Macedonian garrison from the citadel, restored to the Corinthians that stronghold of which they had been divested ever since the reign of Philip, the father of Alexander ³⁸. The Corinthians, thus relieved from long oppression, chearfully joined the Achæan league ; and thereby best remunerated the merit of Aratus,

³⁶ Polybius, l. ii. c. 43.

³⁷ It was a maxim of policy with the Achæans to invest with offices and honours

those who had recently joined the league.

³⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Arato.

who had employed his private fortune, even the jewels of his wife, in effecting their liberty. The name of the Sicyonian now eclipsed the fame of the original founders of the league, as well as of all its subsequent benefactors. This preference in his favour has been heightened with posterity by affecting peculiarities in his personal and domestic history. His father Clinias, the most illustrious citizen of Sicyon, after wresting the government of his country from one tyrant, had fallen a sacrifice to the cruel jealousy of another. Abantidas, for this was his name, raged with unbridled fury against Clinias' adherents, slew some, banished others, unwilling to spare even Aratus a child, only seven years old. But Aratus, reserved for a nobler destiny, found refuge in the house of Soso, the tyrant's sister; who, believing that heaven had directed him to a place the most secure of any because the least liable to suspicion, concealed him with watchful care until she found an opportunity of sending him secretly to Argos, where the revered worth of his family still ensured to him the protection of many hereditary friends.

By these respectable friends he was kindly received and liberally educated. His proficiency in the accomplishments then most valued, fully rewarded their goodness. In early youth, he gained the prize in the Pentathlon, the highest ambition of Olympic combatants, since it united all the five exercises, in any one of which it was a glory to excel³⁹: and his early diligence in letters was proved by the memoirs which he left behind him, highly commendable by their form as well as matter. But amidst these liberal pursuits, his mind was continually occupied with the thoughts, not of avenging his father's murder, for the tyrant Abantidas being slain had made way for another tyrant of a different family, but of destroying the tyranny itself, and re-establishing in Sicyon the pure Dorian mode of well harmonized polity⁴⁰. Through the assistance of his friends in Argos, of

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Peculiarities
in his his-
tory.

His educa-
tion.

How he
rescued Si-
cyon from
tyranny.

³⁹ See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. itself the more naturally as the people of Sicyon were Dorians. Plutarch in Arat. c. v. p. 231.

⁴⁰ The metaphor of Plutarch: it presented

his

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He restores
the emi-
grants to
their inhe-
ritances
without of-
fending the
actual posses-
sors.

Reign of
Demetrius
II. of Ma-

his expatriated fellow-citizens, and even of Xenophilus, the leader of a band of robbers, he surprised Sicyon in the night, by an assault judiciously planned and boldly executed. After his guards had been made prisoners, the tyrant Nicocles escaped, indeed, by a subterranean passage through his well-fortified palace, but never returned to Sicyon, which gladly accepted the liberty proclaimed next day in the market-place, "in name of Aratus the son of Clinias," and shortly afterwards obtained admission into the Achæan confederacy⁴.

This glorious exploit, which excited public admiration for Aratus, was followed at some distance of time by a transaction which rivetted him in the love and private affection of the Sicyonians. About six hundred of their fellow-citizens still lived, who had been driven into banishment by different tyrants: some exiles had lost their country, for upwards of fifty years. They gradually returned in such numbers, to claim their paternal lands, that the tranquillity of the little state was threatened with sedition. The possessions, of which they had been divested, had passed into other hands, and many of them had been long held by legal titles. An act of resumption would therefore have been injustice, yet by what other means were the claimants to be satisfied? Aratus in this difficulty, had recourse to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose love for the arts he had recently and highly gratified by procuring for him the paintings of Pamphilus and Melanthus, admired master pieces of the Sicyonian school. In a personal visit to that great prince, whose magnificence on every fit occasion kept pace with his opulence, he obtained such large sums⁴ of money, as enabled him, at his return to Sicyon, to adjust amicably all differences between the actual possessors of the lands and their ancient proprietors.

The junction of Corinth to the Achæan league happened in the old age and decrepitude of Antigonus Gonatas, who died shortly

⁴ Plut. in Arat.

⁴ Id. ibid. The numbers are erroneous,

after

after an event greatly injurious to the main drift of his rapacious reign. He was succeeded by Demetrius II., whose address had helped to put his father in possession of the Corinthian citadel⁴³, but whose abilities on the throne ill sustained the fame which he had acquired in a subordinate station. Demetrius adhered, however, to the policy of his predecessor in supporting, by troops and money, the petty tyrants that still reigned in several cities of Peloponnesus to their own unspeakable misery as well as that of their subjects. The colouring is perhaps heightened by resentment, yet the picture drawn of Aristippus, who, by the assistance of Macedon, had usurped sovereignty in Argos, the city in which Aratus had been educated, conveys a lively impression of the agonies attending power ill acquired, cruelly exercised, and precariously held. Aristippus had a numerous body guard; but his suspicions never allowed any portion of it to enter his palace. After supper he dismissed from the hall even his domestics, made the door fast with his own hands, and ascended by a ladder, through a trap-door into a small upper chamber. Upon this trap-door his bed was raised; and here he remained with his concubine, until her mother, a decrepid old woman, who had removed the ladder in the night, replaced it in the morning⁴⁴. This reptile usurper then crawled from his lurking hole. Such is the life of tyrants among men capable of relishing the sweets of liberty; and such were the wretches whom Demetrius abetted to gratify his own unworthy ambition.

The accession of Corinth to the Achæan league conspired, however, with other causes, to enfeeble his exertions in their favour, and to render his aid to them ineffectual. During his reign of ten years, he was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Etolians⁴⁵ in the south, and with the Thracians and Illyrians, those fierce and implacable nations which always threatend and often invaded his northern

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cedon.

Olymp.

cxxxiv. 2 —

cxxxvii. 1.

B. C. 243—

232.

Picture of
petty tyrants
whom he
supported in
Greece,
Aristippus of
Argos.

Wars and
troubles of
Demetrius'
reign.

⁴³ See above, c. xi. p. 597.⁴⁴ Plutarch in Arat.⁴⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 2.

frontiers :

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frontiers: he carried on war against Alexander of Epirus, son to the renowned Pyrrhus; and after the death of Alexander, he entered into an accommodation with his widow, Olympias, now regent of the kingdom, and married her daughter Phthia, thereby provoking the resentment of Antiochus Hierax, brother to his former wife, whose repudiation had made room for the princess of Epirus⁴⁶. The animosity of Antiochus evaporated in mere threats; but even the threats of such a daring and merciless prince long kept Demetrius in a state of cowardly alarm and anxious preparation⁴⁷.

Various accessions to the Achæan league.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. 4.
B. C. 233.

Amidst the various troubles of his reign, the Achæans thus enjoyed an opportunity of extending their confederacy. Shortly after the surprise of the Corinthian citadel, the league had been joined by Megara, its first accession beyond the limits of Peloponnesus. On the eastern coast of that peninsula, Epidaurus, Træzenè, and Hermionè, cities of Argolis, solicited and obtained admission, after the expulsion of their respective tyrants; while Lyfiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis, in the central district of Arcadia, voluntarily abdicated the government, and added that great city as a new member to the league⁴⁸.

Reign of Antigonus II. of Macedon.
Olymp.
cxxxvii. 1.—
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 232—
221.

About this time Demetrius, king of Macedon, died; and his only son Philip, being scarcely three years old, the regency and afterwards the crown was assumed by his brother Antigonus II., surnamed Dofon. This single word denoted his readiness of promise and his slowness in performance; and should seem to have been affixed by a very undeserved sarcasm⁴⁹ on Antigonus; since, although he reigned, in preference to his nephew, by the will of the Macedonians, he carefully educated the young prince, and adopted proper measures for making him his successor. Antigonus' character, indeed, will appear to have been distinguished by justice, tempered with mercy: his abilities did not fall short of his virtues; at home and

His uncommon merits.

⁴⁶ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

⁴⁷ Pausan. Attic.

⁴⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 44.

⁴⁹ Plutarch in Coriolan.

abroad

abroad during his whole reign, he was beloved by his subjects, formidable to his enemies, and faithful to his allies⁵⁰. Yet this respectable prince, the only one that for many years really adorned the Macedonian throne (so capricious is the distribution of honours!) was disgraced by a reproachful appellation, still adhering to his name, while other sovereigns of the same age, infinitely his inferiors are dignified in history by high sounding epithets⁵¹. Instead of embroiling the affairs of Greece, as had long been the practice of his predecessors, Antigonus in the first years of his administration, seemed only solicitous to heal the wounds of that country, while he exerted his utmost abilities to conciliate good-will among his barbarous northern neighbours.

From this peaceful system, he could not be induced to swerve, notwithstanding the perpetual aggrandisement of the Achæans, who, besides admitting into their league many new members in Peloponnesus, gained the rich island of Ægina, and soon afterwards Athens herself, nearly as populous a city, as when she was the proud mistress of Greece. This last acquisition was made by corrupting Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison. His price, a hundred and fifty talents, was high for that age: Aratus immediately paid him twenty talents, (about four thousand pounds), and the remainder might easily be liquidated, as Ptolemy Euergetes had adopted the policy of his father, and declared himself protector of the league. In Argos, the miserable tyrant Aristippus, whose life had been a thousand times forfeited to his oppressed fellow citizens, had the good fortune to be slain in battle with Aratus. His power was assumed by Aristomachus, who at first defended Argos against the Achæans; but, as all places around were

Athens and
Argos joined
to the
Achæan
league.

⁵⁰ Polybius, Conf. l. ii. c. 47. et c. 70. These names, however, seldom appear on medals during the three first races of Alexander's successors. But the Greek kings of the East grew more assuming in their titles, as they continually degenerated in character.

⁵¹ Τα αλαζονικά αὐτῶν ὀνόματα, &c. Dio. Chrysostom: Orat. lxiv. p. 598. The names or epithets alluded to are, "Illustrious conqueror, benefactor, thunder, saviour, god."

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State of
Sparta from
the death of
Alexander
to the reign
of Cleo-
menes.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 235.

Leonidas
and Agis.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 244.

either incorporated with that people, or friendly to their interests, Aristomachus was prevailed on to abdicate his usurped authority, and join the Argives to the league, of which, according to the usual policy of the Achæans, he was next year appointed general⁵².

The affairs of the confederacy thus continued to flourish, when a dangerous opposition to it arose from a very unexpected quarter. The Lacedæmonians, who had sullenly refused to associate themselves to the fortunes and the glory of the great Alexander, had, since the ascendancy of his successors in Greece, gradually sunk into a slothful obscurity: impoverished still more in their minds, than they were reduced in their circumstances. The lands of their territory, which had been divided by Lycurgus into thirty-nine thousand lots, had accumulated in the hands of about three hundred persons, many of them females, who displayed all the disgusting follies of superfluous opulence, while the citizens at large were oppressed by debts, and the industrious peasants wanted bread⁵³.

This was the state of Sparta, when its singular form of dual royalty devolved on Leonidas, the eighth in descent from Pausanias, who had defeated the Persians in the battle of Plataea; and on Agis, the sixth in succession from Agesilaus, who had retorted the injuries of Xerxes and Mardonius by glorious conquests in the East. The actual kings of Sparta inherited the qualities of their respective ancestors: Leonidas, who before his accession had lived in the court of Syria, transported with him Asiatic luxury into Greece, and rivalled Pausanias in ostentation and haughtiness. Agis surpassed even Agesilaus in virtuous simplicity; he divested himself of the vast possessions of his family, that they might be thrown into the common stock, and endeavoured to prevail on others to follow this generous example. His popular zeal was heightened by the stubborn opposition of his colleague. He strove to cancel debts, to make an equal division of lands, to revive sumptuary laws, in one word to restore the dis-

⁵² Polybius, l. ii. c. 44. et Plut. in Arat. ⁵³ Plutarch in Agid. et Cleomen.

cipline of Lycurgus in its full vigour⁵⁴. The undertaking, great as it appears, was not above his abilities: but the means, requisite for effecting it, were below his virtues. When Leonidas fell into his power, instead of destroying that opponent, he was contented with driving him from Sparta. Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, was called to supply the vacancy. He entered into the generous views of Agis; but the party of the rich, rallying from their panic, became too powerful for both. Leonidas, thus restored to royalty, scarcely spared Cleombrotus, though husband to Chelonis, his own affectionate daughter; for Chelonis had followed her father in his banishment, rather than reign with her husband. She now obtained leave to accompany in exile her dethroned husband⁵⁵: thus alternately soothing the afflictions of both, while she disdained to share the prosperity of the one purchased by the distress of the other. Agis meanwhile had taken refuge in the brazen temple of Minerva, guardian of the city. He was seduced from that venerated asylum, and suffered the punishment due to innovators, whose undertakings, however splendid in their ends, are inconsistent with strict justice in the means of execution.

Most unfortunately for the quiet of Greece, the short reign of Agis left a fatal ferment behind it. Six years afterwards, Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes, a youth bold, disinterested, and with an ardent passion for glory. He had married Agiatis the kinswoman and admirer of Agis; the praises bestowed on that unfortunate patriot, and on the noble exertions of Aratus for the grandeur of Achaia, stimulated the kindred ambition of Cleomenes to surpass the merit of the former, with the popular party at home⁵⁶, and by the valour of his once warlike countrymen abroad, to eclipse the glory of the latter. These two undertakings would mutually assist each other, since liberty is the most natural source of martial spirit; and a king, victorious in the field, is the abler to

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Banishment
and recall of
Leonidas.

His daughter
Chelonis.

Death of
Agis.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 241.

His designs
renewed by
Cleomenes.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 235.

⁵⁴ Plutarch in Agis, et Cleomen.

⁵⁵ Plutarch. *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Polybius, l. iv. c. 81.

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Encouraged
by the Eto-
lians to make
war on
Achaia.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 4.
B. C. 225.

mould at will the government of his country. While Cleomenes agitated these great projects, he was instigated to arms by the Eto- lians, who, though in friendship with Achaia by which they had been assisted recently against Demetrius of Macedon, had become jealous of a growing confederacy, founded on principles diametri- cally opposite to their own. The Etolians had first applied to Anti- gonus Dofon, the successor of Demetrius, but found that wise prince unwilling to abet their schemes of injustice: they next addressed Cleomenes, and exhorted him to seize Mantinæa and other cities in Arcadia, strictly allied with themselves, but which they dreaded might fall into the hands of the Achæans.

The first
successes of
the Cleome-
nic war—
Olymp.
cxxxix. 1.
B. C. 224.

Cleomenes listened to a counsel highly favourable to his views; and by an assault as successful as it was unexpected, seized Man- tinæa, Tegea, and Orchomenos. He next entered the territory of Megalopolis, and built a fortress for annoying that city⁵⁷, which had been for several years a member of the Achæan league. The Achæans were thus reduced to the necessity of repelling the aggres- sions of a commonwealth, which they had once good hopes of in- corporating with their own. Arcadia became the first and long con- tinued the principal scene of the Cleomenic war, which raged five years in Peloponnesus, and ended only with the ruin of its ambi- tious author.

Causes
thereof—the
military
defects of
Aratus, and
the new
arrange-
ments of
Sparta.

Its first stages were, however, highly favourable to the Spartans, who repeatedly defeated enemies far superior to themselves in number. In thus turning the tide of fortune against Achaia, much is to be ascribed to the personal energy of Cleomenes; the activity with which he levied and disciplined recruits, wherever they could be found; and the new spirit of enterprise which he inspired into his countrymen, after he had rescued them from the oligarchy to which they had been long subject⁵⁸. The military defects of Aratus are also to be taken into account; for with all his great qualities, this il-

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 45. et seq.

⁵⁸ Plutarch in Agid. & Cleomen.

lustrious.

lustrious champion of the confederacy was not calculated for open warfare and pitched battles. His military renown resulted from stratagems well combined, and surprises boldly executed. He was a tiger who leaped on his prey: darkness and silence encouraged him, but in broad light, and in the face of a prepared enemy, a constitutional weakness seemed to bereave him of his faculties⁵⁹. Yet such, in other respects, was his incomparable merit, that whoever was general of the Achæans, Aratus maintained the chief authority in the field as well as in the council. The bad success of the war made him dread of all men, Cleomenes, who was likely to be soon reinforced by the warlike Etolians; and who having attained absolute authority in Sparta, by butchering the Ephori, and banishing all those who opposed his innovations, had cancelled debts, instituted a new and equal division of lands, restored the severe discipline and diet of Lycurgus, and reduced his country to the form of a stern military democracy, under a victorious and admired general⁶⁰.

Rather than become subject to such a prince, Aratus was inclined to call back the Macedonians into Peloponnesus, by whom alone the designs of Cleomenes could be effectually resisted. The moderate and equitable character of Antigonus Doson was well calculated to justify this measure, of which however, Aratus, as it clashed with his former counsels, was extremely unwilling to appear as the author. He therefore had recourse to Megalopolis, a city of the league, which lying nearer than any other to Sparta, was a perpetual sufferer in the war; and which, on account of some good offices, unnoticed in history, which it had received from the ancestors of Antigonus, would not, he imagined, be averse to the assistance of that prince. Two citizens of Megalopolis, Nicophanes and Cercidas, were connected with himself by the revered ties of hereditary friendship. To them Aratus fully communicated his views; and, through their means, engaged the republic of Megalopolis to

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Aratus determines to apply for assistance to Antigonus Doson. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

⁵⁹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 8. Conf. Plutarch in Arato.

⁶⁰ Plutarch in Cleomen.

send.

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send a deputation to the council of Achaia, craving permission to apply to Antigonus for aid. The counsel gave its consent; Nicophanes and Cercidas proceeded as ambassadors to Macedon; and being admitted to the king, explained in a few words the state of their own republic, but expatiated largely on that of Greece⁶¹. The drift of their discourse was to shew, that if Cleomenes should be joined by the Etolians, not only the Peloponnesus, but also the states beyond the Isthmus would be compelled first to submit to their arms, and afterwards to follow their standard. In this case, the king of Macedon would have to contend in Thessaly for that only portion of Greece which still acknowledged his authority; and if unsuccessful there against the united strength of the Etolians, Bœotians, Lacedæmonians, and Achæans, might be exposed to no small danger in his hereditary kingdom. Prudence therefore required, that rather than wait so formidable a war, he should seasonably avert it, by now protecting Peloponnesus. With regard to security and compensation, Aratus, they assured him, would find expedients for satisfying both parties; and would also inform the king of the moment fittest to begin his march⁶².

Conse-
quences of
that mea-
sure.

Antigonus approved their discourse, and entrusted them with letters to their republic, promising a ready compliance with its request, whenever the general council of the Achæans should testify its acquiescence in the measure. At the return of the ambassadors, the king's letters were read in the council at Ægium; the deputies of Megalopolis advised that the Macedonians should be immediately invited into Peloponnesus: the majority of the council, and still more the assembled multitude around it, warmly applauded this opinion. Aratus then came forward in the assembly, and at the same time that he extolled the favourable disposition of Antigonus, highly praised the good sense and penetration of the Achæans. But though this king of Macedon, as they well discerned, was of a very different

⁶¹ Polybius, l. ii. c. 48. et seq.

⁶² Id. *ibid.*

character from many of his predecessors, he conjured them earnestly and pathetically to begin by exerting in the war their whole domestic strength. Their interest, as well as honour, required that every hope depending on themselves alone, should previously be exhausted before they had recourse for safety to a foreign prince. His counsel was approved: the Achæans took the field to defend Magalopolis, but were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, and afterwards at a place called Hecatombæum in the district of Dyme⁶³, one of the four original members of the league. As they fought in this last battle with nearly the whole of their forces, no resource remained but an immediate application to Antigonus. With this view, the son of Aratus was dispatched to Pella, and arrangements being speedily made by the king, the flower of the Macedonian army began to march towards Greece. Foreseeing this expedition, the Etolians, now firm allies to Cleomenes, had occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. Antigonus was therefore obliged to sail over to Eubœa, and after pervading that long island, to cross the narrow Euripus, and pass through Bœotia and Megaris, to the isthmus of Corinth. By this time Cleomenes had acquired a useful ally in Ptolemy Euergetes, who no sooner heard that the Achæans had applied to Antigonus, than he, who had hitherto been protector of their league, openly espoused the cause of their enemies⁶⁴. This change was natural, for the Greek kings in Asia and Egypt always viewed with jealousy the encroachments of Macedon, fearful lest some ambitious Macedonian, reinforced by the fleets of Greece, and the exhaustless armies of Thrace and Illyria, might tread in the foot-steps of the great Alexander. To prevent the ascendancy of Antigonus in any of these countries, Ptolemy endeavoured to stir up against him a multiplicity of adversaries. He supplied Cleomenes, in particular, with large sums of money, by which means this prince was enabled to prosecute his designs vigorously,

Cleomenes gains great advantages through the assistance of Ptolemy Euergetes. Olymp. cxxxix. 1. B. C. 224.

⁶³ Polybius, l. ii. c. 51. ⁶⁴ Id. l. ii. c. 47. Conf. l. xxix. c. 9. et seq.

and

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Antigonus
enters Pelopon-
nesus—
his success.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 2.
B. C. 223.

and conquer many cities in Peloponnesus, recently associated with the league; particularly Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, and lastly Corinth itself; for the wealthy and dissolute Corinthians, rather than endure the hardships of a siege, had commanded the Achæans who were in garrison, to leave the place, and even invited the Spartans to take possession of it. Their pusillanimity relieved Aratus from much difficulty with regard to the compensation, which, as before mentioned, he had undertaken to negotiate in favour of Antigonus⁶⁵. He could not have ceded to him Corinth without the consent of its citizens; but through their own dastardly spirit, he was now furnished with an honourable excuse for promising to him the possession of that rich city.

The two kings now encamped on opposite sides of the Isthmus, the one watchful of an opportunity to pass into Peloponnesus; the other having cast up intrenchments, and ready to oppose his entrance. But without the intervention of a battle, a sudden turn of affairs was produced in the peninsula by the mere approach of the Macedonians. Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, with the assistance of the Achæans under Timoxenus, rescued that city from the gripe of Cleomenes' partizans⁶⁶. The news of this event, which was likely to be followed by other revolutions of a similar kind, disheartened the Spartan troops, and strangely confounded their general, who quitting his advantageous post, hastened to recover Argos, and having failed in that attempt, rather fled than retreated homewards to Sparta. Meanwhile Antigonus advanced without opposition; seized the Corinthian citadel, which had been so long held by his ancestors; and proceeded by rapid marches to Argos, where he praised and confirmed the good resolutions of its inhabitants. He then entered Arcadia, and expelled the Spartan garrisons from many strong holds in that province. He marched afterwards to Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council: in that assembly which owed its security to

⁶⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 52.

⁶⁶ Κλεομενισαῖς, the Cleomenists, Polybius, l. ii. c. 53.

his

his presence, he explained at large the motives of his past conduct; discussed the measures proper to be pursued in future; and was elected, with universal acclamation, general of the confederacy. As this was the autumnal meeting of the states, Antigonus took up his winter-quarters in the fertile neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth. In the spring he again entered Arcadia. Some cities were surprised; others voluntarily surrendered: Tegea submitted after a long siege⁶⁷.

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Antigonus then advanced towards Laconia, the frontiers of which were watchfully guarded by Cleomenes. There happened several skirmishes on the borders of that country, but before Antigonus could obtain his end of bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he learned by his spies, that the garrison of Orchomenos in Arcadia had quitted its walls to reinforce the Lacedæmonian army. He therefore hastily decamped, and, marching in full force against that place, gained it by the first assault. Mantinæa, the most beautiful city in Arcadia⁶⁸, was next besieged, and taken after a short resistance. The neighbouring republics of Heræa and Telphussa opened their gates at the first summons⁶⁹. In this victorious campaign, Antigonus' behaviour is memorable for its mildness. In none of the places which he conquered, not even in Tegea, which had resisted obstinately and furiously, did he either enslave the inhabitants, or confiscate their property; cruelties allowable according to the laws of war then universally prevalent.

Antigonus' moderation in victory.

Mantinæa indeed formed an exception; but the case of Mantinæa was peculiar⁷⁰. It had entered into the Achæan league, revolted to Cleomenes, and, after being recovered by Aratus, had been treated by him with the utmost lenity, and had received, at its own desire, an Achæan garrison of five hundred men⁷¹ to protect it against the

The treatment of Mantinæa an exception to Antigonus' mildness — reasons thereof.

⁶⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 54.

⁶⁸ And that from very early times,

Μαντινέαν ἰσοτιμίαν.

Homer in catal. v. 114.

⁶⁹ Polyb. *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. et seq.

⁷¹ Three hundred Achæans and two hundred mercenaries.

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Spartans and Etolians. These events happened four years before Antigonus' invasion. In that interval, the Mantinæans a second time revolted to Cleomenes, then in the height of his prosperity, and the better to ingratiate themselves with that prince, had committed a deed of eternal infamy in murdering the Achæans whom they had invited into their city. This act was regarded by Antigonus as an execrable cruelty, since the laws of nations, barbarous as they were in that age, required that the Mantinæans, whatever motives they might themselves have for changing sides, should have sent back the Achæan garrison in safety. The conqueror therefore treated Mantinæa differently from other cities of Arcadia: he plundered the houses, and sold the inhabitants for slaves⁷².

Cleomenes
surprises Me-
galopolis.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 2.
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At the end of autumn, Antigonus again proceeded to Ægium to congratulate with the Achæan council, and to deliberate with its members concerning the future conduct of the war. The success of the late campaign enabled him to dismiss without danger many Macedonians, who were desirous of passing the winter at home in the midst of their families and friends. His proceedings were carefully watched by Cleomenes, who, though he had not ventured to take the field against him in Arcadia, and had contented himself with defending the Lacedæmonian frontier, anxiously looked for an opportunity of retrieving his losses in the former province by surprising Megalopolis, the city of Arcadia nearest to Sparta, and distinguished by uncommon zeal for the Achæan confederacy. Megalopolis had suffered so cruelly in the war, that its inhabitants were inadequate to the defence of their extensive walls. The victories

⁷² Phylarchus, a contemporary historian, arraigned Antigonus' severe treatment of the Mantinæans, without explaining the just cause in which it originated. Phylarchus was an Athenian, living in the court of Ptolemy Euergetes, and therefore both from the place of his birth, and that of his resi-

dence, naturally hostile to the Macedonians, and the fame of their king. His work was preferred to the more candid Memoirs of Aratus by many Greeks who entertained the same prejudices. Polybius, l. ii. c. 56. Conf. Suid. ad voc. Athen. Deipn. & Dionys. Halicarn. de Colloc. Verb.

of their allies had inspired them with an unwarrantable security. Ægium was distant from them by a journey of full three days, and from that place Antigonus had just sent a large portion of his army into Macedon. Under these circumstances, Cleomenes marched to Megalopolis in the night; gained admission within the gates by means of some Messenian exiles, resident in the place, whom he had previously corrupted; seized all the most advantageous posts; and appeared at dawn in great force in the market-place⁷³. Thus betrayed, surprised, and on the point of being totally destroyed, the Megalopolitans discovered not any disposition to surrender. They resisted so valiantly, they showed such determined resolution to brave every suffering, that Cleomenes gladly made way for them to escape from his far superior force. When most of them fled to Messenè, the conqueror sent thither, offering the restoration of their city, on condition that they abandoned the Achæan league. His letters were not allowed to be read, and his messengers narrowly escaped death⁷⁴. So steadily did this generous people adhere to their engagements, that rather than violate their plighted faith, they determined for ever to desert their houses, lands, temples, and country. Philopæmen, one of their wealthiest citizens, makes his first appearance in history as the chief promoter of this noble resolution. Cleomenes, at first opposed by universal consent, for not an individual in Megalopolis was base enough to join his party, and afterwards finding his favours disdained notwithstanding the completest victory, indulged his soldiers in the utmost licence of plunder. The more valuable effects of the magnanimous fugitives, among which their pictures and statues are thought worthy of particular mention, were collected into rude heaps and transported to Sparta. Whatever was too cumbrous to be removed, was destroyed on the spot. Cleomenes dismantled the fortifications, and commanded even the principal houses to be demo-

Generous
despair of
its inhabit-
ants.—Phi-
lopæmen.

⁷³ Plutarch in Cleomen. Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 55. et c. 6. et l. v. c. 93.

⁷⁴ By lapidation the usual mode of summary punishment. Polyb. *ibid.* c. 61.

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Movements
preparatory
to the battle
of Sellasia.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

lished, that a city, so hostile to his views, might never thenceforward be inhabited ⁷⁵.

The disasters, which speedily befel himself, defeated this ungenerous expectation. Antigonus had taken up his quarters at Argos for the remainder of winter. He proposed to begin the campaign in the spring, as soon as he should be joined by reinforcements from Macedon ⁷⁶. Cleomenes, who was apprised of this intention, entered the Argive territory earlier than the Greek armies were accustomed to take the field. But neither the devastation of the country, nor the complaints of the Argives, nor the insulting airs of the enemy, could provoke Antigonus to venture a battle until he was powerfully reinforced, not only by Macedonians, but Illyrians, Acarnanians, and Epirots; for his justice and good policy had given him allies in all the nations around him. When these succours arrived at Argos, the whole muster amounted to twenty-eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes by this time had moved towards Sparta, having failed, indeed, in his main purpose of bringing Antigonus to action, but after obtaining, however, the double advantage of encouraging his troops by braving the enemy, and of enriching them by unresisted depredation. To revenge both the injury and affront, Antigonus entered Laconia, and proceeded towards the capital by the most convenient route. This led through Sellasia, a city twelve miles south of the Argive frontier, and about the same distance north of Sparta.

The scene of
action de-
scribed.

Before coming to Sellasia, he had to pass a valley, the entrance to which was overhung by two hills, Eva and Olympus, forming respectively its eastern and western defences. Between these hills, the river Oenus flowed to join the Eurotas, and along the bank of the Oenus, and afterwards of the united stream, the road led almost in a direct line to the Lacedæmonian capital. When Antigonus approached the valley of Sellasia, he found that the enemy had seized both hills, and

⁷⁵ Polybius, Id. ibid.

⁷⁶ Id. l. ii. c. 65.

also had thrown up entrenchments before them. Cleomenes with the Spartans had chosen Olympus for his post: his brother Eucleidas with the armed peasants occupied Eva: the intermediate valley, on both sides the road, was defended by the cavalry and mercenaries. Instead of rashly engaging an enemy so strongly posted, Antigonus encamped at a moderate distance, having the river Gorgylus in front, and watchful of every opportunity to ascertain the distinctive qualities of the enemy's force, as well as the nature of the ground in which its several divisions were posted. He frequently alarmed them by shews of attack, but found them on all sides secure. At length both kings impatient of delay, and alike emulous of glory, embraced the resolution of coming to a general engagement.

Antigonus had sent his Illyrians across the river Gorgylus in the night. They were to begin the assault of mount Eva, accompanied by three thousand Macedonian targeteers, troops less heavily armed than the phalanx, and equipped in all points like the Argyraspides, who make so conspicuous a figure in former parts of this work, only that their targets were plated, not with silver, but with brass⁷⁷. The Acarnanians and Cretans composed the second line. Two thousand Achæans, all chosen men, followed as a body of reserve. Antigonus' cavalry, commanded by Alexander the son of Admetus, was ranged along the banks of the Oenus. It was not to advance against the enemy's horse, until a purple signal had been raised on the side of Olympus by the king, who, at the head of the Macedonian phalanx, purposed to combat Cleomenes and his Spartans. A white ensign of linen first floated in the air. The Illyrians, for this was *their* summons to action, boldly marched up mount Eva, and were followed by the divisions appointed to sustain them. Upon this movement, the Achæans, forming the rear, were unexpectedly assailed by a body of light infantry, who sprung from amidst the ranks of the enemy's horse. The confusion occasioned by an onset, equally

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Battle of
Sellasia.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

⁷⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 65. l. iv. c. 69. & l. 5. c. 91.

sudden

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Presence of
mind and
bravery of
Philopœmen.

sudden and daring, threatened to give an easy victory to Eucleidas and his Lacedæmonians, who, from the heights of Eva, might descend with great advantage against the disordered troops that had come to dislodge them. The danger was perceived by Philopœmen. He communicated his apprehensions to Alexander, who commanded the Macedonian cavalry. But, as the purple ensign was not yet hoisted, Alexander disregarded the advice of an inexperienced youth. The character of that youth, however, was better known to his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis. They obeyed an authority derived from patriotism and merit, and seconded his ardour to seize the moment of assault. The shouts and shock of the engaging horsemen recalled the light troops who harried the Macedonians in their ascent to Eva; by which means the latter, having recovered their order of battle, routed and slew Eucleidas⁷⁸. Philopœmen's exertions in the action seemed worthy of his generalship, in an age when example in battle was held essential to the enforcement of precept. After his horse fell under him, he still fought on foot, though pierced with a spear through both thighs, and was not borne from the field till the victory was decided. Shortly after that event, Antigonus asked Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, "why he had charged before orders." Alexander said, "the fault was not his; for a young man of Megalopolis had, in defiance of authority, rushed forwards with his countrymen, and thus precipitated the engagement." Antigonus replied, "you acted the part of a young man; that youth of Megalopolis shewed himself a great general."

The Lacedæmonians
defeated—
flight of
Cleomenes.

Cleomenes, meanwhile, perceiving the total rout of his right wing under Eucleidas, and seeing that his cavalry also was on the point of giving way, became fearful of being surrounded. For retrieving the honour of the day, he determined to quit his entrenchments; and, at the head of his Spartan spearmen, to attack Antigonus and the phalanx. The king of Macedon gladly embraced an opportunity of

⁷⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 67.

bringing

bringing the contest to this issue. The trumpets on both sides recalled their light skirmishers, who obstructed the space between the hostile lines. In the first shock, the weight of the Macedonians was overcome by the impetuous valour of the Spartans; but Antigonus, who had drawn up his men in what was called the double phalanx, had no sooner strengthened his foremost line by the co-operation of his reserve, than his thickened ranks, bristling with protended spears, bore down all resistance. The Spartans were put to the rout, and pursued with that merciless destruction which generally followed such close and fierce engagements. Cleomenes escaped with a few horsemen to Sparta.

His army was ruined; the city was defenceless: a victorious enemy was at hand. He had but a short time for a deliberation, involving in it the interests of his glory, of his family, and of his country. He had lost, indeed, his queen Agiatis, a woman alike qualified to soothe his present sufferings, as before to inflame his ambition. His mother Crateficlea had carried his children hostages to Egypt; a condition required by his ally Ptolemy Euergetes. Therycion, the friend of Cleomenes, encouraged the unfortunate prince to accompany himself in a voluntary death. But Cleomenes answered, that this would be desertion more disgraceful than even his flight from battle. He had only leisure to exhort the inhabitants of Sparta, peaceably to admit Antigonus whom it would be now vain to resist; assuring them that he still lived in hopes of serving his country. He then hastened with a few friends to the Lacedæmonia harbour of Gythium, thirty miles distant from Sparta; and having embarked there in one of those vessels by which he kept up his communication with Egypt, he sailed to that country to solicit from Ptolemy such succours in ships and money as might enable him at some favourable crisis to benefit their common cause⁷⁹.

⁷⁹ Plutarch in Cleomenes.

Antigonus,

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He escapes
to Egypt.

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Antigonus' indulgence to Sparta, and his other conquests.

Reception at the Nemean games.

Olymp. cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Antigonus recalled to Macedon by an Illyrian invasion.—His death.
Olymp. cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Contemporary reigns of Alexander's successors in Macedon, Syria, and Egypt.
Olymp. cxxxix. 2—4.
B. C. 223—221.

Antigonus, meanwhile, advanced to Sparta, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost generosity⁸⁰. They were allowed to enjoy complete national independence with leave to adjust, according to their own pleasure, the arrangements of their internal government. Having remained three days in the place, he marched to Tegea in Arcadia, which met with equal indulgence; and from thence proceeded to Argos to behold the Nemean games, about to be celebrated in that neighbourhood. In this august solemnity, at which all the nations of Greece were invited to assist, Antigonus himself was the noblest spectacle⁸¹. He was hailed as the pacificator of the countries on both sides the Isthmus, having restrained by the mere terror of his arms the rapacious Etolians, and chastised justly, yet mercifully, the ambitious Spartans. The Achæan confederacy in general, as well as each state in particular, were unwearied in his praise, and zealous to distinguish him by those immortal honours, which public admiration confers on illustrious merit.

From this flattering scene, such is the vanity of human greatness, Antigonus was speedily withdrawn by news of an Illyrian invasion into Macedon. He flew to the defence of his desolated fields and flaming villages; encountered, and completely defeated, the Barbarians; but not until he had burst a blood-vessel, while exerting his voice too vehemently in the heat of action. He died, leaving the crown to his nephew Philip then in his seventeenth year, and who, seven years after his accession, was involved in a war with the Romans; the first waged by that people against any of Alexander's successors.

The death of Antigonus happened in the same year with that of Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt, and in the same olympiad with that of Seleucus Keraunus king of Syria; so that these Greek kings of the East, forming the third generation after the great Macedonian conqueror, all quitted the scene about the same time. A similar

⁸⁰ Polybius, l. v. c. 9. Conf. l. ix. c. 36.

⁸¹ Id. l. ii. c. 70.

observation applied to the two generations preceding them. Seleucus Keraunus was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, a prince still younger than Philip, since, only in his sixteenth year, and greatly unfortunate in the latter part of life in his ill-advised Roman warfare. The new king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philopater, needed not, as we shall see, the co-operation of foreign enemies to involve his kingdom in disaster, and to cover himself with ignominy.

Euergetes had received the fugitive king of Sparta with the kindness due to an old and zealous ally, whose interests he had of late years too much neglected; for, as the commencement of his reign had been signalized by splendid but unprofitable expeditions in the East, so the latter part of it⁸² was chiefly occupied in vast but untenable conquests in the South. He overran Ethiopia or Abyssinia, made himself master of both sides of the Red Sea from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandeb, and proceeding even beyond this formidable⁸³ boundary, fixed the extremity of his empire at Sasus on the coast of Barbaria, abounding in the gold called Tancharas. As these expeditions were carried on by himself and his generals in the course of several years, he had an opportunity of surveying hitherto unexamined parts of Ethiopia; he scaled the lofty ridges of Samen eighty miles in extent, deformed by hail, by frost, and even by deep snow⁸⁴, though only in the fourteenth degree of north latitude. In advancing still nearer the line, he found that the tribe Sesea had taken refuge on a mountain almost perpendicular, and forming the rudest part of the highlands between Abyssinia and Adel⁸⁵. He besieged it with his army: the inhabitants were stripped of their effects; the flower of their youth of both sexes was carried

The Ethiopian expeditions of Ptolemy Euergetes.

⁸² He says, that "sitting on his throne at Adulis, (of which we shall speak presently), he consecrated it to Mars in the 27th, that is, the last year of his reign."

⁸³ Babelmandeb, the Gate of Sorrow. Arab.

⁸⁴ Snow so deep, that the troops sunk up to their knees. Inscript. Adulitan. Bruce

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denies the existence of snow in Abyssinia; and father Lobo says, that it falls only in small quantities, and never lies on the ground, p. 578. Neither of these travellers had explored the sinuosities of mount Samen.

⁸⁵ Adel, the northern division of Barbaria. See above, vol. i. p. 80.

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into slavery. The people of Gaza, probably Geez in Abyssinia, submitted to pay half their property by way of contribution. From such examples we may judge of the treatment of other vanquished nations, and of the heavy burdens imposed on them: for Euergetes' principal design in the invasion of Arabia and Ethiopia seems to have been to ravish by force of arms, the gold and perfumes which his wiser predecessors had attracted to them more abundantly by commerce. Though thus pre-eminent in rapacity, he boasts, however, of destroying robbery and piracy, and of reducing to peace the nations whom he had long harassed by a relentless war. In his own exaggerated stile, "after subjecting the whole world to his authority, he came to Adulis, the principal sea-port of Abyssinia, and reunited there the whole of his victorious forces, imploring the protection of heaven to future navigators of those seas." The throne on which he sat was gratefully consecrated to Mars the god of war, whom he claims for his father and matchless auxiliary. It consisted of a white marble chair, formed from one block, with a tablet of basanite at its back, three cubits high. Both the tablet and the chair itself were covered with inscriptions which afford the only historical account of Euergetes' Ethiopian warfare, and which, above seven hundred years after the reign of that prince, were first published in the topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a travelling Greek monk, by whom they were copied on the spot⁸⁶. Conformably with this testimony, the name of Ptolemy Euergetes⁸⁷ is still found in Greek characters among the marble ruins of Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Several other monuments belonging to the same place seem also warrantably referred to this adventurous prince⁸⁸. His remote expeditions prevented, as we have seen, Ptolemy's interference at very critical junctures in the affairs of Greece. They serve also to account for strange

⁸⁶ Vid. Cosmas Indicopleust. Topograph. Christian. p. 140. & seq. Edit. Montfaucon. throne on which the kings of Abyssinia are crowned at this day.

⁸⁷ Mr. Bruce says, that the stone containing this name serves as a foot-stool to the ⁸⁸ Bruce's Travels, vol. iii. p. 129.

negligence in the management of his provinces contiguous to Egypt itself. The example of Aradus, above-mentioned, indicates the looseness of his authority over Cœle Syria and Phœnicia; and in Palæstine, the irregularity of government appears in a transaction, which at the same time gives a striking picture of Euergetes personal character.

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Since the dissolution of their monarchy, the Jews, as we have seen, had been ruled by native priests, though tributaries both in men and money to those great powers which swayed successively the politics of Lower Asia. In the beginning of Euergetes' reign, they had passed from the external jurisdiction of Syria to that of Egypt. At the time of this revolution, their high priest was Manasses, who still continued to hold his office twenty-two years, when he was succeeded by Onias, a man in advanced age, of a narrow understanding, and niggardly disposition. In addition to contributions from the community, it should seem, that the Jewish high priests were required to pay a small sum from their private fortunes in acknowledgement of dependance on foreign masters⁹⁰. This sum, amounting only to twenty talents, Onias refused any longer to disburse, and thereby provoked Ptolemy's resentment against himself and his country.

His transactions with the Jews. Olymp. cxxxviii. 3. B. C. 226.

To divert the royal displeasure was the task of Joseph, Onias' nephew, a youth whose character was totally the reverse of his uncle's. His pleasing manners, together with his liberality and spirit, ingratiated him with Athenion, one of Ptolemy's friends, whom the king had sent into Judæa to adjust the business of tribute⁹⁰, and whom Joseph prevailed on to return to Alexandria upon assurances that he himself would soon follow thither, and satisfy every

Joseph farms the king's revenues in Cœle Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine.

⁹⁰ Τον ὑπὲρ τῆς λαοῦ φοροῦ, ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. and below, διὰ (scilicet. χρημάτων) καὶ τῆς λαοῦ τὴν προσάσσειν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἶπε καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς ἐπιτελεῖν.

Josephus calls Athenion Ptolemy's am-

bassador. This and other expressions indicating that Palæstine formed a separate state, are explained by the nature of its government as stated in the text, and by Josephus' patriotic zeal for the honour of his country.

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The address
by which he
obtained this
contract.

demand. Accordingly, soon after Athenion's departure, Joseph followed him into Egypt, and in an audience of the king, apologized for the strange behaviour of Onias, by observing, that his old age had reduced him to a second childhood, "but of me who have not yet outlived my understanding, the king shall have no reason to complain." Ptolemy was pleased with his frankness; assigned him an apartment in his palace, and daily admitted him to his table.

It happened that Joseph, in his way to Alexandria, had fallen in with several travellers from Cœle Syria and Phœnicia, men of distinction in their respective cities, who had set out for the capital of Egypt to be present at the sale of the provincial revenues, annually let to farm to the highest bidder. To inspire the better opinion of their wealth, they travelled with splendid equipages, and with numerous attendants; and were inclined to mock the mean equipment of Joseph, who had provided himself with servants and beasts of burden at an expence of 2,000 drachmas⁹. He despised their railiery, but was deeply attentive to their serious conversation; from which he learned that the largest sums likely to be given for the revenues in question, fell short by more than one half of their real value. Accordingly, on the day of sale, which was conducted in the presence of Ptolemy and Berenicè, the highest price offered for the farm of Cœle Syria, Phœnicia, and Palæstine amounted only to eight thousand talents. Joseph at once bid sixteen thousand, about three million sterling. Ptolemy was delighted to hear those provinces estimated at double their former assessment; but asked, as usual on such occasions, what sureties Joseph could produce for the fulfilment of his contract. The young Hebrew, who had discerned how much a jest was paramount in the king's deliberations to every serious reason, declared with much gravity, that he would give sureties of unquestionable probity, and unrivalled opulence. He then named Ptolemy himself and queen Berenicè, who, he said, would be mutually bound to each

⁹ About 60l.

other,

other, for the exact performance of his engagement. The king smiled consent; and Joseph, upon the credit of court favour, easily procured five hundred talents at Alexandria, to satisfy the arrears due by his uncle, and to equip himself suitably to the importance of his new employment. He was accompanied into Palæstine by a body of two thousand infantry. The cities of Ascalon and Scythopolis at first refused his demands; he punished in each place by death and confiscation about twenty persons, the ring-leaders in sedition. This exemplary severity checked all farther disobedience; and it may be conjectured, that Joseph exercised the duty of collector with justice to the king, and without great oppression to the provinces, since he continued in his office twenty-two years under Euergetes and his immediate successor⁹².

The death of Ptolemy Euergetes shortly preceded that of Cleomenes his unfortunate ally. A king of Sparta, who had restored in his own country the austere discipline of Lycurgus, could not behold without indignation the wild follies and beastly vices of Philopator. This surname, denoting love for his father, created a suspicion that Ptolemy IV. had been guilty of parricide⁹³. The suspicion he confirmed, by commencing his reign with the murder of his mother Berenicè and his brother Magas⁹⁴. Having thus secured, as he fancied, his government at home, he despised the nonage of Philip and Antiochus, his natural rivals abroad; committed the cares of state to servants worthy of such a master; and claimed the shameless perpetration of every enormity for the best of royal prerogatives⁹⁵. Cleomenes remarked his proceedings, and expressed his honest abhorrence of them. His words were repeated to the king and the crafty minister Sosibius. Instead of a fleet, which Cleomenes solicited to carry him to his country, and which new disturbances in Greece, since the demise of Antigonus Doson, would have enabled

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Accession of
Ptolemy IV.
Philopator,
and death of
Cleomenes.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

⁹² Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 4.

⁹³ Justin, l. xxix. c. 1.

⁹⁴ Plutarch in Cleomen. Polyb. l. v. c. 34.

⁹⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

him

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Superstitious
credulity of
Philopator.

The Colossus
of Rhodes
throwndown
by an earth-
quake.

him to employ with good prospect of success, he was seized and imprisoned, but being negligently guarded, escaped to the streets of Alexandria, and died there, with thirteen accompanying friends, after a romantic attempt to inspire with liberty the effeminate inhabitants of that place, who, instead of joining the insurgents, fled their approach, as that of wild beasts let loose from their confinement. To avoid the ignominious punishment which must soon overtake them, the Spartans perished by their own hands. The merciless Philopator wrecked his vengeance on the innocent children of Cleomenes. They were butchered before the eyes of his mother, who had carried them to Egypt for protection. This deed of horror was alone deprecated by the high-minded Cratisticea. She submitted to her own fate with Spartan firmness. Her female companions accompanied her death, exhibiting in this closing scene all the delicacy of their sex, with all the fortitude of their country⁹⁶. By orders of Philopator, the body of Cleomenes was fixed on a conspicuous cross for an example of terror. But it was terrible, chiefly to the king himself, who united the vilest superstition to his other execrable deformities. A serpent, it seems, hoisted itself round the cross, and defended, as it were, against birds of prey the body affixed to it. This prodigy tormented the tyrant, until a soothing poet of his court taught him to believe that as various insects are engendered by the corruption of various animals, so serpents are produced by the putrifying spine of man. The fiction passed into an adage of the physical school of too credulous antiquity⁹⁷.

Towards the close of Ptolemy Euergetes' reign, the Colossus of Rhodes was thrown down by an earthquake. This was the brazen statue of Apollo, protecting divinity of the Rhodians, erected by

⁹⁶ ἡ μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ φαμίλλως ἀγωνισάμενη
τῷ γυναικίῳ δράματι, &c. Plutarch, p. 823

⁹⁷ Sunt qui cum clauso putrefacta est spina
sepulchro,

Mutari credunt humanas angue medullas.

Ovid.

The lines are part of a translation of those
of the Alexandrian poet Archelaus, pre-
served by his contemporary Antigonius
Carystius. Vid. Paradox. Synagog.

his grateful votaries after Demetrius Poliorcetes raised the famous siege of their capital⁹⁸. The artificer was Chares of Lindus, who completed the work in twelve years⁹⁹; sixty-two years afterwards it was overturned by a concussion of the earth, which also destroyed the magazines and arsenals, demolished the greater part of the fortifications, and totally deformed the city itself. The Colossus is usually described as a hundred and five feet high, striding across the entrance to the harbour, so that ships in full sail passed between its gigantic limbs; yet, had this really been its attitude, the great body of the figure, when broken off near the knee¹⁰⁰, must have fallen into deep water. But we are informed, on the contrary, that this huge monument remained on dry land eight hundred and ninety-eight years, when Moawiah, the sixth Caliph of the Saracens, after his conquest of Rhodes sold the ruins of the Colossus to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with its brass¹⁰¹.

If, with a well-informed and most accurate historian¹⁰², we limit the supremacy of Alexander's successors to the third generation, the demolition of the Colossus of Rhodes is nearly contemporary with the downfall of Macedonian greatness. Under the immediately subsequent race, Macedon and Syria, as we shall see, were reduced to the condition of vanquished tributaries; and Egypt which escaped this misfortune by carefully observing the treaty concluded between Rome and Ptolemy Philadelphus, sunk into an ally continually growing more humble, until it had scarcely any honourable privilege to lose by passing into the state of a province. Towards the decline of that empire, or ascendancy, which the Greeks and Macedonians maintained in the world for the space of a century, the disasters which befel the Rhodians afforded an opportunity to the different

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Olymp.

cxxxix. 2.

B. C. 223.

Benefactions;
to that state.⁹⁸ See above, vol. i. p. 433. & seq.⁹⁹ Pliny, l. xxxiv. c. 7.¹⁰⁰ Pliny, *ibid.* with Count Caylus, *Memoir* in vol. xxv. de l'Acad. des Inscript.¹⁰¹ Zonaras, Cedreneus, and Scaliger, *Animadvers.* in Euseb. Chron. p. 137. A

camel carries 700 pound weight; so that the remains of this figure still weighed 630,000 pounds.

¹⁰² Dionys. Halicarn. *Histor. Roman.* in Proem.

members

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members of that empire to attest their sympathy with a commonwealth, which more than any other of that age, served to link them together in commerce. Besides an animated intercourse with the states immediately around it, Rhodes traded with Byzantium, which commanded the commerce of the north; with Syracuse, which, by means of its connection with Carthage, commanded that of the west; and with Alexandria in Egypt, which was master of that carried on both to the east and south. All these salutary streams of reciprocally useful traffick, which, in preceding parts of this work, have been particularly described, flowed into the Ægæan sea, and centered in Rhodes, the great bond of connection between distant emporiums, and through its civility and probity, so universal a favourite, that kings and republics vied with each other in kind commiseration for its sufferings, and in generous exertions for its relief ¹⁰³. There was scarcely a city of any importance belonging to the Grecian name, which did not send to Rhodes a tribute of respectful compassion: but the enumeration appeared far too tedious to be undertaken, even by the historians of the times. Ptolemy Euergetes opened to them the vast naval repositories of his father; sent them timber, hemp, and canvass: he also presented them with ninety tons of brass to repair their Colossus, or cast a new one: with 300 talents in silver; and with a million measures ¹⁰⁴ of corn. Antigonus Doson of Macedon and his queen Chryseis supplied them abundantly with iron and lead, with deals and pitch ¹⁰⁵. Among the gifts of Seleucus Keraunus, the short-lived predecessor of Antiochus surnamed the Great, we may remark thirty ton of rosin, and an equal weight of hair for cordage ¹⁰⁶. Prusias I. of Bithynia, Mithridates IV. of Pontus, vindicated their affinity to the Greek kings of the East, by generous

¹⁰³ Polybius, l. v. c. 88. & seq.

¹⁰⁴ *Artabas*, each Artaba was equal to an Attic Medimnus; that is, four pecks and six pints English.

¹⁰⁵ Part of it was in a crude state, since it consisted of 1000 *μετρητα*; a liquid measure

equal to ten gallons and two pints English.

¹⁰⁶ Hair for this purpose is mentioned together with *νευρα εγγρασμενα*, "prepared tendons or sinews of animals" which formed the fittest elastic cords for working military engines. Poly. l. iv. c. 56.

donations

donations to the Rhodians; who, after long making the world tributary to their commerce, now levied on it still larger and more honourable contributions to reward the liberality and good faith with which that commerce had been conducted. That the acts of munificence shown to them were intended as tokens of respect, appeared particularly in the largesses of Hieron king of Syracuse, and his son Gelon. Not contented with sending oil ¹⁰⁷ for the use of gymnastic wrestlers, and catapults constructed by the wonderful skill of their friend and kinsman Archimedes, these princes caused a noble group of statuary to be erected in a square at Rhodes, where foreign traders exposed samples ¹⁰⁸ of their merchandize, representing the citizens of Rhodes crowned by those of Syracuse. The famous Colossus, however, was never more replaced on its basis. To this design, the Oracle of Delphi interposed its sage prohibition ¹⁰⁹; for a place liable to earthquakes was a very unfit site for such a towering monument. The Rhodians thus incurred the censure of meanly applying to less splendid uses, the gratuities bestowed on them for a public and sacred purpose. But this was the ignorant reproach of later times; for we shall see that only two years after repairing their city, they nobly signalised the virtues which had so universally endeared them; and by exertions peculiarly their own, procured common benefits to the whole commercial world.

¹⁰⁷ Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 88. & Diodorus in Eclog. vi. ex l. xxvi. The text of Polybius is imperfect, for the 75 talents cannot apply to the oil. Besides contributions in kind, the Rhodians sent money for many obliging purposes, as the expence of sacrifices and the procuring accommodations for

the industrious poor, so I understand the doubtful words *επαυξισιν των πολιτων*, Ptolemy Euergetes also sent 300 talents.

¹⁰⁸ Thence this square was called *το δειγμα*. Vid. Suid. & Hesych.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 652.

CHAPTER XIV.

Fourth Generation of Alexander's Successors.—Revolt of Media and Persis from Antiochus III.—Intrigues of his Minister, Hermeias.—War in Upper Asia.—Negotiations with Ptolemy Philopator.—Address of Ptolemy's Minister Sossibius.—Battle of Raphia.—Achæus' Power in Lesser Asia.—War of Commerce between the Rhodians and Byzantines.—Achæus besieged in Sardes.—His Capture and Death.—Antiochus' Expeditions against the Parthians and Bactrians.—He rescues Gerra from Arabs.—Last Stages of Ptolemy Philopator's Reign.—Profanation of the Jewish Temple.—Sedition in Alexandria.—Letters and Arts.

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Fourth generation of Alexander's successors, Antiochus. Olymp. cxxxix. 2. B. C. 223. Philip and Ptolemy. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

DURING a full century after the death of Alexander, the three first successions of his generals enjoyed either an absolute jurisdiction, or a controuling predominancy over all those countries of the East, that fall within the sphere of ancient history. But in the fourth generation, the Greeks and Macedonians began to be precipitated from the supreme rank which they had long held among nations. This revolution, originating in domestic disorders, was accelerated by the impulse of a great foreign power, whose springs had recently been wound up in Italy, and which, after bursting that barrier, to lay prostrate Carthage and Sicily, assailed in succession the rich countries of the East with accumulating force, and most decisive effect. Immediately before this Roman warfare, the thrones of Syria and Macedon devolved respectively on Antiochus III. and Philip IV. both of them minors; and, at the same time, Egypt was subjected to the worse than puerile follies of Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator¹. From such principal actors a very perturbed

¹ Polybius, l. ii. c. 70, 71. l. iv. c. 2. l. v. c. 40.

scene was to be expected. Greece, which had been united in peaceful tranquillity under the mild yet firm policy of Antigonus Dofon, again exhausted its unhappy valour in what is called the social war. The throne of the young king of Syria was shaken by revolt in his provinces, and by discord in his family. Notwithstanding this un-soundness within, Antiochus was tempted by the mad cruelty of Ptolemy Philopator, which rendered him odious to his subjects, to make war on that profligate tyrant. From these general convulsions, many partial disorders flowed; and the empire was weakened by deep internal wounds, when the evil destiny of Philip and Antiochus involved them successively in hostilities with Rome. To unravel this complex subject, it is necessary to begin with the affairs of Syria.

When that kingdom was deprived of its head by the treacherous murder of Seleucus Keraunus in Lesser Asia, his brother Antiochus, presumptive heir to the crown, resided² in Babylon, that is, Seleucia Babylonia, the greatest city in the empire. Achæus, a general nearly connected with the royal line³, after punishing the murderers of Keraunus, might have been saluted king by the motly and mutinous army in Lesser Asia⁴. But he disdained the treachery of his troops, quelled their sedition, reviled their disloyalty, and overawed them into allegiance to the brother of their late sovereign. Antiochus was thus recalled from the East to the more central stronghold of Antioch, the usual residence of his predecessors. The generous Achæus remained as governor in the provinces on this side mount Taurus; and Epigenes, a general eminent for abilities and integrity, conducted a portion of the western army to join the royal standard in Syria. The affairs of that country, and the general superintendence of the empire, had been committed by the late king, to Hermeias by birth a Carian; a man insinuating and artful, but subtle without

Achæus²
merit with
Antiochus.

The pernicious minister
Hermeias.

² Polybius, l. v. c. 40. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

³ He was cousin German to Antiochus,

since his father Andromachus was maternal uncle to that prince. Polyb. l. iv. c. 51.

⁴ Id. l. v. c. 4. et l. iv. c. 2.

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Revolt of
Media and
Persis.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

Epigenes ex-
horts the
king to
march to
the East.

wisdom, ambitious without valour, envious and vengeful in the extreme, and industrious to supply the want of every virtue, by boldness of intrigue, and unprincipled stratagems of well-concerted villainy. This knave, whose abilities were equally well-calculated to gain and to abuse the confidence of princes, soon acquired an ascendancy over the youthful inexperience of Antiochus. The opinion of Hermeias was paramount in the council; and by his advice, Molon and Alexander, two brothers as unworthy as himself, were named respectively to the important satrapies of Media and Persis⁵.

These men were no sooner established in their governments, than they tampered with the allegiance of the troops, withheld pecuniary contributions, and at length openly revolted. Instead of being encouraged to oppose in person, this formidable rebellion, Antiochus was amused by the celebration of unequal nuptials with Laodicè, daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus⁶, still a small and weak kingdom; and though a council was afterwards held purposely to deliberate on war, the interested voice of the minister again defeated measures salutary to the empire. The loyal bravery of Epigenes warmly recommended an expedition to the East. The insurrections, he observed, might be yet checked by seasonable vigour. Little was to be apprehended from the partisans of Molon and Alexander, inconsiderable in number, destitute of faith to their lawful king, and not likely to be firm in adherence to upstart masters. Should the European troops, contrary to all probability, persevere in rebellion, such handfulls of men would be overwhelmed by the more honest natives of the provinces: Antiochus, therefore, had only to show himself among them, and the Asiatics would signalize their deep-rooted affection to his family, by seizing and surrendering to him the European rebels⁷.

⁵ Polyb. l. v. c. 41.

⁶ From Laodicè, mother to Seleucus Nicator, with whose house the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia became connected by affinity, that name grew nearly as common in

Syria and Lesser Asia, as Cleopatra was in Egypt. We shall see another Laodicè, daughter also to Mithridates IV. married to Achæus, Antiochus' kinsman.

⁷ Polybius, l. v. c. 41. & seq.

In reply to this sound advice, Hermeias upbraided its author for wishing to expose the tender age of the king to so laborious and dangerous a warfare. He proposed that two of his own creatures, Xenon, and Theodotus, surnamed Hemiolius from the hugeness of his stature, should be sent to Upper Asia against the rebels; and when these generals had fully shewn their incapacity, again diverted Antiochus from the Median war, by recommending to him a nearer and safer expedition, for the recovery of Cœle-Syria out of the careless hands of Ptolemy Philopator. To enforce this latter measure in the council, Hermeias produced a forged letter, addressed, as he pretended, to himself, by Achæus, in which that governor of Lesser Asia revealed overtures from Ptolemy, advising him to despise the homage of his royal kinsman, and boldly to place the diadem on his own head, with an assurance that, if Achæus were not wanting to himself at this crisis of his fortune, Ptolemy would powerfully assist him with ships and money*. The deceit was successful: Antiochus eagerly adopted the expedition against Cœle-Syria.

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This prevented by the intrigues of Hermeias.

Before his preparations enabled him to take the field, the royalists in Upper Asia had been compelled to abandon Media to the rebels, and had retired for protection within the walled cities of Babylonia. The victorious Molon had proceeded to the banks of the Tigris, and would have passed that river in pursuit of the enemy, had not Zeuxis, a brave and intelligent officer commanding in Babylonia, destroyed the bridges of boats across the stream, and seized all the vessels by which it was navigated. Thus arrested in his progress, but not dejected as to his future prospects, Molon encamped in sight of Seleucia, at the place afterwards called Ctesiphon, on the eastern margin of the Tigris, and destined, under that name, to become the imperial seat of the Parthians, as Seleucia, directly opposite to it on the western side of the river, had been the capital of the Macedonians in Upper Asia[†].

Progress of the rebels in Upper Asia.

* Polybius, l. v. c. 42. † Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

Antiochus,

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Xenætas
sent by An-
tiochus
against the
rebels.

Antiochus, when apprised of these sad events, was again desirous of suspending his expedition against Ptolemy, and of marching in person to the East; but Hermeias continued to dissuade him from that salutary purpose by very childish arguments; alleging, in particular, that it was unworthy of a sovereign to take the field against traiterous subjects, and that a new general should be sent therefore against Molon, while Antiochus waged a more glorious war against Ptolemy, a king like himself. Accordingly Xenætas, an Achæan, was appointed to command in the East, through the influence of Hermeias, without the slightest recommendation from personal merit. The authority conferred on him exceeded his hopes as much as it surpassed his worth; and, in the whole conduct of his disastrous expedition, he exhibited the characteristic deformities of an upstart; intolerable insolence, and the most confident rashness. Having arrived at Seleucia, he summoned to his assistance Diogenes, governor of Susiana, and Pythiades, who commanded on the Arabian shores of the Persian gulph. His army, thus reinforced, encamped without the walls of Seleucia, and was gladdened by perpetual deserters from Molon, who swam to it across the Tigris, assuring their former friends and fellow soldiers, that the usurper was odious among his own troops, most of whom were still loyal in their hearts¹⁹.

His opera-
tions and
tragical de-
feat on the
banks of the
Tigris.

Upon these representations, Xenætas, who was well provided with vessels, passed the river eight miles below the enemy's post, with a large division of his horse and foot, leaving the remainder in his camp, under the command of Zeuxis and Pythiades. This embarkation being made in the night, the troops, at morning, found themselves in a place of security, defended partly by the Tigris, and partly by pools and marshes. A detachment of horse, which Molon sent to annoy them, sunk and perished in the mire. Upon learning this accident, Molon hastily left his camp, and, with the shew of a precipitate retreat, directed his course towards Media. Xenætas

¹⁹ Polybius, l. v. c. 48.

doubted not that the usurper, fled the approach of an enemy through distrust of his own army. He took possession of the hostile camp, plenteously provided with all accommodations and luxuries. The greatest part of the troops, under Zeuxis, were ordered to cross the Tigris, and to join in festivity with their companions, preparatory to a triumphant expedition in search of the flying enemy; but Molon, by a rapid nocturnal march, surprized at dawn his recently forsaken camp, and assailed his improvident adversaries, buried in sleep and wine. Xenætas paid by death the just forfeit of his folly. The horror of men weltering on their bloody beds was surpassed by the more unusual disaster of those who had time to escape from immediate butchery. Being in sight of their camp on the opposite side of the Tigris, which they had recently quitted with such pleasing hopes, they threw into the river their arms and most valued effects, as if by some divine appointment these inanimate objects had been destined to reach the opposite bank. They then plunged boldly into the water, in order to follow their property; but dreadful was the delusion, and piteous its consequences! crowds of half-armed men vainly struggling with the stream; horses, furniture of all kinds, buoyant bucklers, and emerging bodies of the drowned. Zeuxis, who from the opposite shore observed the sad catastrophe, retired with a handful of men into Seleucia. Diogenes, the governor of Susiana, gained, by a precipitate flight, the protection of the Susian citadel".

The rebels meanwhile were masters of the Tigris, and the transports collected on it by the enemy. In pursuance of their good fortune, they hastened to assault the wealthy and populous Seleucia, which, being unprepared for making any vigorous defence, had been abandoned both by Zeuxis, satrap of the province, and by Diomedon, governor of the city, men peculiarly obnoxious to the rebels, and likely, if they had fallen into their hands, to be subjected to the

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The rebels gain Seleucia, Babylonia, and the dependant provinces. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. B. C. 222.

" Polybius, l. v. c. 46.

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most dreadful cruelties. Molon having easily gained possession of Seleucia, overran, with equal facility, the fertile district extending southwards to the Persian gulph. He then hastened to Susiana, that valuable eastern appendage to the rich Babylonian plain. The capital, Susa, submitted on the first assault; but Diogenes, at the head of a steady garrison, defied the invaders from the citadel, one of the strongest fortresses in the east, and long the principal depository, in those parts, of the royal treasures¹². Leaving part of his forces to besiege this important fortress, Molon returned to Seleucia, and directing his arms northward, subdued all the cultivated part of Mesopotamia, as far as Dura, on the left bank of the Tigris, about half way between Seleucia and Mosul, the more ancient but lesser Nineveh¹³.

Antiochus'
expedition
into Cœle-
Syria.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 2.
B. C. 223.

When Antiochus learned the success of the rebels, he became more zealous than ever for marching into the upper provinces. Hermeias could no longer amuse him by the proposed conquest of Cœle-Syria, because that experiment had been tried unsuccessfully. The inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, for reasons formerly explained, were not less devoted to the Ptolomies, than the natives of Upper Asia were attached to the house of Seleucus. Ptolemy Philopator disgraced himself, indeed, in Alexandria, by unceasing scenes of profligacy and folly; but Theodotus, the Etolian, was his vigilant and warlike satrap in Cœle-Syria. At the perfidious instigation of Hermeias, Antiochus, however, had marched into this rude and mountainous province¹⁴, whilst the kernel of his eastern empire was a prey to ill-resisted rebellion. His forces rendezvoused at Apamea, and proceeded southward to the plain of Marfyas, which opening on one hand to the Syrian desert, contracts on the other into a narrow valley, between the roots of Libanus and Antilibanus. Besides the natural defences of pools and marshes, abounding with aromatic reeds, Theodotus had fortified the valley with trenches and pali-

Nature of the
country by
which he pe-
netrated.

¹² Polyb. l. v. c. 48.

¹³ See above, vol. i. sect. ii. p. 53,

¹⁴ Polyb. l. v. c. 46.

fades ; and the strong castles of Brochi and Gerra, situate opposite to each other, on the enclosing mountains, were sufficient to arrest the progress of any other than the most determined enemy. Antiochus marched several days through the Marfyan plain ; but when he approached Gerra, and the inmost recess of Cœle-Syria, his juvenile ardour died away before the obstacles which Theodotus had skilfully opposed to him. His rash undertaking was hastily abandoned, after it had been attended with considerable loss, and still greater disgrace ; and the army had again returned to Tetrapolis¹⁵, or Seleucian Syria, when the mortifying accounts of Molon's victories arrived from the east.

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Returns to
Antioch in
disgrace.

Hermeias, though he could no longer restrain his master from marching thither, determined at least that he should not be accompanied by Epigenes, whose abilities and honest boldness were the perpetual objects of his own guilty alarm. A mutiny of the troops was fomented, probably through his intrigues, since he undertook to find means of quelling it, provided the king should leave behind him Epigenes, in Apamea ; and Antiochus consented to this disgraceful condition, so powerful had Hermeias become through his unwearied activity in gaining to his interest all who, either in a civil or military capacity, had access to the sovereign. By the payment of their arrears, the troops in general were appeased ; about six thousand men, belonging to the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, alone continued refractory¹⁶. They refused to accompany the royal standard, and suffered long afterwards the punishment of their disobedience.

Marches
against the
rebels.
Epigenes
hindered
from accom-
panying him.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

The king being joined by Zeuxis, from Babylonia, marched northwards to Chalybon, the modern Aleppo, passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and from thence traversed northern Mesopotamia, to the river Mygdonius, and the Greek city Antiochia Mygdonea, which adorned its banks. In this place, which became better known under

He proceeds
to Nisibis.
Difference
between his
generals con-
cerning the
remainder of
the march.

¹⁵ So called from its four principal cities, Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea, and Selucia. See above, vol. i. p. 143 & 483.

¹⁶ Polybius, l. v. c. 50.

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its old oriental name of Nisibis, having arrived about the winter solstice, he halted forty days, with an army consisting of a complete Macedonian phalanx, numerous bodies of lighter armed Greeks, and crowds of Barbarian auxiliaries, among whom the Gauls were pre-eminent. From Nisibis he proceeded, after the rage of winter¹⁷ was spent, to the city of Liba, near the western bank of the Tigris. At Liba, a difference of opinion prevailed between Hermeias and Zeuxis, concerning the best mode of pursuing the remainder of the march to Babylonia¹⁸. Hermeias, with that constitutional cowardice which disgraced the boldness of his intrigues, maintained that the king ought to proceed southward, along the right bank of the Tigris, by which means that river, as well as the Lycus and Caprus, would be interposed between him and the main strength of the enemy¹⁹. Zeuxis, on the contrary, represented, that unless the army crossed the Tigris, they must penetrate through a broad desert²⁰ before they came to the royal canal joining the Tigris and Euphrates, where it would be easy for Molon, with a far inferior force, to arrest their progress. He advised, therefore, that Antiochus should cross the Tigris, descend to Dura, near its eastern bank, and from thence advancing to mount Zagros, fall down on the territory of Apollonia, an intermediate district between Babylonia and Media, colonised and cultivated by Greeks, all warmly attached to the royal cause. By this movement Molon would be excluded from his resources in Media, particularly the rich Nisæan fields; and in order to regain admission into that country, the head and spring of his rebellion, would be tempted either to risk a battle, or, declining that danger, would infallibly lose all controul over his reluctant and now exasperated followers.

He advances
to Apollonia.

Conformably to this sound advice, the army, in three divisions, crossed the Tigris. Having proceeded to Dura, they defeated a

¹⁷ He was near Mount Masius, the cold northern boundary of Mesopotamia.

¹⁸ Polyb. l. v. c. 51.

¹⁹ For the geography see above, vol. I. p. 51, &c.

²⁰ He said 100 miles broad. Polyb. *ibid.* large

large body of rebels, who were then besieging that place. In the space of eight days, they traversed the mountainous country eastward of Dura, and fell down on the Apollonian district. When Molon learned the approach of the royal army, he immediately conjectured the course which it was likely to pursue. He therefore crossed the Tigris, in hopes of defending the defiles which led towards Apollonia, or of greatly annoying the enemy's progress, by means of his numerous slingers, the Kurtii, or Curds. The rapidity of Antiochus had frustrated this design; and a detachment, sent by him from Apollonia, encountered among the hills the foremost division of the rebels. After a slight skirmish, both parties fell back to their respective armies, which encamped at the distance of five miles from each other. As Molon well knew the disaffection among his own troops, he was unwilling to meet the king face to face, and in the clear light of day; he therefore selected the firmest and bravest of the number, with whom making a circuit round, he purposed to descend from a neighbouring eminence, and thus surprise Antiochus's camp in the night. But this design was defeated by the desertion of ten youths, who hoped, by seasonable intelligence, to atone for past rebellion. Molon, upon learning their escape, marched back to his own camp, which the unexpected return of his detachment filled with alarm and tumult.

Molon disappointed in his attempt to surprise the king's camp.

At dawn, Antiochus was in the field, commanding in person his right wing. Molon was likewise obliged to prepare for battle, because inaction, under his circumstances, would be certain ruin, the countries which he had usurped longing to return to their allegiance, and even the greater part of his army being ill-affected to his cause. His brother, Neolaus, commanded the right wing; Molon, on the left, opposed Antiochus. The armies had no sooner come in sight of each other, than the division under Molon, beholding the young and graceful Antiochus, then in his nineteenth year, and the lineal descendant of the revered Seleucus Nicator, were seized with a

Molon's army deserts him. His destruction, and that of his family. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

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sudden and unanimous resolution of joining the standard which they had been drawn up to oppose. Their revolt occasioned the total ruin of the insurgents. Molon flew himself in despair; Neolaus fled into Persis, to Alexander the third of the rebellious brothers, and persuaded him to avoid an ignominious execution, by accompanying himself in a voluntary death. Their principal accomplices submitted to the same fate. Antiochus pardoned their deluded followers, after severely reprimanding their disloyalty: the body of the traitor Molon was fixed to a cross, on the most conspicuous pinnacle of mount Zagros²¹.

Hermias' cruelties in Seleucia restrained by Antiochus.

Antiochus having named new governors for Persis and Media, marched towards Seleucia, and received the submissions of that great city, and the invaluable contiguous territory. The unworthy Hermias, whose name had remained in obscurity during the war, again emerged into odious distinction upon peace. He raged with ungoverned fury against the Chaldæans, priests and judges among the Asiatic inhabitants of Seleucia; imposing on them enormous fines, exacted with relentless cruelty. It is uncertain to what lengths his tyranny would have proceeded, had not the compassion of Antiochus restrained it²².

Antiochus reduces the Lesser Media. Olymp. cxxxix. 4. B. C. 221.

That young prince, having restored tranquillity to the provinces around the Tigris and Euphrates, marched into northern Media, which had abetted the rebellion of the great southern country bearing the same name. The Lesser Media, as we have seen, had received the epithet of Atropatena, from the hereditary satrap, who had manfully defended its independence. Artabazanes, a descendant of Atropates, commanded in the same rugged and mountainous territory, and with a mind as obstinate as his country was impracticable, for many years set the Macedonians at defiance; but he was now softened by the infirmities of old age, so that when Antiochus ap-

²¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 53 and 54.

²² Id. *ibid.*

peared

peared on his frontier with a victorious army, he submitted to every condition which the invader thought proper to impose on him ²³.

The cowardly Hermeias had reluctantly followed his master into a rough country, against a formidable enemy. He had employed his usual artifices for preventing the expedition; but his intrigues had been defeated, and the time was now come when he was to pay the forfeit of his innumerable villanies. One of the basest of them had lately come to light. When the brave and honest Epigenes was compelled by his contrivances to quit the army, and to remain behind at Apamea, Hermeias determined that the place of his adversary's exile should be made the scene of his death. In perpetrating this enormity, he found a ready instrument in Alexis, his creature, and governor of Apamea. A letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and clandestinely introduced among his papers. When this was effected, by means of a suborned slave, Alexis was presently at hand to arraign a general, high in favour with Antiochus, as holding correspondence with the usurper. Epigenes denied the fact; his papers were searched; the letter forged by Hermeias was found; and Epigenes, through the basest treachery, was condemned and punished as a traitor ²⁴.

An account of this execrable transaction had reached Antiochus, but so diligently had Hermeias fortified himself by creatures and accomplices, that he was the object of fear even to his master. At length the physician Apollophanes, divining the king's unfriendly disposition towards his minister, encouraged him to anticipate the designs of a man capable of every wickedness. Their measures were soon concerted. On pretence that the king was affected with a giddiness in his head, he was advised to walk early in the cool morning air, unmolested by the bustle of his guards and courtiers. A few particular friends, all partners in the conspiracy, except Hermeias, who was its object, attended their royal master, who, after reaching

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Crimes and
punishment
of HermeiasMeans by
which the
latter was ac-
complished.²³ Polybius, l. v. c. 55.²⁴ Ib. l. v. c. 51.

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Destruction
of his family.Achæus for-
tifies himself
in Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.Theodotus,
the Etolian,
puts him in
possession of
Cœle Syria.
Olymp.
cxl. 1.
B. C. 220.

a due distance from the camp, stepped aside as on some necessary occasion. This was the sign for his attendants to dispatch Hermeias with their daggers. In his return to Syria, the councils and actions of Antiochus were highly celebrated at every place through which he passed; but none of his exploits were so loudly extolled as the removal, even by assassination, of his dangerous and detested minister. Such was the public rage against this abuser of royal authority, and such the sanguinary fierceness of the age, that the women of Apamea, when they heard of the murder of Hermeias, laid violent hands on his wife; the children of the place also stoned to death his children²⁵.

The mischief of Hermeias's administration did not end with himself. His jealousy of every kind of merit had alienated from Antiochus his generous kinsman Achæus, to whose loyalty and bravery that prince owed the preservation of his western dominions. Through the perfidy of court intrigues, Achæus was driven into the rebellion of which he had been falsely accused; and before Antiochus returned from Upper Asia, assumed, for his own safety, sovereignty in the Peninsula, or rather in those parts of it not formerly dismembered from the Syrian power. As the troops which Antiochus left behind him in Syria were discontented, particularly those belonging to the district of Cyrrhus, his lieutenants were altogether unable, in his absence, to cope with so powerful a rebel; and when the king, in person, returned with his triumphant army from the East, fortune withheld him from Lesser Asia, by presenting a nearer field of victory²⁶.

This was the age of bad ministers; and what Hermeias had been in Syria, Sosibius was in Egypt. Provided he could engross power, and amass wealth, Sosibius was altogether careless of the disgraceful follies of his master Ptolemy Philopator, who, in contempt of his high-spirited queen and sister Arsinoë, wallowed in shameless profligacy

²⁵ Polyb. v. 56.²⁶ Ibid. l. v. c. 58.

gacy with Agathoclea a common harlot, her infamous mother Oenante, and her brother Agathocles, a wretch more abominable than either. To such persons, Theodotus the brave Etolian, to whom Philopator owed the preservation of Cœle-Syria, had rendered himself obnoxious. Instead of receiving any due rewards for his merit, he incurred the hatred both of the king and his minister. To anticipate their vengeance, Theodotus had recourse to Antiochus just returned from his successful expedition into Upper Asia; and the same man who had skillfully defended Cœle-Syria against that prince, now offered to put him in possession of several strongholds there, as well as of the sea-ports of Tyre and Ptolemais, with forty sail in their harbours. Theodotus' proposals were accepted; his promises were performed; in a single campaign, Antiochus recovered most places in Cœle-Syria; and, as another portion of his troops expelled from Seleucia Pieria the Egyptians, who had garrisoned that city twenty-six years since its capture by Ptolemy Euergetes, the Syrian power, nearly consolidated in itself, assumed a very formidable position with regard to Egypt²⁷.

That Philopator's ministers were of this opinion, appeared from their giving orders to destroy the wells between Egypt and Syria, and to open the flood-gates of the Nile near Pelusium, that the country being laid under water, might interrupt an invading enemy. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Antiochus to negotiate a truce, until peace on equitable terms might be concluded between the two kingdoms. In this embassy they were successively joined by Rhodians, Byzantines, and other Greeks, who, having been long connected with Egypt in the bands of commerce and amity, used their utmost endeavours to avert the calamities which seemed to threaten that country. A long negociation was thus entered into between the courts of Antioch and Memphis, for in the latter city Sosibius and Agathocles chose to receive the ambassadors of Antio-

He threatens
Egypt which
is saved by
an artfully
protracted
negociation.
Olymp.
cxl. 1.
B. C. 220.

Polyb. l. v. c. 59. & seq.

chus.

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Meanwhile
the Egyp-
tians collect
and disci-
pline a great
army.

chus. Their reason for this preference shews, that, though destitute of every virtue, they were not deficient in the wiles of policy.

While the ambassadors of Antiochus were treated with unbounded respect, and every conference held with them tended to confirm their opinion that the lazy voluptuous Philopator would be glad to purchase peace by the meanest compliances, armed men were gradually collected, embodied, and disciplined under skillful Greek officers in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The inland garrisons were drained; those provinces on the southern coast of Lesser Asia long subject to the Ptolemies, supplied numerous recruits; Cyrenè and other dependencies in Africa sent considerable reinforcements; above all, the Pelopponnesians, Cretans, and other still warlike Greeks, were eager to enlist in a profitable service. During the long protracted negociation, an army was thus assembled at Alexandria, consisting of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants: the magazines of arms and provisions were fully adequate to such a mighty force².

They end the
negociation
and take the
field.—
Forces on
both sides.

When all preparations were in readiness, the ambassadors of Ptolemy began to throw off the mask. They maintained, that after the defeat of Antigonus, surnamed the Cylops, Cœle-Syria in the partition of his spoils had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter, and ought therefore to be restored to his descendant, especially since it had been recently wrested from him only through the perfidious treason of Theodotus the Etolian. But though they thus stigmatized a rebel to their own king, they insisted that Achæus, who had now openly rebelled against Antiochus, should be included as a party in the peace, and enjoy his usurped possessions. Antiochus could not hear such propositions with patience. He was at the head of an army little less powerful than Ptolemy's, since it consisted of sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, with upwards of an hundred elephants.

² Polyb. l. v. c. 64. & seq.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, the Egyptians moved from Alexandria to Pelusium, and from thence to Raphia, which, after Rhinocolura, is the nearest city of Coele-Syria ²⁹ on the side of Egypt. Before they performed this laborious march, Antiochus with the lighter part of his army had advanced to Gaza, only forty miles distant, and when he had been joined there by his more heavily armed troops, proceeded slowly in the day, and in the night pitched his camp within less than a mile's distance from the enemy. Frequent skirmishes happened daily between parties that went abroad in search of provisions and water: and the ground between the adverse camps, became the scene of fierce encounters both of cavalry and infantry. But the exploit of Theodotus the Etolian surpassed all the rest in boldness. At once to gratify his personal resentment and to finish the war by an illustrious vengeance, he advanced with two daring companions into the enemy's camp, and through favour of darkness and disguise ³⁰, penetrated to the royal pavilion in which Ptolemy used to sup with his friends and give audience. But the king commonly slept in a more private tent, which circumstance being unknown to Theodotus, he missed his purpose of killing him, and stabbed, instead of Ptolemy, his physician Andreas; after wounding two others, he escaped without hindrance to the surrounding intrenchment. Even there, his resistless courage suffered but a slight interruption ³¹.

Ptolemy, finding that danger pursued him in his camp itself, became impatient for battle. His light skirmishers and cavalry poured from their intrenchments, and began to form in the plain westward of Raphia, inclosing between their outspreading wings the phalanx of about thirty thousand men, with a due proportion of *hypaspists*. The army of Antiochus contained the same distinctions of troops, and nearly in the same proportions. Intermixed with Greeks and Macedonians, chosen men from the remotest dependan-

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Preparations
for the battle
of Raphia.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

Attempt
of Theodo-
tus on the
life of Pto-
lemy.

Advantage
of Ptolemy's
foreign
troops over
those of
Antiochus.

²⁹ Polybius uses the word in a large sense, thereby including Judæa.

³⁰ This was the more easy, as the Egyp-

tian troops were variously dressed and armed.

³¹ Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 18. & III. Mac-
cabees, c. i.

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cies of Syria and Egypt, augmented the heavy armed infantry in either line. On both sides there were Theſſalian cavalry, and Theban ſpearmen; crafty Cretans, fierce Thracians, and ferocious Gauls; for the wealth of the two moſt powerful kingdoms of the Eaſt had purchaſed martial auxiliaries wherever they could be found. But the European troops of Ptolemy had an advantage over thoſe of his rival: they came more recently from their native provinces, and carried with them that unbroken vigour and inborn bravery, which always ſuffered decay through any long contact with Egyptian and Aſiatic ſoftneſs.

Battle of
Raphia, and
victory of
Philopator.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

Before the ſignal for action, the two kings, as by mutual conſent, rode round their reſpective armies, and animated them to a battle which was to decide the pre-eminence between Syria and Egypt. In his progreſs along the line, Philopator was accompanied by his high-minded queen Arſinoë, eager to ſhare the dangers of her unworthy huſband, whoſe debaſed profligacy was incompatible with every conjugal virtue. Having finiſhed his review, Ptolemy took his poſt on the left: Antiochus placed himſelf on his right, in direct oppoſition; both kings were ſurrounded by royal troops of *equeſtrian companions*³², though thoſe ſelect bands were not employed by either, in the way that had made them the great inſtruments of Alexander's victories. Inſtead of clearing the ground by the horſe, to make room for the unbroken aſſault of the phalanx, both Ptolemy and Antiochus had placed a line of elephants before their cavalry. Theſe fierce animals advanced to the charge; and a ſingular ſpectacle was exhibited by the ſpearmen fighting from towers on their backs, and one ſtill more extraordinary, by the elephants themſelves, who ruſhed together with adverſe fronts, and ſtrove with their implicated trunks to force each other from his ground; until the ſtronger having pushed aſide the proboscis of his adverſary, and forced him to turn his flank,

³² Antiochus, ἡ βασιλική, denotes the ſame c. 84. See above, vol. i. c. i. p. 207. & ſeq. thing with Ptolemy's ἀγῆμα. Polybius, l. v.

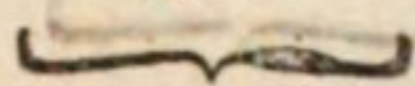
then

then pierced him in many parts with his tusks, as a bull gores with his horns³³. At length the Egyptian elephants were repelled by the superior size, and strength, and fury of their rival warriors from India; and the confusion, which their rout occasioned, was followed by the defeat of Ptolemy's left wing, the king himself being obliged to fly for safety behind his phalanx. While Antiochus incautiously urged the pursuit, and was eager to push to the utmost his partial advantage, Echebrates, the Thessalian, who commanded Ptolemy's right wing, taking warning by what had happened at the other extremity of the field, determined, instead of advancing his elephants to the unequal combat, to defile with his Thessalian and other horsemen, until they had stretched beyond the extremity of Antiochus' left wing. To occupy the enemy's attention during this decisive movement, the Greek mercenaries on the side of Echebrates rushed against the troops posted in opposition to them, at the same time that the Thessalian horse prepared for their resistless attack in flank and rear. By this means, Antiochus was defeated as completely on the left, as he had proved victorious on the right. The phalanxes thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain. Ptolemy on this occasion passed quickly with Arsinoë and his attendants from rear to front. Their sudden appearance, infused courage into the Egyptian line, and dismayed the enemy. The battle on the side of Antiochus was sustained with vigour only by Theodotus the Etolian, who commanded the select bands of Syria, many of whom were armed with silver shields in imitation of Alexander's *Argyraspides*. But the heavier phalanx, under the inauspicious guidance of Theodotus the Hemiolian, quickly gave way; and his intrepid namesake to avoid being attacked in flank, was compelled to accompany his flight. Antiochus, meanwhile, had been carried forward with a juvenile ardour, as if the engagement had every where been successful, because his own wing was victorious.

³³ Polybius, l. v. c. 84.

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One of his more experienced attendants at length shewed him clouds of dust flying in the direction of his camp. He then returned from the pursuit towards the scene of action, but found the battle irretrievably lost. He retreated first to Raphia, where many of the fugitives had entered, and before the next morning proceeded from thence towards Gaza³⁴.

Peace be-
tween Egypt
and Syria.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

In acknowledgement of his defeat, he sent from that place heralds to Ptolemy, craving leave to bury his slain. Ten thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen lay dead on the field: above four thousand had been made prisoners. There fell on the side of Ptolemy, fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse. The battle of Raphia restored to Egypt the undisturbed possession of Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia. Antiochus retired northwards to his well-fortified capital on the banks of the Orontes, from whence a truce for a year, and afterwards a lasting peace was negotiated between himself and Ptolemy³⁵.

Greatness of
Achæus in
Lesser Asia.

In consequence of this treaty, which allowed the latter of these princes to exhibit, as we shall see presently, the total worthlessness of his character, his useful ally Achæus was left to maintain alone the contest in Lesser Asia. During Antiochus' occupations in the East and in Cœle-Syria, Achæus had made himself the most powerful of the four princes, who now divided among them the inland parts of the peninsula. The centre of his dominion consisted in the usurped countries of Phrygia and Lydia: he had extended his possessions in the north at the expence of Prusias of Bithynia, had confined Attalus of Pergamus within the ancient limits of his small hereditary kingdom; and with Mithridates of Pontus, he had contracted an alliance and received in marriage Laodicè, sister to a princess known also by the same name, formerly married to Antiochus.

Commercial
war between
the Byzan-

The greatness of Achæus' power appeared in a war, which, during the contest between Ptolemy and Antiochus for Cœle-Syria, the

³⁴ Polybius, l. v. c. 82—87.

³⁵ Id. *ibid.*

city of Byzantium carried on against the island of Rhodes; the first war on record, originating in principles purely commercial. The Byzantines, to repair the losses sustained by the ravages and impositions of the Gauls, had revived a vexatious toll, anciently established by Athens in the zenith of her maritime power, on all trading vessels which passed into the Euxine³⁶. The merchants belonging to the neighbouring sea-ports of the peninsula exclaimed loudly against the injustice of this imposition. They blamed not less severely the tameness of the Rhodians, then pre-eminent at sea, for permitting a tyrannous extortion by which they, in common with other commercial states, were sufferers. Thus piqued in their pride as well as stimulated by interest, the Rhodians sent an embassy to Byzantium, requiring the toll to be abolished. Their demand was rejected with scorn; and although the Rhodians declared war, and immediately sent a fleet of ten galleys to the narrow seas; though Prusias of Bithynia seized the fortress Hieron, and all that part of Mysia which the Byzantines had long occupied; though the Thracians pressed them on the side of Europe, as much as Prusias did on that of Asia, yet they remained firm and resolute, in the hope merely that Achæus would espouse their cause; nor, till this hope vanished, did they become willing to purchase peace by abolishing the obnoxious impost³⁷.

The reason that made Achæus frustrate the expectations which the Byzantines had conceived of him, shows that his filial piety was not unworthy of his great abilities and spirit. His father Andromachus had, before his own rebellion against Antiochus, been made captive in the first scene of the war between that prince and Ptolemy, and was still detained a prisoner in Egypt notwithstanding the friendly dispositions, founded on mutual interest, that began to take place between Achæus and the Egyptian king. The Rhodians, who, as we have before seen, maintained a close and animated intercourse

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tines and
Rhodians,
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Reason
which hin-
dered Achæ-
us from as-
sisting the
Byzantines.

³⁶ The toll established by the Athenians was at Chrysopolis opposite to Byzantium, now the Asiatic suburb, as it were of Constantinople. It produced, Demosthenes says, 200 talents, about 40,000*l.* yearly. Demosthen. ad Leptin. Conf. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 542.

³⁷ Polybius, l. iv. c. 48. & seq.

with

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with Egypt and a hereditary friendship with the Ptolemies, well knew the eagerness of Achæus to rescue his father from the power of a man so cruel and capricious as Philopator. After repeated solicitations at the court of Alexandria, they at length obtained the liberation of Andromachus; and carrying him in one of their own vessels to his son, thereby determined the latter to abandon all thoughts of interposing in behalf of Byzantium³⁸.

Antiochus
besieges
Achæus in
Sardes.
Olymp.
cxli. 1, 2.
B. C. 216—
215.

The conclusion of the Cœle-Syrian war enabled Antiochus to exert his undivided strength against his rebellious kinsman in Lesser Asia. Having penetrated the Cilician passes, he appeared with a well-composed army in the rich Phrygian plain; and after summoning to his standard Attalus of Pergamus, the exasperated enemy of Achæus, in the course of a single campaign he divested this usurper of his most valued acquisitions, drove him from the open country, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Sardes the capital of Lydia. Into this place Achæus conducted the flower of his army. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art; the citadel was deemed impregnable; and as Achæus had foreseen the evils likely to fall on him, both had been amply supplied with all necessaries for subsistence and defence. Antiochus sat down before the place, and continued to besiege it during nearly two years, in which space of time many assaults were made by day and night, in all of which the boldness of the besiegers was more boldly repelled, and their stratagems encountered and defeated by still superior address. Antiochus, thus baffled in all his attempts, converted the siege into a blockade, and determined to remain before Sardes until hunger should subdue his adversary³⁹.

Sardes taken
through the
cunning of
Lagoras the
Cretan.
Olymp.
cxli. 2.
B. C. 215.

But he had not long embraced this resolution, when Lagoras, a crafty Cretan, inspired him with hopes of bringing the war to a more speedy issue. Lagoras had learned from a long military experience, that the strongest places were often assailed with most success on that

³⁸ Polybius, l. iv. c. 51.

³⁹ Id. l. vii. c. 15.

very side, where over-hasty opinion pronounced them impregnable. There was a part of the Sardian walls, joining the citadel with the city, built on craggy rocks, overhanging a rugged valley, and which the besiegers called "the Saw," from the sharp protuberances and notches indenting its summit. That this part of the fortification was unguarded, Lagoras was led to conjecture from the following circumstance. Though the dead bodies of men and cattle were usually precipitated from "the Saw" into the rocky abyss below it, yet the vultures who flocked thither for their prey often reposed on the high adjacent wall after gorging themselves among the deep and hollow caverns. Lagoras having carefully examined the situation, discerned a part of the fortification to which it would not be difficult to make approaches unperceived, and securely to fix ladders⁴⁰. He lost no time in communicating his discovery to Antiochus; and requested that, in so arduous an undertaking, he might be assisted by the ready boldness of Theodotus the Etolian, and of Dionysius who commanded that distinguished portion of the *bypaspists* forming the royal guard. The three adventurers concerted measures among themselves, and made the necessary preparations. For executing their design, they chose a night, of which the latter part received not any benefit from the moon. In the preceding evening, they had selected fifteen men the stoutest and boldest in the army; who accompanied them, bearing the scaling-ladders. They were followed by thirty others, who, after Lagoras and his companions had passed the walls, and were occupied in removing the bolts or bars on the inside of the gate, might exert themselves as vigorously from without, in destroying its cramps and hinges. Two thousand soldiers succeeded at a due distance, ready, when the gate was burst open, to rush into the area surrounding the theatre, a post highly convenient for their purpose between the city and citadel. The design was executed with an intrepidity and precision equal to the craft and secrecy with which it had been

⁴⁰ Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. & seq.

concerted.

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concerted. Sheltered by darkness and the projecting brow of a craggy eminence, the assailants made their approaches unperceived, fixed the scaling-ladders to the wall, and at the dawn of morning, at which time the "Saw" was left altogether unguarded, began to climb into the city. They could not be seen because of the interposing rocks, either by Achæus, commanding in the citadel, or his lieutenant Ariobazus, then posted in the city. But they were distinctly viewed by the soldiers in Antiochus' camp, whose mingled emotions at so unexpected and extraordinary a spectacle, might have alarmed the enemy, had not a detachment been instantly sent to attack, by way of diversion, the opposite gate on the east, called the Gate of Persia. Ariobazus marched thither with a superior force, and rashly issuing from the gate, engaged in an unseasonable skirmish with the enemy. Achæus, more discerning, sent troops to the western side, towards which he had observed the attention of Antiochus' camp to be directed. But as they had to traverse slowly many rough and intricate paths, they did not arrive in time to hinder the gate near the "Saw" from being broke open, and Lagoras, with upwards of two thousand men, from forming on the area around the theatre⁴:

The city
sacked.

When it was discovered that the besiegers had got within the city, Ariobazus returned in such hasty confusion, that many of the enemy entered together with him the gate of Persia. A general assault followed; the entrances were forced open on all sides: Ariobazus, totally overpowered, escaped with difficulty into the citadel, while Sardes became a prey to rapacity and vengeance, and suffered by fire and sword all the evils incident to rebellious cities stormed by enraged conquerors.

Achæus long
defends the
citadel
against the
whole Syrian
army.

Achæus had the mortification to behold from his fortress the dreadful calamities inflicted on his faithful Sardians, without the possibility of affording them the smallest relief. His only resource against

⁴ Polyb. l. vii. c. 16. & seq.

death

death by torture consisted in the strength of the citadel, and his perseverance in defending it. But Antiochus was not less persevering in the siege; careless of other concerns, provided he could get into his hands this daring rebel.

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In this situation of affairs, Ptolemy, or rather his minister Sosibius, began to think that they had too much neglected the safety of an ally, whose boldness and dexterity might render him highly useful to their interests. The Syrians bore with impatience the long absence of their king; the melancholy firmness of Achæus, a man nearly related to the throne, excited in them mingled sentiments of admiration and pity; and if he should escape from his stronghold, and appear unexpectedly at Antioch, a powerful party would be ready to espouse his cause, and enable him to dispute with Antiochus the crown of Syria, which had been formerly tendered to him. A civil war in Syria would, at any rate, according to the maxims too ordinary in state policy, be advantageous to the neighbouring and rival monarchy of Egypt. Under these impressions, Sosibius applied to Bolis, a Cretan in Ptolemy's service, who had attained all those rewards and honours which the king bestowed on his favourite generals, but whose insatiable mind still sighed after higher accumulations of wealth, and more conspicuous marks of distinction. Sosibius told the Cretan, that nothing could give him greater merit with Ptolemy, than the contrivance of some means by which Achæus might effect his escape from the Sardinian citadel⁴².

Ptolemy
forms a pro-
ject for enab-
ling Achæus
to escape.

The crafty Bolis, having taken a few days for deliberation, returned with a smiling countenance to the minister. He acquainted him that Cambylus, his countryman, his relation, and most intimate friend, commanded for Antiochus a post behind the citadel, which being extremely difficult of access, had not been fortified by walls, but which was strongly guarded, night and day, by a trusty band of Cretans. Upon his connection with Cambylus, Bolis grounded the fairest hopes of success; and Sosibius supplied a bag of

Converted
into the
means of de-
livering A-
chæus to his
enemies.
Olymp.
cxli.—3.
B. C. 214.

⁴² Polybius, l. viii. c. 17. & seq.

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money, without which nothing could be done in such an undertaking. He also provided Bolis with letters of credence, written in cipher, to Nichomachus of Rhodes, and Melancomas of Ephesus, confidential agents of Achæus, by means of whom that general had formerly carried on all his secret negociations with Ptolemy. To these men Bolis, sailing first to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephesus, fully communicated his design, towards the success of which he found them most zealous to co-operate. He then sent Arian, an officer who had served under him in Ptolemy's army, to acquaint Cambylus that he had come from Alexandria to hire mercenaries, and to request him to name the time and place for a private interview.

How this
was effected.

In consequence of this message, the two Cretans met in the night: Bolis produced a letter containing the heads of his project. Upon this writing, he and his friend held a consultation highly becoming the flagitious maxims and unprincipled boldness of their country. In this truly Cretan conference, they paid not the smallest regard to the interest of their respective masters; neither of them bestowed a thought on the safety of the unhappy Achæus; the sole point in deliberation was, which of their employers they might dupe with most profit and safety. At length, after examining all the sides and bearings of the affair, they agreed to divide between them ten talents already received from Sosibius, and then to bargain for a new bribe from Antiochus, for betraying Achæus into his hands. Cambylus seized a fit opportunity for opening the business to Antiochus. The king's professions of gratitude corresponded with his transports of joy. Bolis obtained letters of credence in favour of Cambylus and himself, addressed to Achæus by his sincere friends Nichomachus and Melancomas. These letters were delivered to the besieged prince by Arian, for whom Cambylus was careful to procure safe access to the citadel. Achæus, with the distrust of a man long versed in affairs, and whose life was at stake, questioned Arian with equal anxiety and subtlety. The answers which he received from him concerning the enterprise itself, and all the parties concerned

concerned in it, were delivered with an air of genuine truth; for Arian, though privy to the original design in favour of Achæus, was altogether ignorant of the subsequent intrigue for making his rescue from the citadel the means of surrendering him to Antiochus. The behaviour of Arian affording much satisfaction, he was sent back with an answer to Melancomas, at Ephesus, about fifty miles distant from Sardes; and, through the same messenger, several other letters passed between Achæus and his firm Ephesian friend. At length Achæus wrote to him that he had taken his resolution; he desired, therefore, that Bolis, together with Arian, might be sent to him the first moonless night. Bolis received with alacrity the expected summons to action; and after spending a whole day with Cambylus, to adjust with him their several parts in the plot, was, in the evening that preceded its execution, presented privately to Antiochus in his tent, and by him confirmed in his purpose, through the prospect of vast rewards. From his secret interview with Antiochus, Bolis proceeded to the neighbourhood of the citadel, and there joining Arian, who waited for him, was presently admitted to Achæus. The behaviour of Bolis was frank and manly; and the intrepidity of his looks and words bespoke a character calculated to succeed in any the boldest enterprise. Yet Achæus did not think fit entirely to trust him. He accordingly pretended, that, for the arrangement of his future proceedings, it was necessary that a few of his friends should be placed in safety at Ephesus, before he himself attempted to effectuate his escape. With this view, Bolis and Arian were desired to retire to the gate of the citadel, and to wait there until five persons joined them, whom they were to take under their guidance. Meanwhile Achæus visited his affectionate wife Laodicè, and for the first time disclosed to her the secret of his intended departure. The sudden intelligence disturbed her understanding. He spent a considerable time in endeavouring to calm her disorder; and then assuming a coarse and vulgar habit, with four of his friends dressed as meanly

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as himself, followed Bolis and Arian to the place appointed, after charging the companions of his flight that one of them only should speak with their conductors. At first Bolis was disconcerted, not knowing which of the fugitives was Achæus, nor indeed whether that prince was of the number; but as they had to pass many rough craggs and dangerous precipices, the attention involuntarily shewn by the others in handing and helping the disguised Achæus, enabled the crafty Bolis to discern his victim. When they had advanced to a part of the mountain agreed on between himself and Cambylus, Bolis whistled by way of signal; Cambylus, with a party of armed men, started from their ambush; the former of these traitors grasped Achæus in his arms, and so enveloped him in his own mantle, that he was unable to use his dagger. The four others were secured by the followers of Cambylus.

Achæus
brought to
Antiochus in
bonds. Be-
haviour of
the latter.

Achæus, in bonds, was brought that same night to Antiochus, who lay sleepless in his tent waiting the event. At sight of an adversary, long the object of his terror, now humbled in the dust, Antiochus remained confused and speechless, until his faculties were revived by the warmth of sympathetic tears, which flowed plenteously at a spectacle so impressive of the sad vicissitudes of fortune.

Punishment
of the for-
mer.

His compassion, if it ever reached the heart, was dissipated next morning by the presence of his ministers and generals. In a council, hastily assembled in the royal tent, it was agreed that Achæus should suffer the death of a traitor. The extremities were dismembered from his trunk, which, wrapped in an ass's skin, was fixed on a cross. On the highest part of that instrument of torture, the head, separated from the body, and uncovered, declared the unhappy criminal; a man ennobled by many virtues, before the deceitfulness of prosperity conspired with royal ingratitude to drive him into rebellion⁴³.

⁴³ Polybius, l. viii. c. 17-23.

The tumultuary acclamations of the camp, which accompanied his execution, were deeply suspected by Laodicè, who alone was apprised of her husband's flight, and inwardly trembled for his safety. A herald soon arrived in the citadel, to announce the fate of Achæus. That fortress was filled, first with lamentation, and then with discord. Antiochus renewed his assaults, which finally prevailed; the high-minded Laodicè in vain exhorting her adherents still to persevere in resistance, rather than submit to the murderer of their long admired general.

Antiochus having thus punished the revolt in Lesser Asia, with as signal vengeance as he had formerly inflicted on that of Media, thought himself destined to extinguish rebellion in every part of the empire. For upwards of thirty years the Parthians and Bactrians had refused tribute and disavowed allegiance. The former of these countries was now governed by Arsaces III. the latter by Euthydemus, also the third Greek king of Bactria, and who, by fortunate enterprise, had risen to that throne from the condition of a humble citizen of Ionian Magnesia⁴⁴. With a well appointed army, Antiochus marched into those outlying countries; traversed, as conqueror, Parthia with its maritime appendage of Hyrcania, and granted peace to Arsaces, only on condition that he followed his standard against the more formidable Euthydemus. This prince, to remove the war from his own country, encountered Antiochus in the contiguous province of Aria: a great battle ensued, in which the Syrian king signalised his personal prowess, and obtained a glorious victory, after his horse had been killed under him, and his teeth had been dashed out by a painful wound in the mouth. Previously to the action, he had deceived the enemy by passing the river Arius in the night, when its banks were unguarded; and in the battle itself, he had sustained with firmness the repeated charges of new bodies of cavalry continually succeeding to each other: a mode of warfare

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Spirit of his
wife Lao-
dice.

Antiochus' successful expedition against the Parthians and Bactrians. Olymp. cxli. 3. cxliv. 1. B. C. 214—204.

⁴⁴ Polybius, l. xi. c. 34. Conf. Bayer Histor. Regn. Bactrian.

which

CHAP. which the Bactrians should seem to have adopted from their neighbours the Scythians.
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Peace with
Euthydemus
king of Bactria.

Euthydemus retreated precipitately to his capital Bactra⁴⁵, and thence dispatched an ambassador to Antiochus, to propose terms of accommodation. Among other arguments employed to stop the progress of the conqueror, Euthydemus observed, that he himself had never revolted from the Syrian monarchy, but, on the contrary, had mounted the throne of Bactria by punishing the descendant of a rebel. To this remark he added, that vast swarms of Scythians were actually hovering on his northern frontier; and that, if Bactria was weakened by a civil war among Greeks, not only that country, but the more central provinces of Asia, might be desolated and barbarised by those formidable Nomades. Antiochus felt the weight of this latter argument; and when Euthydemus sent his son Demetrius to adjust terms between them, he was so much delighted with the behaviour and conversation of the young Bactrian, that he promised to give him one of his own daughters in marriage, consenting, at the same time, that his father should continue to maintain the name and state of independent royalty⁴⁶.

Renews the
treaty with
the Indian
Sophagesimus.

Rescues Gerra from the
Arabians.

Antiochus remained thenceforward above seven years in Upper Asia, in which time he governed ably the valuable countries between the Euphrates and the Indus. On the banks of the latter he renewed his friendship with the Indian Sophagesimus, and returned from his eastern expedition to Seleucia Babylonia with vast treasures, and with one hundred and fifty elephants⁴⁷. Shortly afterwards, we find him below the mouth of the Euphrates, rescuing the commercial city Gerra⁴⁸, on the Persian gulph, from the grasp of Arabian robbers. In return for this favour, he was rewarded by the Gerræans with a profusion of spices and perfumes, as well as with large contributions

⁴⁵ Polybius, l. x. c. 46, says Zariaspa, another name for the same place.

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. x. c. 48, & seq.

⁴⁷ Id. l. xi. c. 54.

⁴⁸ He confirmed the ελευθερία, national independance, of Gerra. Polyb. l. xiii. c. 9.
in

in gold and silver, all of which, as we have seen, were the usual articles of traffic in that wealthy emporium ⁴⁹.

In the same year that Antiochus, after a long and glorious absence, revisited his capital on the Orontes, he was delivered from all danger on the side of Egypt by the death of Philopator, whose debaucheries brought him to the grave in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. That slothful tyrant had, contrary to the expectations of his subjects, defeated Antiochus in the decisive battle of Raphia, and thereby gained possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. He remained in these provinces three months after the battle, and was received by the inhabitants of the country, as well as by every city into which he entered, with the adulation offered by the multitude to conquerors undeserving to live, and which, in intermediate territories, often fluctuating between two great rival kingdoms, was not checked by any remains of allegiance to their former master. His transactions at Jerusalem have been alone thought worthy of record ⁵⁰. Ptolemy surveyed the antique grandeur of the city, offered oblations to Jehovah, and dedicated valuable presents in his temple. But not contented with viewing that edifice from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was permitted to pass, he desired to proceed through the holy house, into the most holy sanctuary, where none of the Jews themselves could lawfully enter, except the high priest alone, and even that sacred magistrate but once only in the year, on the great day of expiation. The king was informed of the unsurmountable objection to the gratification of his curiosity. But though the priests, in their solemn array and august vestments, entreated him to desist from a purpose not allowable even in the ministers of the temple, he answered roughly, that *his* authority was not to be controuled by *their* laws ⁵¹.

⁴⁹ See above, vol. i. p. 173.

⁵⁰ They are related in III. Maccabees throughout, and in Ruffinus' Latin edition of Josephus, l. ii. Cont. Apion, in which, however, the name of Ptolemy Physcon is

by mistake substituted for that of Ptolemy Philopator.

⁵¹ Εἰ ἐκείνοι ἐπέμνυντο τούτους τῆς τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ ἔδει. Maccab.

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Philopator's
proceedings
in Jerusalem.
Olymp.
cxl. 4.
B. C. 217.

The

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His attempt
to enter the
sanctuary
frustrated.

The whole city was in commotion. While the high priest Simon prayed to Jehovah to defend his own sanctuary, to Jehovah who, inhabiting the highest heavens, into which no mortal could ascend, had yet consecrated a chosen spot for the monument of his glory and worship, a promiscuous multitude, of every age and either sex, filled the air with such loud and lamentable wailings, that it seemed as if not only human voices, but the walls and streets from their foundation had deprecated the frantic impiety of the king. His purpose was unalterable; but as he pressed from the inner court to the sanctuary, he was shaken "like a reed by the wind, and fell speechless on the ground." We have seen, on a former occasion, that with the most beastly profligacy, he united the most abject superstition; and it is unnecessary to inquire, whether his body was agitated by external force, or whether the Almighty shook him more dreadfully from within, by the guilty terrors of his mind. He was carried from the temple half dead by his body-guards; and, upon his recovery, made haste to leave Jerusalem.

His rage
vents itself
in cruelty
towards the
Jews in
Alexandria.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.
B. C. 216.

At his return to Alexandria, he carried with him his resentment against the Jews, who were more numerous in that capital than even in Jerusalem itself, and who had long enjoyed in Egypt all the privileges of those Greeks and Macedonians who formed the first class of citizens or subjects⁵². Ptolemy published a decree degrading them from this rank, and ordering them to be enrolled among the lowest casts of Egyptians. As an additional insult, they were to be stigmatised in their bodies by the figure of an ivy leaf, in honour of the god Bacchus⁵³: and none who refused compliance with the established rites of paganism, were allowed access to the gates of the palace, which, as the judges commonly sat there, amounted to a sentence of outlawry against the whole nation. Notwithstanding these cruel and disgraceful penalties, scarcely three hundred Jews aposta-

⁵² Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 797.

⁵³ II Maccab, c. vi. v. 7.

tised from their religion ; and those who had the meanness to embrace that measure for the sake of worldly advantages, met with ineffable disdain from their brethren. This contempt of his authority provoked Ptolemy to madness. The Jews were dragged as the worst of criminals from all parts of Egypt to Alexandria, and many thousands were shut up in the hippodrome of that city, to be destroyed for public sport by elephants rendered furious with frankincense and wine. The horrid show was twice adjourned, because Ptolemy in consequence of his drunken carousals, happened to outsleep the times appointed ; and on the third day the intoxicated elephants, instead of attacking the Jewish victims, turned their chief rage against the Egyptian spectators. This unexpected catastrophe, accompanied with other extraordinary " circumstances, again overwhelmed Ptolemy with religious terror ; he rescinded his odious decree, and revoked his execrable orders : the Jews, faithful to their law, were reinstated in all their privileges ; and in the true spirit of capricious despotism, Ptolemy made atonement for his cruelty to themselves by the more cruel permission of retaliating it on their apostate brethren ".

Tame as the Egyptians always were, and as the Greeks and Macedonians had recently become, it was not to be expected that they should continue to pay implicit submission to such an execrable tyrant. To oppose Antiochus in the great battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had armed a larger proportion of Egyptians than were usually admitted into the service. This circumstance, inspiring them with more than ordinary courage, occasioned a civil war, the particulars of which are not described in history, nor is the loss to be regretted, since it produced not any memorable exertions either of skill or valour, being distinguished only by disgusting enormities perpetrated by the contending parties. While it lasted Egypt must have indeed been the scene of

Civil war in
Egypt.

" Angels descended, *Secundus*, " of frightful forms," visible to all but the Jews. III. Maccab. p. 892. Edit. Francofurt.

" III. Maccab. c. iii. v. 4, 5.

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Abilities and
crimes of the
minister
Sofibius.

The abomi-
nable Aga-
thoclean
family.—
Their pro-
ceedings on
the death of
Philopator.
Olymp.
cxliv. 1.
B. C. 204.

bloodshed, if, of the Jewish inhabitants only, forty thousand perished in the contest ⁵⁶.

Ptolemy prevailed over the insurgents through the relative superiority of his generals, and the real abilities of his minister Sofibius, a man grown old in government, and unprincipled as he was, an indispensably useful instrument under such a tyrannical reign ⁵⁷. He was fertile in expedients, of great presence of mind, had boldness to adopt vigorous measures, and penetration to discern energetic agents. What Ptolemy most admired in his minister was his cruel dexterity in removing secretly, by the cup or the dagger, all those whom it would have been dangerous openly to destroy. In this number was the high-minded Arsinoë, Philopator's queen and sister, who, while her husband wallowed in the lowest sensuality, still sustained with dignity the honours of her rank and birth. Her murder, which Sofibius effected through the agency of his creature Philammon ⁵⁸, destroyed the last restraint on the headstrong profligacy of the king.

The abominable Agathoclean family, contrivers or instruments of every pollution, governed him absolutely; and at the time of his obscure death ⁵⁹, held the wealth and strength of Egypt so firmly in their hands, that unawed by Sofibius, now loaded with years and the weight of his crimes, Agathocles assumed the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and with that the government of the kingdom. When he had confirmed his usurpation by donatives to the soldiers, and by the murder ⁶⁰ of all those who were likely to dispute his authority, he promoted to the first employments of the state and army, servile mercenaries and low mechanics, most of them men debased still

⁵⁶ Eusebius in Chronic. p. 185.

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. xv. c. 25.

⁵⁸ Id. ibid. c. 33.

⁵⁹ His death was long concealed by those who managed affairs under him, (Justin, l. xxx. c. 2.), so that the date of it is a matter of dispute with chronologers. Vailant. Hist. Ptolem. p. 68.

⁶⁰ As Sofibius disappears at this time, it may be conjectured that his old age did not protect him against Agathocles' jealousy. This conjecture is corroborated by the particular mention of Sofibius and his villainies in the same chapter of Polybius, in which we are told that Agathocles destroyed all his rivals. Polyb. l. xv. c. 25.

more

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more by vileness of mind, than meanness of condition. At the head of such a court, Agathocles gave loose reins to the most shameless intemperance, and to enormities, if possible, more flagitious than those by which his late master had provoked a civil war. The Alexandrians murmured, communicated their complaints, and secretly corresponded with the military commanders in the provinces, entreating them to march to their assistance against an usurper, who trusting to the protection of the city guards, seduced by his largesses, raged with unbridled fury against the inhabitants of the capital.

Tlepolemus, a general of abilities and enterprize, undertook their defence. By means of the posts which he occupied in the inland country, he was enabled to intercept the ordinary supplies of corn and other necessaries, which were wafted down the Nile to feed a profuse court, a numerous garrison, and a city long crowded with inhabitants, both freemen and slaves. The correspondence between the Alexandrians and Tlepolemus escaped the notice of Agathocles and his agents, until the different bodies of troops stationed in the capital began to be infected with sedition. Their rapacity had much lowered his treasury; from the vicinity of their encampments to the dwellings of the citizens, they enjoyed a free communication with the latter, and were moved by their unceasing complaints; compassion gaining easier access to their mercenary minds as cruelty grew less profitable.

Conspiracy
against them.

The tyrant, alarmed by his danger, had recourse to those called the royal guards, a body of six thousand men, holding the first rank in the Egyptian service. He proceeded to their camp, bringing with him Agathoclea and Ptolemy a child five⁶¹ years old, whom he shewed to the soldiers, and whose fate he bewailed in a strain of dramatic lamentation too artful to be affecting. When he had mounted a tribunal, and raised the young prince in his arms, "Him," he said, "the descendant of your ancient kings, his father

Agathocles'
artifices to
regain his
credit with
the soldiers.⁶¹ Justin, l. xxx. c. 2. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

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Treated by
them with
scorn.

Incidents
which pre-
cipitate his
destruction.

at the hour of death placed in the hands of her, (pointing to Agathoclea), who is altogether unable to ward off the unforeseen danger; you only Macedonians can defend him, and confirm in his throne this rightful heir, ready to be assailed by disloyal ambition⁶²." He then produced witnesses to prove that Tlepolemus had taken measures for usurping the crown. But the soldiers, instead of regarding his proofs, or the tears which he shed in abundance, treated him with scorn. He met with a similar reception from the other bodies of the city troops, to which he successively applied; many soldiers meanwhile arriving by the Nile from the distant nomes or provinces, and reinforcing the malecontents, now impelled to immediate action, by the consideration that Tlepolemus by commanding the river, could intercept the ordinary convoys of provisions to Alexandria.

In this posture of affairs, the instruments of the tyrant, upon some secret accusation, seized Danæ, mother-in-law to Tlepolemus, as she returned from making her supplications in the temple of Ceres, and dragged her unveiled through the streets to prison. This most unseasonable outrage still farther exasperated the Alexandrians. In the night, writings upbraiding Agathocles were stuck up in every part of the city; and public meetings were held in the day-time, to declare the universal indignation against his government. The trembling usurper had not made preparations for flight; he had not spirit for any great enterprize, nor courage to seek death at the head of his remaining partizans. Meanwhile Mœragenes, one of his life-guards, was accused of treacherously corresponding with Tlepolemus. He was committed for examination to Nicostratus, the tyrant's secretary; who, upon his refusal to confess, ordered the executioners to prepare their instruments of torture. The culprit was already stripped, the scourges were already raised to lacerate his body; a sad prelude to more direful sufferings. At that moment, an attendant entered the apartment, whispered Nicostratus in the ear, and hastily withdrew.

⁶² Polybius, l. xv. c. 26.

Nicostratus followed, as quickly, without speaking a word, but smiting continually his thigh in token of inward anguish. The cause of his distress is not explained: there was enough of bad news to be communicated. The executioners stood motionless expecting his return; but after long waiting for him in vain, dropped away one after the other. Mœragenes was thus left naked and alone in a remote apartment of the palace. He betook himself to flight through such galleries as he fortunately found open, and was so happy as to reach in safety the nearest tents of his Macedonian countrymen. The soldiers were assembled at their forenoon's repast, when the arrival of Mœragenes, the strange plight in which he came, his frightful danger, and surprising escape, determined them to seize the present moment for destroying Agathocles and his family. They proceeded to the encampments of the other Macedonians, and then to the tents of other troops, which were all nearly contiguous to each other in the same quarter of the city.

When Agathocles learned these proceedings, and still farther, that Tlepolemus was on his way to join the insurgents, he behaved like a man altogether bereaved of understanding. As if nothing extraordinary had happened, he retired calmly to supper, and indulged in his habitual intemperance. But his mother, Oenante, repaired to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which was then open for the celebration of the Thesmophorean festival, an august commemoration of the benefits conferred by those goddesses, in the introduction of agriculture and the institutions of settled and civilised life. While with piteous wailings, and in a dejected posture, she invoked Heaven to avert the evils that threatened her, and which her complicated wickedness had most justly deserved, the assembled matrons of Alexandria enjoyed her fearful humiliation; a few only vouchsafed some broken expressions of pity, and drew near to learn more clearly the cause of her affliction. But Oenante with the voice and sentiments congenial to her depraved character and infamous life, cried out,

“approach

Behaviour
of Agatho-
cles and his
mother
Oenante.

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“approach me not, wild beasts! I know your hatred to me and mine: you are praying the gods to inflict on us the worst of sufferings; but I hope, with Heaven’s help! to make you devour your own children.” With these words, she ordered her attendants to drive them to a distance. The women retired, holding up their hands in amazement!

Tumult in
Alexandria,
the young
king seized
by the insur-
gents.

In every family, indignation now redoubled against the public enemies. As darkness came on, the whole city was filled with tumult, men running in opposite directions with lights in their hands, and many flying in darkness to places of concealment. A mixed multitude crowded the stadium and hippodrome, the broad avenues leading to the theatre of Bacchus, above all, the spacious courts surrounding the palace. Agathocles was roused by the uproar from the stupor of his debauch; he flew to the young king, and taking him by the hand conducted him to a covered gallery⁶³, which joined the gymnasium to the royal garden, called the Mæander from its intricate walks and winding porticoes. In this subterranean passage, the fugitives were joined by the family and principal friends of Agathocles, all, except Philon, one of the most profligate of the number. They passed two latticed doors, strongly secured by iron bolts. All night long, they remained in this concealment, when the insurgents were heard in the morning demanding the person of their king. Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, then attended Agathocles as one of his most devoted partizans, and most assiduous flatterers. This man alone, who afterwards governed Egypt with probity and dignity, ventured to pass through a wicket, with a view to appease the multitude. He was empowered to offer, on the part of Agathocles, the surrender of office, rank, wealth; in a word, every thing to save his life. Aristomenes with difficulty defended his own, and was sent back by the enraged multitude with orders to bring with him young Ptolemy. Upon the return of Aristomenes, and when the first door

⁶³ The Syringe. Polyb. l. xv. c. 30.

was burst open, Agathocles extended through the lattice of the second, his hands in an imploring attitude, while Agathoclea supplicated compassion by her breasts, which she said had been the source of life to their sovereign. But nothing could appease the public fury until the production of young Ptolemy, who was seized by the insurgents, conveyed on horseback to the stadium, and placed in the seat there appropriated during public shows to the king. Sosibius, son to the late minister, observing, that the child was frightened at the noise and the unknown persons with whom he was surrounded, asked him, whether he abandoned to just punishment those who had been enemies to himself, his family, and his country. The child nodded assent; and Sosibius with general approbation then conveyed him to his own house, which was in that neighbourhood; while a body of armed men returned to the palace to drag from thence the whole Agathoclean family, with their now despairing adherents.

Before they were brought to the stadium, Philon, already mentioned, first appeared there, still under the influence of his debauch of the preceding day. His drunken insolence subjected him to a sudden death. The same swift destruction fell on Agathocles himself, who was no sooner brought bound into the stadium, than he was dispatched by the hasty anger of his enemies, thus disappointing their own sterner purposes of long torturing vengeance. The females of his family were carried naked on horseback through the streets; and torn in pieces by the multitude. The house of Philammon, who had been the instrument in murdering Arsinoë, was broke open, and himself, together with his wife and children, destroyed with unrelenting fury by those who had been the female companions of that high-minded princess: for the popular insurrections in Egypt and in Carthage are said to have been distinguished in the following particular from those of Greece and Rome, that boys and women had the indecency to mingle in them openly with men, and thereby to inflame their rage, and exasperate their violence⁶⁴.

Destruction
of the Aga-
thoclean
family and
their adhe-
rents.

⁶⁴ Polybius, l. xv. c. 30.

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Reflection
thereon.

The death of Ptolemy Philopator was thus followed by funeral games, worthy of such a prince, and descriptive of manners so infamous, and persons so contemptible, that nothing but their abuse of supreme power in a great kingdom could entitle them to a moment's regard. Agathocles, indeed, was the mere child of fortune, and ruined by the same odious vices through which he had risen to greatness under a profligate master. Both his exaltation and depression were thus occasioned by accidental and vulgar circumstances; they flowed not from inherent peculiarities in his own nature, like those of his execrable namesake the bloody tyrant of Sicily; whose destinies, frightful as they were, originating solely in his own tremendous energies, are thereby better calculated to excite interest in history. After the removal of Agathocles, the guardianship of young Ptolemy, and by consequence the government of Egypt, fell successively into the hands of Sosibius, of Tlepolemus, and Aristomenes⁶⁵. Of the two first, the administration was short and unimportant; but we shall be called in the course of this history, to commemorate the rare merits of Aristomenes.

Arts and
letters under
the reign of
Philopator.

Notwithstanding the follies and the vices of Ptolemy Philopator, arts and sciences had taken such firm root in Alexandria, that it would have been impossible for that profligate prince to destroy them. But Philopator, detestable as his own character was, inherited from his ancestors a passion for letters and philosophy. He is said to have delighted in the conversation of Sphærus the Stoic⁶⁶; and all the four ancient sects continued to flourish during his reign; as well as the four new schools, of criticism, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. Philopator dedicated a temple to Homer, adorned with the statue of that divine poet⁶⁷. The poets of his own age attained not celebrity. Rhianus⁶⁸ treated an interesting subject, the ancient Messenian wars. Euphorion of Chalcis, a voluminous writer in

⁶⁵ Polybius. Conf. l. xvi. c. 22. & l. xv. ⁶⁶ Ælian Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 22.

e. 31.

⁶⁷ Diogen. Laert. l. vii. f. 185.

⁶⁸ Pausanias Messenic.

heroic verse ⁶⁹, became librarian to Antiochus III., Philopator's rival and enemy. The historians Phylarchus and Chrysippus flourished in the same age ⁷⁰: we know not the merit of their matter, but their style, particularly that of the former ⁷¹, was disgraced by those inelegancies and distortions which deformed the works of Hegesias, Duris, and other historians of whom we have before spoken. Aristophanes, the scholar of Eratosthenes, distinguished himself in the walks of philology and criticism; and as a mechanician, Heron, who lived down to this reign, has left works ⁷² that may be still read with profit. But, in the time of Philopator, the most useful knowledge was often strangely misapplied. This is illustrated in his far-famed galley of forty tier of oars, surpassing in magnitude all moving castles before or after it. Since the enlargement of the rate of war ships under Alexander's first successors, the Greek kings of the East were no longer contented with quadriremes and quinqueremes, the rates most serviceable in battle, but vied with each other in constructing vessels of a stupendous magnitude, which answered no other purpose but that of gratifying a vanity alike idle and expensive. Philopator's quadragintareme measured 420 feet in length, and 72 feet in height to the loftiest ornaments of the stern ⁷³, far exceeding in dimensions a modern ship of the largest size carrying one hundred and twenty cannons. This unwieldy machine was impelled by 4,000 rowers, steered and manœuvred by 400 sailors, and its batteries were manned by 3000 marines. The same prince built a vessel 330 feet long, but of the disproportionate breadth of 45 feet, because designed chiefly for the navigation of the Nile. It was named Thalamegus ⁷⁴, as containing the haram, or womens'

⁶⁹ Suidas ad Voc.⁷⁰ Scholiast in Apollon, l. iv.⁷¹ Dionys. Halicarn. de Compos. Verbor.⁷² Hero, jun. de machin. bell. Conf.

Athenæus, l. xi. p. 497. et Fabricius, l. iii. c. 24.

⁷³ Vid. Athenæus, l. v. p. 203, et. seq. The breadth is not given.⁷⁴ Id. ibid.

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apartment, with most other luxuries of a royal palace. Such also were the accommodations of the moving fortrefs, which will be described hereafter, constructed by Hieron of Syracuse, and which is said to have actually failed from that city to Alexandria⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Athenæus, l. v. p. 209.

CHAPTER XV.

State of Greece and Macedon at the Accession of Philip IV.—Outrageous Proceedings of the Etolians.—The Social War.—Achæans negotiate with Philip.—Cynætha in Arcadia; its brutishness.—Phillip's successful Operations; is recalled to Macedon by an Irruption of the Dordanians.—His Winter Campaign in Peloponnesus.—Guilty Intrigues of his Ministers.—He invades Etolia.—Desolation of Thermum, and Inscription on its Ruins.—Disgrace of the Minister Apelles, and Destruction of his Accomplices.—State of the Belligerent Powers.—News of Hannibal's great Victories in Italy.—End of the Social War.—Prophetic Speech of Agelaus.—High mindedness of the Peloponnesians.—Meanness of the Athenians.—Depravity of the Bæotians.

HAVING, in the two preceding chapters, related those transactions in Syria and Egypt which prepared the way for a long series of Roman triumphs, I proceed, according to the method prescribed, to those contemporary events in Macedon and Greece, which strongly co-operated towards the same end. Under the prudent administration of Antigonus Doson, Macedon maintained a high ascendancy in Greece, without affecting sovereignty. Antigonus restrained and punished the dangerous rapacity of the Etolians; he defeated the proud and preposterous hopes of Sparta, but spared that city and its inhabitants; he was a steady friend to the Achæans and Acarnanians, because these nations were ever friendly to the maxims of moderation and justice. The greater part of Thessaly had remained long subject to Macedon. The Beotians, Phocians, and Epirots were submissive allies to the same kingdom; and, by his well-garrisoned strongholds of Corinth and Orchomenus, Antigonus was enabled seasonably and effectually to interpose in maintaining

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State of
Greece and
Macedon at
the accession
of Philip IV.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

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The Etolians, their character and views.

Their possessions and allies.

the tranquillity of Peloponnesus. All these advantages descended to his successor Philip IV. together with unusual security on his northern frontier, and the hereditary friendship of Aratus, the virtuous and able pretor of the Achæan confederacy.

In this prosperous condition of Greece and Macedon, the public tranquillity was first disturbed by the Etolians, who contemned the youth of Philip, and saw but little to apprehend from those ministers whom Antigonus had appointed to guide his councils¹. The maxims of the Etolians were different from those of the other states which had formerly been the prime movers in all wars and negotiations. The Spartans, Athenians, and Thebans had successively fought for pre-eminence; and when this object was defeated, through the preponderancy of Macedonian power, they were ready to lay down their arms. But the Etolians, careless of glory, were principally intent on plunder. Instead of the transient emotions of ambition, they were actuated by the permanent impulse of avarice; and with them, a good ground for war was never wanting, when depredations might be committed with impunity². The death of Antigonus Doson seemed highly propitious to their views. Notwithstanding the coercion of their encroachments by that able prince, they still possessed several strongholds in distant parts of Greece, which favoured their piracy by sea, as well as their robbery by land. They were masters of Ambracus, on the Ambracian gulph; of Pallé, in the island of Cephallenia; of the strong cities of Thebes and Echinus, both on the coast of Phthiotis. Their inland garrisons occupied Melitæa, and some smaller posts on the mountainous skirts of Thessaly. In this manner their scattered usurpations in the north, extended between the Ægæan and Ionian seas³; while on the side of Peloponnesus, they flattered themselves with the good will of the Elians and Spartans, inveterate enemies to the Achæan league, and had garrisoned⁴ Phigalia, a city twelve miles from the sea, near the

¹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 2.

² Id. l. ii. c. 45. & seq.

³ Id. l. iii. & iv. passim.

⁴ Id. l. iv. c. 3.

northern

northern frontier of Messenia, the only district in the Peninsula which had escaped depredation in the Cleomenic war.

Conformably with the maxims of his nation, Dorimachus, a young Etolian of boiling courage, proceeded to Phigalia, and was speedily resorted to there, by a band of pirates. Although the general peace, which Antigonus had established throughout Greece, still subsisted in full force, the Etolian encouraged his pirates to carry off the herds of the Messenians from the sea coast, and afterwards to penetrate into the very centre of the country, and to commit depredations, chiefly in the night time, on the farms and villages. When repeated remonstrances against these proceedings were brought to Phigalia, the robber declared that he would come to Messenè itself, and there in person do justice to the injured. He was descended from a family pre-eminent, even among the Etolians, for deeds of rash and unprincipled audacity. Not to degenerate from his ancestors, he appeared at Messenè; and instead of making the reparation expected, treated those who urged their wrongs with the utmost indignity; deriding some, threatening others, and denying justice to all. While he still remained in Messenè, the pirates advanced within a small distance of its walls, assaulted in the night a village called the farm of Chiron, killed those who opposed their violence, and after binding the remainder, carried promiscuously slaves and cattle aboard their fleet⁵. Nothing can more strongly attest the awe in which the peaceful Messenians then stood of the fierce Etolians, than their forbearance to take summary vengeance on Dorimachus, the author of this enormity. He was cited to appear before a council, composed of the principal members of the government⁶. On this occasion, Sciron, one of the Ephori, advised that Dorimachus should not be allowed to leave the city, until the murderers were surrendered to justice. The other magistrates having assented to this opinion, Dorimachus upbraided their folly, in thinking to make him prisoner

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Dorimachus
the Etolian,
his audacious
proceedings in Mes-
senia.

Olymp.
cxxxix. 3.
B. C. 222.

His insolence
abashed by
Sciron, one
of the Mes-
senian
Ephori.

⁵ Id. *ibid.* c. 4, & seq.

⁶ Συμπληρωμα. Polyb. l. iv. c. 4.

without

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without provoking the vengeance of Etolia. This threat piqued Sciron, a man of no less spirit than probity, to whom the following circumstance afforded an opportunity of abashing the haughty robber. There lived in Messenè an infamous youth, so like in face and person to Dorimachus, that they might easily have been mistaken for each other; and, with this circumstance, the Etolian was well acquainted. Babyrtas was the name of the wretched Messenian, stigmatised for every vice most disgraceful to a man. In reply to Dorimachus, who had spoken with much vehemence, Sciron therefore asked, in a firm tone, "Do you think that we shall mind you, or your threats, Babyrtas?" The application of this single name covered Dorimachus with confusion⁷. He consented that restitution should be made, and that the guilty should be punished; but, being allowed shortly afterwards to return to Etolia, excited what is called the Social War, which lasted three years.

Commence-
ment of the
social war.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Ariston at that time was pretor of the Etolians, who, on account of bodily infirmity, committed the military department of his office to his kinsman Scopas, a man also related to Dorimachus, and of a similar character. As two such persons readily concurred in the same rash views, and their most audacious measures were sure of meeting with approbation from the Etolian multitude, they did not wait for a decree of the assembly, or the authority of the senate⁸. In defiance of forms, sanctioned by law and long usage, they at once made war on the Messenians, as well as on those nations most likely to espouse the cause of the injured. Their pirates issued from Cephallenia, and ravaged the coasts of Epirus; another band assaulted, but without effect, Thyreum in Acarnania; beyond the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, a rich merchant vessel belonging to Macedon was captured off the island Cythera, and carried into a harbour of Etolia, where the ship, with all persons on board her,

⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁸ *Ἀποκλήτοι*.

A select body, whose concur-

rence was necessary in all public measures.

Conf. Polyb. l. xx. c. 1, & l. xxi. c. 3.

was

was sold at public auction. By land, the proceedings of the Etolians were equally unwarrantable; particularly in surprising Clarium, a stronghold on the Arcadian frontier, which they purposed to render a depository for the spoil collected from the adjacent province of Messenia. But in this design they were defeated by Taurion, commander of the Macedonian garrison in Orchomenus, assisted by Timoxenus, then pretor of Achaia. Having united their forces, these generals marched hastily to Clarium, and, in the course of a few days, recovered that fortress.

The time now approached when Timoxenus, on the eleventh of May, was to lay down his office, and to make room for the fifteenth pretorship of Aratus, in the course of thirty years¹⁰. The Etolians, in order to anticipate this change, which seemed little favourable to their views, assembled a great army at Rhium, a promontory and harbour of Etolia, scarcely two miles distant from Anti-Rhium, in Achaia. Having transported their forces across the narrow frith, they proceeded through the districts of Patræ and Tritæa; their generals, Dorimachus and Scopas, though they affected unwillingness to offend the Achæan league, being at little pains to restrain the depredations of their followers. In this manner they marched through Achaia to the friendly province of Elis, and from thence to their stronghold Phigalia, from which they began to plunder unmercifully the best possessions of the Messenians. The Achæans had by this time convened in their vernal assembly. They were indignant at the wrongs done by the Etolians to some of the oldest members of their league; they compassionated the sufferings of the Messenians, though that people were neither united with them in government, nor parties to the confederacy subsisting between Achaia and Macedon, comprehending most other Grecian commonwealths. But Timoxenus, the actual pretor, was a man of little enterprise: he knew that his countrymen, trusting to the stability of the last peace

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Aratus,
upon the re-
signation of
Timoxenus,
takes the
field against
them.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Arat.

in

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Battle of
Caphyæ, in
Arcadia.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

in Peloponnesus, had neglected their arms and exercises. He declined therefore to lead the Achæans into the field, but readily resigned his office, five days before its appointed term, to the zeal and spirit of Aratus".

This illustrious patriot summoned the Achæans, through all their cities, to meet him in arms at Megalopolis, fifteen miles distant from Phigalia, the principal rendezvous of the enemy. When the army was fully assembled, not excepting the Lacedæmonians who had marched as declared friends to a confederacy which they secretly abhorred, Aratus sent heralds to the Etolians, commanding them immediately to quit Messenia, and to be careful, in their return homeward, not to enter Achaia. Upon receiving this message from a man commanding an army more numerous than their own, Dorimachus and Scopas prepared to comply with it. They ordered their transports to rendezvous at the island and harbour of Phlias, on the coast of Elis, and two days afterwards began to march thither. Aratus, upon assurances of this intention, dismissed the greater part of his army, and with a body of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, besides the Macedonians under Taurion, followed at some distance the retiring enemy". When the Etolians discovered that their motions were watched, but by a force inferior to their own, they suddenly faced about, and returning towards the Achæans, found them encamped in the plain of Caphyæ, defended by a river in front, and also by several deep trenches. Not daring to attack this post, especially as the enemy showed great willingness to engage, they hastened across the plain to the adjacent heights; and the cavalry, which closed their march, had nearly reached the hill called Propus, when the Achæan pretor sent against them his light infantry and horse. Although this detachment began to skirmish with the rear, the Etolian cavalry still retired in good order, to gain the support of its infantry. Aratus mistaking this movement for

The Achæ-
ans defeated.

" Polybius, l. iv. c. 6.

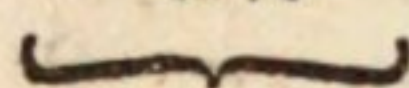
" Plutarch in Arato. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 11. & seq.

flight, ordered his heavy armed troops to join in the pursuit. Before the first division of them approached the foot of the mountains, the Etolians had rallied in great force, and totally defeated the Achæan targeteers and cavalry. The heavy troops that came to their assistance, perplexed at the unexpected disaster, and being themselves in the loose order of march, also turned their backs, and were carried along with the fugitives; from whence it happened, that although five hundred Achæans only had engaged the enemy, those that now fled exceeded two thousand. Their flight would have been less dishonourable than salutary, had they found the main division, headed by Aratus in person, on the advantageous ground which it had originally occupied; but, as this division hastened towards them in a long and broken train, the evil was without remedy, and the rout became general. The neighbouring cities, particularly Caphyæ and Orchomenus, opened their friendly gates, otherwise the whole Achæan army must have perished disgracefully. The Etolians, elated with success, marched towards the Corinthian gulph, plundering the district of Sicyon and other Achæan dependencies in their way, and then hastened to their own country, loaded with booty, and with the weight of crimes not likely to pass unrevenged. Meanwhile the Achæans assembled in council at Ægeum. Their country had been twice invaded by a merciless enemy; but postponing the consideration of such injuries, the assembly resounded with complaints against the misconduct of Aratus. His enemies in the government accused him of bringing on a battle unnecessarily, and of fighting it unskilfully. Through what unaccountable folly could he break up his army, while the Etolians were still in the heart of Peloponnesus? Was it for this, that he had wrested the pretorship from Timoxenus five days before its legal expiration? He had been twice deluded by a most ordinary stratagem: first, when the Etolians made a pretence of retreating homewards, only that they might surprise his disbanded force; secondly,

Aratus accused of misconduct.

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condly, when in the action itself they affected to fly, only to return more vigorously to the charge. If, in opposition to all rules of prudence, he had determined to come to battle, he ought at least to have fought it on the plain; there, the heavy armed Achæans would have availed themselves of their military arrangements and their weapons. On the mountains, the Etolians found every thing best adapted to their arms, their tactics, and habits of warfare.

His defence.

These accusations, just as they were, did not discourage Aratus from making an animated defence. Having described his unwearied exertions in the service of the Achæan league, he maintained that his actions ought to be examined with indulgent candour, not with sharpness and severity. Faults in conduct he did not deny, nor would he attempt to palliate them; but his principles were sound, and his intentions pure. The multitude changed from anger against him to the highest favour; testifying much resentment at his accusers, and submitting in future all their affairs to his management¹³.

Embassies of
the Achæans
to their con-
federates.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

A decree passed the council for assembling the Achæans in arms, and for summoning the aid of their allies. Ambassadors were dispatched to the Phocians, Acarnanians, Bœotians, Epirots, above all, to king Philip, stating the outrages of the Etolians, and requesting that the Messenians, who had so dreadfully suffered by them, might be admitted into the general confederacy¹⁴. In Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians and Messenians agreed to furnish respectively a body of two thousand five hundred men; but instead of fulfilling this promise, the former people sent privately to make a treaty with the Etolians. Notwithstanding the flight of Cleomenes to Egypt, his partizans were all-powerful in Sparta; they had prevented the substitution of any new king in his stead, vainly expecting his return; and, in the mean time, the republic was governed by annual magistrates, deeply infected with the wild projects of Cleomenes, and inveterately hostile to Achaia and Macedon, by which powers,

¹³ Plutarch, *ibid.* & Polyb. l. iv. c. 14.¹⁴ *Id.* l. iv. c. 15, & c. 26.

chiefly, his dangerous views had been defeated¹⁵. In the north of Greece, the motions of the confederates depended on those of Philip. The Thessalians were his subjects; the Epirots, since the extinction of the line of their renowned Pyrrhus, formed an inconsiderable and subservient republic; the Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Phocians had, all of them, been long accustomed to fear the Macedonians, and in the late reign to love and respect them. Under these circumstances, decisive measures on the part of Macedon might have restored public tranquillity. But Philip was only in his eighteenth year: his ministers, as will appear hereafter, were weak, perfidious, and at variance with each other, while such neighbours as the Thracians and Illyrians always appeared formidable to a new king of Macedon. Philip, therefore, though he agreed to admit the Messenians into the confederacy, yet hesitated about declaring war against the Etolians. It was usual with that people to commit unprovoked injuries, to break through all laws, to violate all engagements. In them, such proceedings, being matters of course, excited no surprise, and occasioned slight resentment; so true it is, that men are in all things guided by custom, and therefore more willing to overlook long continued and uniform habits of wickedness, than to pardon any new and unexpected act of injustice¹⁶.

While the confederates still deliberated with little unanimity, the Etolians were already in the field. Having associated with them, through promise of plunder, some Illyrian pirates, they invaded the Peloponnesus, and entered the central province of Arcadia. In the north of that province, Cynætha was the head of a district, the wildest and roughest in the whole mountainous territory¹⁷. It was inhabited by rugged herdsmen, who scorned those arts that had been so successfully employed by their neighbours for taming savageness and polishing rusticity. Of all the Arcadians, the people of Cynætha

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Considerations which made Macedon reluctant in declaring war.

Cynætha in Arcadia—the brutishness of its inhabitants.

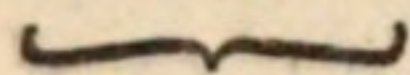
¹⁵ Plutarch in Cleomen. & Polybius, l. iv. c. 16.

¹⁶ Ibid. c. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid. c. 16, & seq.

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Their dissensions and destruction.

alone disdained the culture of music, which was taught and exercised in Greece, not merely as an agreeable pastime, the soother of care and the sweetener of leisure, but as an art highly contributing towards the refinement of pleasure from voluptuousness, and of valour from ferocity. The brutishness of the Cynæthians made them despise this liberal pursuit; and their neglect of an acquirement, in which the other Arcadians universally took delight, heightened the depravity of their character, and the universal detestation accompanying it. Odious abroad, they were divided into cruel factions at home. One party banished three hundred of their adversaries, and submitted to the protection of the Achæans. The exiles, affecting repentance, solicited permission to return. The party, which had expelled them, referred this request to the Achæan council. The Achæans advised compliance and sincere reconciliation, thinking to excite gratitude in persons so highly benefited. But these unprincipled wretches had no sooner set foot on their native soil, than, as if they had meditated the most abominable treachery in their very act of swearing amity over the sacred victims, they entered into secret practices with the Etolians for betraying to them their city. To this atrocious engagement they were faithful. A portion of them, employed promiscuously with other inhabitants in the night-watch, assailed suddenly their partners in this service; and having put them to the sword, gave admission to the Etolians, who, according to concert, were at hand. Cynætha was thus taken, and treated most unmercifully; even the Cynæthian traitors being subjected to the same cruelties with their betrayed brethren. After the houses had been carefully ransacked, torture compelled the discovery of treasures yet concealed in them. The Etolians, before leaving Peloponnesus, offered the desolate city to their Elia allies, but as *they* refused the present, Cynætha was set on fire and abandoned to the flames. The neighbouring cities of Lussi and Cleitor were threatened with a similar fate. The former

purchased safety by surrendering some consecrated ornaments in the temple of Diana; and the latter was more honourably protected by the strength of its walls, and the bravery of its citizens. Without completely satiating their rapacity, the Etolians thus returned home by the way of Rhium; for their own coasts were in danger from another party of Illyrian pirates, in the interest of Macedon; and that kingdom was preparing to engage vigorously in the war¹⁸.

Shortly after their departure, Philip arrived at Corinth with a powerful escort. From thence he dispatched messengers to all the states in the league, inviting their deputations to concert with him the measures fittest to be pursued at the present juncture. Before the return of his couriers, he was informed that Sparta was torn by sedition. This news made him proceed southwards to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians, favourers to Cleomenes and his wild innovations, fearful that Philip's approach might give courage to their adversaries, had massacred those among them whom they deemed most dangerous. This enormity was speedily followed by other deeds equally atrocious; all of them committed under the pretence of liberty and equality, and terminating as outrageous proceedings in favour of political freedom naturally end, in the establishment of a severe and execrable tyranny, which lasted twenty years under the military usurpers Machanidas and Nabis.

On the present occasion, the party, now master of the government, sent deputies to Philip to vindicate their own innocence, and accuse the persons, who were slain, as authors of the tumult. At the same time they assured the king, that the Lacedæmonians were determined to observe most faithfully the terms of their alliance with him; and that no state whatever surpassed their sincerity, zeal, and complete devotion to his interests and those of the confederacy. When the deputies retired, Philip, who had heard them in council, desired the opinion of his ministers. All agreed that the enormity of

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Philip
marches into
Pelopon-
nesus.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

Seditious in
Sparta.

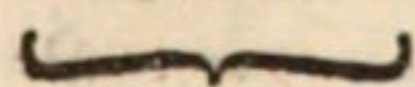
Philip's mo-
deration and
good policy
in appeasing
them.

¹⁸ Polybius, *ibid.*

the

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condly, when in the action itself they affected to fly, only to return more vigorously to the charge. If, in opposition to all rules of prudence, he had determined to come to battle, he ought at least to have fought it on the plain; there, the heavy armed Achæans would have availed themselves of their military arrangements and their weapons. On the mountains, the Etolians found every thing best adapted to their arms, their tactics, and habits of warfare.

His defence.

These accusations, just as they were, did not discourage Aratus from making an animated defence. Having described his unwearied exertions in the service of the Achæan league, he maintained that his actions ought to be examined with indulgent candour, not with sharpness and severity. Faults in conduct he did not deny, nor would he attempt to palliate them; but his principles were sound, and his intentions pure. The multitude changed from anger against him to the highest favour; testifying much resentment at his accusers, and submitting in future all their affairs to his management¹³.

Embassies of
the Achæans
to their con-
federates.
Olymp.
cxxxix. 4.
B. C. 221.

A decree passed the council for assembling the Achæans in arms, and for summoning the aid of their allies. Ambassadors were dispatched to the Phocians, Acarnanians, Bœotians, Epirots, above all, to king Philip, stating the outrages of the Etolians, and requesting that the Messenians, who had so dreadfully suffered by them, might be admitted into the general confederacy¹⁴. In Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians and Messenians agreed to furnish respectively a body of two thousand five hundred men; but instead of fulfilling this promise, the former people sent privately to make a treaty with the Etolians. Notwithstanding the flight of Cleomenes to Egypt, his partizans were all-powerful in Sparta; they had prevented the substitution of any new king in his stead, vainly expecting his return; and, in the mean time, the republic was governed by annual magistrates, deeply infected with the wild projects of Cleomenes, and inveterately hostile to Achaia and Macedon, by which powers,

¹³ Plutarch, *ibid.* & Polyb. l. iv. c. 14.

¹⁴ Id. l. iv. c. 15, & c. 26.

chiefly, his dangerous views had been defeated¹⁵. In the north of Greece, the motions of the confederates depended on those of Philip. The Thessalians were his subjects; the Epirots, since the extinction of the line of their renowned Pyrrhus, formed an inconsiderable and subservient republic; the Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Phocians had, all of them, been long accustomed to fear the Macedonians, and in the late reign to love and respect them. Under these circumstances, decisive measures on the part of Macedon might have restored public tranquillity. But Philip was only in his eighteenth year: his ministers, as will appear hereafter, were weak, perfidious, and at variance with each other, while such neighbours as the Thracians and Illyrians always appeared formidable to a new king of Macedon. Philip, therefore, though he agreed to admit the Messenians into the confederacy, yet hesitated about declaring war against the Etolians. It was usual with that people to commit unprovoked injuries, to break through all laws, to violate all engagements. In them, such proceedings, being matters of course, excited no surprise, and occasioned slight resentment; so true it is, that men are in all things guided by custom, and therefore more willing to overlook long continued and uniform habits of wickedness, than to pardon any new and unexpected act of injustice¹⁶.

Considerations which made Macedon reluctant in declaring war.

While the confederates still deliberated with little unanimity, the Etolians were already in the field. Having associated with them, through promise of plunder, some Illyrian pirates, they invaded the Peloponnesus, and entered the central province of Arcadia. In the north of that province, Cynætha was the head of a district, the wildest and roughest in the whole mountainous territory¹⁷. It was inhabited by rugged herdsmen, who scorned those arts that had been so successfully employed by their neighbours for taming savageness and polishing rusticity. Of all the Arcadians, the people of Cynætha

Cynætha in Arcadia—the brutishness of its inhabitants.

¹⁵ Plutarch in Cleomen. & Polybius, l. iv. c. 16.

¹⁶ Ibid. c. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid. c. 16, & seq.

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the Spartans ought to not pass unpunished: the most moderate were of opinion, that the government should be wrested from the hands of men who had acquired it so unwarrantably: the more violent stimulated Philip to exemplary vengeance, exhorting him to signalize his accession to the throne by the destruction of sanguinary Sparta, as the great Alexander, however humane in his nature, had begun his reign by the demolition of perfidious and incorrigible Thebes. The king spoke last; and, being then only in his eighteenth year, the sentiments which he delivered are ascribed to the suggestion of Aratus. Philip said, "that in the domestic concerns of his allies, he did not think himself entitled to interfere. When great wrongs were committed, he would indeed interpose his advice and admonition with regard to the means best fitted either to redress them, or to prevent their recurrence. Farther than this, he was convinced that he had not any right to go. The case was different, when any of the allies manifestly violated the compact, by which they were all reciprocally bound to each other. But even then, the perverse communities were to be coerced, not by himself individually, but by the confederates in general. That the Lacedæmonians had done nothing against the league, with the terms of which, on the contrary, they had declared their resolution strictly and zealously to comply. That the regulation of their internal government, belonged to themselves only; and that, if he dealt with them rigorously for errors committed on that score, he could not fail to incur the censure of mankind, when they contrasted his behaviour with that of his predecessor, who had treated the same people with the utmost gentleness, after conquering them as enemies in a just war¹⁹." Conformably with these sentiments, it was determined that no inquiry should be made concerning the recent transactions in Sparta. Ambassadors were sent however to that city, to administer the federal oath to its new magistrates; and

¹⁹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 23. & seq.

Philip repaired to Corinth to meet the deputations which he summoned thither, from the different members of the league.

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Convention
of the allies
at Corinth—
fruitless ne-
gociation
with the
Etolians.

In this convention, there was not a single state that had not injuries to complain of from the lawless and impious Etolians. It was decreed that war should be carried on against that ferocious people, until they relinquished all their possessions, beyond the limits of their own narrow territory, and until all those cities, which, under the name of allies they oppressed as subjects, should be restored to the enjoyment of their ancient laws and hereditary government; and be left untaxed, ungarrisoned, and independent. Philip, with that moderation and forbearance, which distinguished all his measures, informed the Etolians by letter of this decree, that they might send deputies to the convention, if they had any thing to alledge in extenuation of their offences. The chiefs of the Etolians answered, that they would meet the king at Rhium, and endeavour to give him satisfaction. They thought, that either his fear or his pride would decline the meeting: but this expectation being disappointed, they wrote to him a second time, saying that, as the general assembly of the Etolians had not yet convened, it was not lawful for them to enter into discussions concerning national affairs. Their assembly met soon afterwards in September, for the Etolians held their annual elections at the autumnal equinox. Insensible to their past misconduct, they elected for pretor Scopas, the main coadjutor of Dori-machus in all his late outrages. They had shut their eyes to their own injustice, and foolishly treated the rest of mankind as blind²⁰.

Yet much remained to be done before their wrongs could be re-torted. It was necessary that the decree of the convention should be ratified by the assembly of each state in particular. So dreadful was the terror which the Etolians had diffused around them, that none of the confederates wished to be the first in arms. The Messenians, though distinguished by the severity of their sufferings, were over-

Various pas-
sions and
delays
among the
confederates.

²⁰ Polybius, l. iv. c. 24. & seq.

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Lycurgus
a partizan of
the Etolians,
usurps the
government
of Sparta.

Bold enter-
prize against
the Achæan
city Ægira.
Olymp.
cxl. i.
B. C. 220.

awed by the neighbouring garrison of Phigalia. The Epirots, sadly degenerate from their ancient spirit, declined to march, till Philip was ready to reinforce them. The Acarnanians, though their country was immediately interposed between Epirus and Etolia, showed less reluctance than any other people to take the field, such was the manly sense of honour by which they were actuated; their zeal for liberty, and firmness in alliance²¹. Philip, meanwhile, had returned to Macedon to complete his preparations. The indulgence and good policy which he had shewn with regard to Sparta, had given to him many partizans in that city. Though the Etolians sent an agent thither, to renew their secret practices, the Lacedæmonians, in general, were so deeply affected by Philip's moderation, that they determined rather to adhere to their public engagements with Macedon and her allies. But this resolution had scarcely passed, when the baffled party cut off its authors in a new and more bloody sedition; and as accounts of Cleomenes' death just arrived from Egypt, named Lycurgus for his successor, a man who had no fair pretensions to the throne, and who made his way to that dignity through credit with the Etolians, and by bribing with a talent each of the five Ephori²². At the same time, Agesipolis, a child, was chosen king from the family of the Agidæ, merely by way of form.

Before Philip and his confederates had prepared for action, the Lacedæmonians, under Lycurgus, invaded the Argive territory; and the Elians, headed by Euripides an Etolian, entered the nearest districts of Achaia. Nor were the Etolians themselves remiss in forming new expeditions, worthy of their character. Ægira was a city seven stadia from the sea, midway between Sicyon and Ægium, situate on rough hills difficult of access, and overlooking the Corinthian gulph directly opposite to Delphi and Parnassus. A deserter from Etolia had been admitted into the place, and observed, that the gate towards Ægium was entrusted to men often stupified by wine,

²¹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 30.²² Id. ibid. c. 35.

and

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and always neglectful of duty. Upon this discovery, he applied to Dorimachus, who, being always ready for such enterprizes, crossed the gulph with a multitude of his countrymen in the night, and cast anchor in the river Crius, which ran by the city. The deserter was ready to receive them: he chose twenty of the most daring of the band; and having conducted them by different paths with which he was well acquainted, secretly penetrated into the place through the conduit of an aqueduct. He slew the heedless watchmen in their beds; broke the bars of the ill-guarded gate with hatchets; and threw open the entrance to his countrymen. The Etolians, who soon arrived in great numbers, behaved as if those, who had once gained admission into a city, were thereby its masters. The greater part of them separated for the purpose of depredation; and while their stragglers were employed in breaking open the houses and riffling their contents, the Ægirates had time to assemble in sufficient force to attack and repel those who still remained in a body. They were pursued with great fury; many were stifled at the gate, and many driven headlong down the precipices. Dorimachus having lost his boldest companions, disgracefully escaped to his boats²³.

Defeated by
the bravery
of the Ægi-
rates.

It was the misfortune of the Achæans, that their contingents of troops and their contributions in money were raised with extreme slowness. They thus allowed the Spartan Lycurgus to gain possession of several small fortresses in Arcadia, and Euripides, the Etolian general commanding the Elians, to seize others still more important in Achaia; from which he greatly infested that province. Dymè, Pharæ, and Tritæa suffered most by these incursions; and as they derived not any assistance from the confederacy, they applied the money due from them to the league to the raising of cavalry for the protection of their respective districts: a measure enforced by strong necessity, but of most pernicious example²⁴.

Delays and
impolicy of
the Achæ-
ans.

²³ Polybius, l. iv. c. 57. & seq.

²⁴ Ibid. c. 60. Conf. Plut. in Arat.

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Philip enters
the Etolian
territories.
Olymp.
cxl. 1.
B. C. 220.

Takes Am-
bracus and
restores it to
the Epirots.

Expels the
Etolians
from their
fortresses in
Acarnania.

When the month of May came round, the Achæans chose the younger Aratus pretor in room of his father. Philip, in the same month, began his march from Macedon at the head of so great a force, that, had he at once penetrated into Etolia, he would have made a most seasonable diversion in favour of the Achæans, and in all probability have put a speedy end to the war²⁵. But through the pressing instances of the Epirots, who had joined him in great numbers, he was prevailed on to lay siege to Ambracus, a place of much importance on the Ambracian gulph, which, penetrating above thirty miles inland, divides Epirus from Acarnania. Ambracus was well fortified by nature and art; being situate in the middle of a marsh, that could be passed by only one narrow causeway, and also strongly defended by a wall and out-works. It commanded the adjoining country, as well as the city of Ambracia; which had been the capital of Epirus under the renowned Pyrrhus, but which was now held by the Etolians. Philip spent forty days in forming mounds and approaches in the marsh, before the enemy were brought to capitulation through fear of being put to the sword. The fortress and all the neighbouring territory, he resigned to the Epirots their ancient owners.

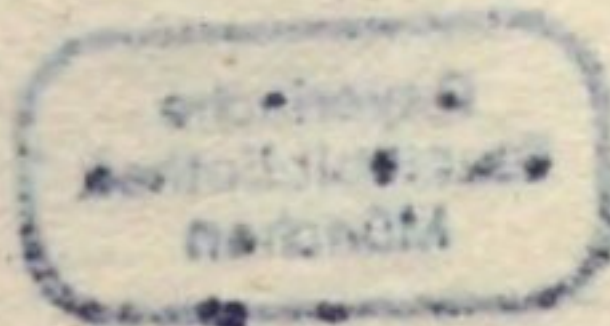
He then crossed the Ambracian gulph, where narrowest, to an ancient temple of the Acarnanians, called Actium, and destined, under that name, to high renown in history, as the scene of action between Augustus and Antony for the mastership of the Roman world. At this place, the gulph is scarcely half a mile broad²⁶, but it afterwards spreads into the expanse of ten miles, and extends twenty miles inland from Actium to Amphilocheian Argos. In Acarnania, Philip being joined by two thousand foot and two hundred

²⁵ Polybius, l. iv. c. 61.

²⁶ Before the strait at Actium, there is another still narrower at Anaetorium, communicating immediately with the Ionian sea. From this sea, Actium is distant ten

miles, nearly a third part of the length of the whole gulph. Inattention to local circumstances has greatly perplexed the battle of Actium and the operations preceding and following it: but of this hereafter.

horse



horse belonging to that republic, proceeded to the river Achelous, which flowing from mount Pindus into the Corinthian gulph, anciently separated Acarnania from Etolia. But the Etolians were now masters of both sides the river. Philip attacked their numerous strongholds extending thirty miles along the lower part of its course; and though many of them were well fortified by walls and towers, and ably defended, his perseverance prevailed in reducing Phætæa, Stratus, Illoria, Elæus, and Pæanium down to Oeniadæ at the mouth of the river. This last named place, distant only ten miles from Dynè in Achaia, Philip determined to secure in future, and began strongly to fortify it²⁷ with materials conveyed from other Etolian strongholds, which he had recently demolished. But his labours were interrupted by important intelligence from home.

While he was occupied by sieges at one extremity of the Etolian dominions, that people had drained their garrisons in the other, and made an irruption into the Pierian plain, one of the finest districts of Macedon. There, they had sacked the city of Dium venerable for its temples and festivals, and for the statues of Alexander's companions who fell in the battle of Granicus, as well as those of the long series of Macedonian kings. Philip had not suspended his operations on the first intelligence of this inroad, but he was now informed that the Dardanians, an Illyrian nation, were hovering on his northern frontier. At such a crisis, he could not safely proceed southward to Peloponnesus. He sent therefore to assure the Achæans, who plied him with successive embassies, that as soon as he had dissipated the present danger, he would think of nothing but how to afford them the most effectual aid. His unexpected return to Pella, of which the Illyrians were informed by deserters, struck these barbarians with such terror, that they immediately dispersed to their respective cantons. But, as the corn was now ripe, the Macedonians could not be withdrawn from home before they had reaped their harvest.

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XV.

Is recalled
by the inva-
sion of Pieria
and the mo-
tions of the
Dardanians.

²⁷ Polybius, l. iv. c. 64, & 65.

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Philip's winter campaign
in Peloponnesus.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B.C. 219.

He surprizes
and defeats
the Elians.

Philip, however, proceeded to Larissa in Thessaly; the affairs of that province detained him there till winter, when, being again joined by his army, particularly three thousand brazen²⁸ shielded hypaspists, he passed into Eubœa to avoid the straits of Thermopylæ, crossed from Chalcis to Bœotia, and thence proceeded to Corinth.

His march was performed with so much celerity and at such an unusual season, that it totally escaped the notice of his enemies in Peloponnesus. To keep it still a secret, he shut the gates of Corinth, and made the roads in that neighbourhood be strictly guarded. Meanwhile he called the elder Aratus from Sicyon, and also wrote to his son of the same name, then pretor of the Achæans. He then marched towards Arcadia; and near Stymphalus, on the frontier of that province, surprized a body of three thousand Elians, who had advanced to ravage Sicyonia. Euripides, their Etolian leader, had gained information of Philip's approach, but did not think proper to communicate the intelligence to his troops, although, by counter marching, he had endeavoured to avoid the enemy. But it happened that while the Macedonian van mounted the hill Apelauros, the foremost of the Elians also gained that rough ascent. Euripides with a few horsemen escaped through bye-ways to the stronghold of Psophis. His soldiers, though perplexed at the unaccountable flight of their leader, were persuaded to keep their ranks, being assured by those who succeeded to the command, that the troops whom they beheld could be no other than some contemptible Achæans who had at length taken courage to defend their possessions. The delusion was strengthened, on observing the brazen bucklers of the enemy: for Antigonus Doson had formerly armed, in that manner, the Megalopolitans whose uncommon zeal in the public cause would not fail to augment the Achæan army. But the nearer approach of the Macedonians having revealed the truth, the Elians threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight; scarcely one hundred of them

²⁸ I particularise these troops for a reason that will appear presently.

escaped

escaped captivity or death : this complete victory gave the first intimation of Philip's arrival in Peloponnesus²⁹.

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XV.

Is joined by
the younger
Aratus.

The Macedonians continued their march through Arcadia, and suffered much hardship in passing mountains then covered with deep snow. On the third day they arrived at Caphyæ, nearly midway between Stymphalus and Psophis, into which latter place, Euripides had thrown himself. The king halted two days for refreshment at Caphyæ, until he was joined by the younger Aratus, at the head of some Achæan forces, which made the whole army now exceed ten thousand men. His enemies were not likely to face him in the field, but it was Philip's intention to dispossess them of their strongholds, for which purpose he collected ladders and machines from all the cities through which he passed.

Psophis, against which he first directed his arms, was a very ancient city in the centre of Peloponnesus, and though within the Arcadian frontier, now strictly associated with the Elians, from whom it had received a garrison. It was inclosed between a deep torrent descending from mount Scaurus on the west, and not fordable in winter, and the famed river Erymanthus, ennobled by the exploits of Hercules. The two streams united a little beyond the southern walls of the city. Thus defended on three sides by water, a steep hill, skillfully fortified, served it on the north for a citadel. It was also surrounded by walls in complete repair, and of unusual height. These obstacles did not discourage Philip. He passed the Erymanthus by a bridge which the enemy unaccountably neglected to destroy. His scaling ladders were at once raised on every side, and the soldiers, who fell in the assault, were succeeded with such alacrity by fresh troops, that the besieged ceased from resistance and retreated into the citadel. Want of provisions obliged them to capitulate. Philip strictly observed the conditions granted to them, relieved their present necessities, and advised them to remain in their place of safety,

Takes Psophis and inferior cities in Arcadia.

²⁹ Polybius, l. iv. c. 68. & seq.

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until his army had moved forward, lest any of them might be pillaged or insulted by his soldiers. The tempestuous weather detained him a few days in Psophis. At his departure, he gave the city to the Achæans, accompanying the gift with many professions of good will to their commonwealth, and observing, that a city, which had long infested them, might now be converted into a place of arms for infesting their enemies. The surrender of Psophis occasioned that of Lasion and Stratus, smaller cities usurped by the Elians on that frontier. The former, Philip also gave to the Achæans; the latter, he restored to the Arcadians of Telphussa, from whose territory it had formerly been dismembered³⁰.

Philip invades
Elis.—Man-
ners of the
Elians.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

The king had now at his mercy the neighbouring province of Elis, to which the Etolians sent but feeble succours, and to which the Lacedæmonians, for a reason that will presently be explained, could not afford the smallest aid. He first proceeded to Olympia, and sacrificed to the gods of the place, as if to deprecate their wrath against his invasion of a territory long held sacred. But the Elians, by taking an active part in all recent commotions, and especially by their alliance with the Etolians the great disturbers of the public tranquillity, had stupidly forfeited the best of all national privileges, that of maintaining undisturbed peace, in the midst of inveterate and unceasing warfare. A remnant of their ancient manners, of their industry and innocency, still appeared in their passion for agriculture, and their fondness for retired rural life, which had formerly been carried to such a height, that many opulent families, settled in the country of Elis, had never once visited the capital of that name in the course of two or three generations³¹. The territory, therefore, was extremely populous, so that Philip made great numbers of prisoners among those who refused to embrace his cause, and had not time to escape to their strongholds. Of these, one of the principal was Thalamæ in the north of the province. It surrendered on the

³⁰ Polybius, l. iv. c. 72. & seq.

³¹ Id. ibid. c. 73.

first assault, though Amphidamus, pretor of the Elians, commanded two hundred mercenaries in the place, which contained besides five thousand persons, and much valuable property. In the south of the province Philip was equally successful; the whole district of Triphylia, separating Elis from Messenia, and adorned by eight rich cities, submitted in the course of six days.

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XV.

His rapid conquests in that province.

This conquest brought Philip to the neighbourhood of Phigalia, which, as a fit post for infesting Messenia, had been occupied, as we have seen, by Etolian pirates, the original authors of the war. The Phigalians had been long weary of these insolent masters; whose injuries they now had it in their power to punish: they allowed them, however, to depart in safety with their effects; and then sent a deputation to Philip, inviting him to take possession of Phigalia. Shortly before this surrender, Philip had gained Alipheira, another fortress on the same western frontier of Arcadia, fifteen miles north of Phigalia, and then occupied by Elians. The town stood on a steep and craggy ridge above a mile in height; and the highest peak supported a strong citadel, ornamented with a brazen statue of Minerva, of uncommon magnitude and exquisite beauty. Upon what occasion or at whose expence this precious monument was erected at Alipheira, even the inhabitants did not pretend to explain. But all agreed, that it was the work of Hecatodorus and Sostratus in the noblest age³² of art, and one of the most finished productions of those great masters³³.

Phigalia surrendered to him;

and Alipheira.

Colossal statue of Minerva.

After this brilliant campaign, Philip, having secured his conquests, evacuated Arcadia, and spent the remainder of the winter in Argos. Early in the spring, he took the field in Achaia, with a view to expel the Elians from a stronghold called Teichos, on the verge of the Dymeian district. The place was of small extent, being scarcely a furlong and a half in circuit, but its strong walls rose to the height

Philip takes Teichos. — The height of its walls.

³² Hecatodorus flourished in the 102 Olympiad, and Sostratus in the 114. Plin. N. H. l. xxxiv. c. 8. Both Pliny and Pau-

sanias, l. viii. c. 26. call him Hypatodorus.

³³ Polyb. l. iv. c. 78.

C H A P.

XV.

Philip's ministers.—
Their unworthy intrigues.

Philip prevailed on to oppose Aratus.

of forty-five feet. In this enterprize, his good fortune continued to attend him. He gave the fortress to the Dymeans; and advancing beyond it into Elis with his army, collected much booty from the hitherto unravaged parts of that territory³⁴.

In his proceedings hitherto, Philip had been guided chiefly by the elder Aratus, to the great dissatisfaction of his Macedonian ministers. These men, who had not ventured to exhibit their true characters during the vigilant reign of Antigonus Dofon, stood in less awe of his youthful successor. Antigonus, with that prudence which marked his conduct, had assigned to them by will, such distinct departments in the service of his nephew, as seemed best calculated to diminish rivalry and prevent discord. Apelles was appointed to attend his person as a guardian or counsellor; Leontius was set over the infantry; Alexander commanded the body-guard; Megaleas was public secretary; and Taurion, the king's lieutenant in Peloponnesus. Apelles however, by gaining the ear of the young prince, began to engross the whole power of administration. Leontius and Megaleas had become his creatures: he openly arraigned the incapacity of Alexander; by insidious praises, more dangerous than reproach, he laboured to ruin Taurion; but the elder Aratus was the main object of his jealousy. Apelles had instilled into Philip's mind, too susceptible of ambition, that, instead of the ally, he ought to make himself the master of the Achæans³⁵. On several occasions he had taught the Macedonians to treat their auxiliaries with contumely; to dislodge them from their quarters, to deprive them of their due share in the common plunder. But at the intercession of Aratus, Philip had redressed these grievances, and even reprimanded his haughty counsellor, whose authority over him was founded merely on the superiority of years, and on habit, without any corresponding enforcement from abilities or virtues. To regain his credit, Apelles began to tamper with those Achæan leaders who were at variance with

³⁴ Polyb. l. iv. c. 83.

³⁵ Id. ibid. c. 76. & seq.

Aratus about employments in the state. He took care that Philip's ears should be frequently besieged by their complaints, and his mind corrupted by insinuations, that were the pretorship wrested from the family, or dependants of Aratus, the king would find it easy to direct, at pleasure, the affairs of Peloponnesus. To make this tempting experiment, Philip met the Achæans in their vernal assembly at Ægium; the younger Aratus laid down his office at its legal term: his father recommended Timoxenus to fill his place; but through the solicitations of Apelles, which were considered as those of Philip himself, Timoxenus was repulsed, and Eperatus, a citizen of Pharæ, elected pretor³⁶.

Apelles determined to follow up this victory; and an accidental occurrence greatly encouraged his design. When Amphidamus, the general of the Elians, as related above, was made prisoner in Thalamæ, he obtained admission to Philip, and convinced him, that without the labour of new battles and sieges, he might on easy terms make the Elians his friends. Philip said, that if they would quit their alliance with the Etolians, he would himself defend them from external danger, while their domestic concerns should be submitted wholly to their own management. Favourable as these conditions were, Amphidamus could not persuade his countrymen to accept them: though many of their cities and a great part of their territory, as well as innumerable prisoners, were in the hands of the enemy, they adhered obstinately and unaccountably to the worst of allies; men whose furious passions knew little distinction between friend and foe; and who frequently outraged intolerably the very nations whom they professed to defend. Apelles assured Philip, that Aratus and his son were at the bottom of this inexplicable perverseness. These refined and far-seeing politicians, he said, affected in their deep wisdom to discern much danger to Greece, from the entire submission of the Elians to Philip. To anticipate so perilous a re-

Apelles' calumnies against Aratus, detected.

³⁶ Polybius, l. iv. c. 82.

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sult, they had practised secretly with Ampidamus, at whose instigation his countrymen had rejected terms of peace with which they ought eagerly to have closed. Philip, giving too easy an ear to this calumny, instantly called the persons accused into his presence; Apelles urged his accusation with the utmost confidence; and, as the king remained silent, told them from himself, that his master was so much shocked with their double dealing and ingratitude, that he had determined to desire an extraordinary meeting of the Achæans, and to explain in that assembly his reasons for returning immediately to Macedon, and relinquishing all concern in their affairs. The elder Aratus requested Philip to suspend his judgment: that accusation was not proof: that he was fully conscious of his own innocence, and doubted not but he should defeat every machination by which Apelles might endeavour to impeach it. While Apelles was still preparing his evidence, Ampidamus suddenly arrived at Dymè. His zeal in exhorting his countrymen to accept Philip's offers of accommodation, had made them regard him as a traitor, and they had attempted to seize his person, that he might be sent a prisoner into Etolia. He had escaped their grasp, and now came to take refuge with Philip, for whose sake he had incurred so much danger. Upon the first news of his arrival, Aratus ran to the king, and requested that Ampidamus might be immediately sent for; observing, that none could give clearer evidence concerning the delinquency with which he himself was charged, than the person supposed to be his accomplice; and that none would disclose the truth more readily to Philip, than the man whose whole hopes centered in the royal protection. Ampidamus was called and questioned: the calumny was clearly detected³⁷; but though the persons accused thereby rose in credit with Philip, yet the young prince could not break the chain of dependence in which Apelles had contrived to bind him.

³⁷ Polyb. l. iv. c. 86.

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belligerent
powers.

Eperatus, raised by that minister to the pretorship of Achaia, soon shewed himself unfit for so arduous a trust. Philip was obliged to have recourse to the influence of Aratus, before the Achæans would consent to pay to him his expected subsidies³⁸. The three states, with which he was at war, had not hitherto afforded much assistance to each other. The Spartans had been rendered inactive abroad, by a new sedition at home, headed by a bold and popular youth named Chilon, who balanced the authority and threatened the life of Lycurgus; and the Etolians, though they carried their arms wherever plunder tempted them, and had lately ransacked even the venerable temple of Dodona in Epirus, yet shewed great backwardness to encounter the Macedonians in the field, and had made but feeble efforts in defence of their Elia allies. But as Lycurgus, the steady partizan of Etolia, had now recovered his ascendancy in Sparta, Philip had reason to fear that his enemies might begin to act with united vigour.

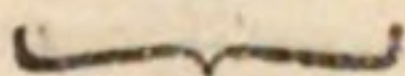
To prevent their co-operation, and at the same time to assail with seasonable celerity their widely separated possessions, he assembled his own and the Achæan fleet in Lechæum, the western harbour of Corinth³⁹. The Macedonian foldiers were soon enured to the labour of the oar; and the character of that people leading them to perform zealously every service enjoined them, they soon became as expert at sea as on land, and equally brave on either element. Having stationed some vessels to guard the friendly shore of the Messenians, who had become active in the war since the expulsion of the Etolian pirates from Phigalia, and having left a considerable force to protect the inland frontiers of his allies, Philip sailed for Cephallenia, to attack Palus or Palle, the principal naval magazine of the enemy. The place was almost surrounded by precipices, or by the sea, and could be approached only by a narrow terrace, looking towards Zacynthus. But the

Philip attacks Palle in Cephallenia. Olymp. cxi. 2. B. C. 219.

³⁸ Fifty talents the day he took the field; corn, furnished Philip with an annual subsidy 10,000 measures of corn; and 17 talents of 37,000l. Polyb. l. v. c. 1. monthly. At this rate the Achæans, besides ³⁹ Strabo, l. viii. p. 262.

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Macedonians, were full of alacrity; the neighbouring fields supplied them with a profusion of ripe corn; and Philip had been joined by many Epirots, Messenians, and Acarnanians, whose shores had been long infested from this Cephallenian harbour. His machines were advanced towards the only side on which the city was assailable; the defenders of Palus were driven from their outworks: and, a mine two hundred feet long being drawn under the walls, the place was summoned to capitulate. But as the Palleans rejected this alternative, Philip set fire to the wooden piles on which the fortifications were built: a dreadful ruin ensued, and the Macedonian hypaspists, the bravest body in the army, were commanded to enter by the breach ⁴⁰.

His enter-
prize discon-
certed by
treachery.

But on this occasion, the intrigues of Leontius, which will be accounted for presently, defeated the near prospect of taking the place. He had practised with the officers serving under him to abet his villainy, and his men were led to the attack with such dexterous unskillness, that they were thrice disgracefully repulsed. The great number of the wounded deterred Philip from renewing the assault. He marked, however, the complicated treachery by which his enterprize had been frustrated; but, as he had learned that Dorimachus the Etolian pretor had marched with more than half his army into Thessaly, he hastened to the capital of Etolia itself, left nearly defenceless. On the second night he arrived with his fleet at Leucas, sailed through the shallow artificial channel ⁴¹ between that island and Acarnania by supporting his galleys on buoyant skiffs usually employed for that purpose, and then steering his course up the Ambracian gulph, arrived before day-break at the safe harbour of Limnæa. Here, he was speedily joined by the Acarnanians in a mass ⁴², headed by their pretor Aristophantus, for the whole nation, even those long past the military age, were inflamed with keen desire to avenge their wrongs from the Etolians. The Epirots also flocked to his standard, but the great extent of their country rendered it more difficult for them to assemble. Philip marched from Limnæa in the evening, and, at

He invades
Etolia.
Olymp.
cal. 2.
B. C. 219.

⁴⁰ Polyb. l. v. c. 4.

⁴¹ Strabo, l. x. p. 451.

⁴² Πανδημει. Polyb. l. v. c. 6.

the distance of six miles, allowing his troops to take some refreshment, continued his progress all night to the banks of the Achelous, between Stratus and Canopè. In the space of twelve hours he had marched thirty-five miles, and stood on the Etolian frontier, only twenty miles distant from the capital Thermum, the seat of religion and government, and the vast magazine into which this nation of robbers had collected the accumulating plunder of many ages.

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The road to Thermum led through Metapa and Pamphla, towns on the lake Trichonis, embosomed in woody mountains, which can only be crossed by narrow and intricate defiles. Philip passed the Achelous, and proceeding twelve miles in an eastern direction, entered the rough and steep paths near Metapa, whose inhabitants took flight at his approach. He was careful, however, to leave guards at the narrow entrances, thereby to secure his retreat. He then came to Pamphla, which is half way between Metapa and Thermum, and about three miles distant from the latter, the whole way being almost a continued ascent, difficult throughout, and in many places made dreadful by vaulting rocks and yawning caverns, fit avenues to the terrible den of the savage and merciless Etolians. But the hitherto inviolated security of Thermum had rendered that people altogether unprepared for receiving an enemy. Both their territory and their city suffered similar injuries to those which they had been accustomed to inflict. The booty was immense; what could not easily be transported, was burned: among other articles of value, fifteen thousand suits of armour were committed to the flames. In those signal acts of vengeance, Philip did nothing inconsistent with the rights of conquest, as understood and acknowledged in his age and country. But when he called to mind the sacrilege recently committed by the Etolians at Dodona, the most ancient oracle in Greece; and still more, when he reflected on their outrages at Dium, the most venerated sanctuary of Macedon, his rage disdained all ordinary limits. The porticoes to the temple were set on fire:

Tremendous
avenue to
Thermum,
the capital of
that country.

Dreadful de-
solation of
Thermum.

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Inscription
on its ruins.

Philip's im-
policy and
impiety.

His return to
the sea coast,
and carousal
with his ge-
nerals.

its votive offerings, many of them works of exquisite art, were reduced to a heap of rubbish; the statues, almost two thousand in number, were overturned, and all of them defaced, except those bearing the form and superscription of some favourite divinity: the roof of the temple was burnt, and even the greater part of its walls demolished to the foundation. On a massy fragment of the ruin, the following verse was engraved: "Behold how far the bolts of Dium fly!" The line is parodied from one in Euripides⁴³, and was the more energetic in Greek, because, by its double⁴⁴ meaning in that language, heaven itself was made a party in the king's ungoverned fury; and in the destruction of the temple of Thermum, the gods of Macedon were represented as taking vengeance on those of Etolia. The epigram, for it deserves not any better name, was the work of Samius, a youth who had been educated with the king, and whose ingenious witticisms were afterwards much celebrated. He was the son of Chryfogonus, who will appear presently in the character of a virtuous counsellor, as well as in that of an able general. But though Philip's courtiers and contemporaries approved his sacrilegious proceedings, both their impolicy and their impiety have been stigmatised by the impartial voice of history. His behaviour appeared equally weak and wicked, when contrasted with that of his three most illustrious predecessors; with the generosity of Antigonus Doson at Sparta; with the indulgence of Philip, the father of Alexander, to the Athenians; above all, with the religious forbearance of Alexander himself, who protected from the slightest insult every thing sacred, even among the Persians, though those barbarians had demolished or prophaned the most venerable temples of Greece⁴⁵.

The news of the invasion hastened Dorimachus from Thessaly. He had been prevented from descending into the rich Thessalian plain by Chryfogonus, just mentioned, then commanding in that

⁴³ Οὐρανὸς τοῦ ἀέρος, ὃ θεὸς διεπτατο.

Euripid. Supplic. v. 860.

⁴⁴ Το Διὸν βέλος means either the divine darts, or the darts of Dium.

⁴⁵ Polyb. l. v. c. 10.

country;

country; and he came home only in time to lament the desolation of his country. Philip returned to his ships by his former road; and, on his way to the sea coast, set fire to Pamphlia, and rased Metapa to the ground, the guards which he had posted at the gorges of the mountains repelling the hovering parties of the enemy, who might otherwise have obstructed the retreat of an army encumbered with booty. The Etolians had assembled in force at Stratus, on the right bank of the Achelous. Without having attempted to disturb Philip's passage of the river, they endeavoured to harass his rear, but they were repelled with considerable loss, and saved from total destruction only by the strength of their walls. Upon the safe arrival of the army at Limnæa, solemn sacrifices of thanks were offered to the gods, and Philip held a carousal with his officers, from which, according to the Greek fashion, it was shameful for any man to retire sober.

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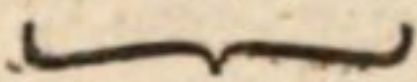
The truth, that is in wine, unmasked on this occasion Leontius and Megaleas, who, since their patron Apelles had sunk in credit with the king, had been co-operating with that minister in a scheme of the blackest perfidy. When Apelles, as we have before seen, was foiled in his attempt to ruin Aratus, and the latter thereby gained even new credit with Philip, the pangs of disappointed ambition exasperated a fierce mind into implacable resentment, both against his royal master and his triumphant rival. But the keener his animosity, the greater care he employed to conceal it. Affecting warm zeal for the service, while Philip yet prepared for his Etolian expedition, Apelles sailed to Chalcis, under pretence of expediting the equipments in that warlike magazine, and of being more conveniently situate there for corresponding with Thessaly and Macedon, and directing the financial administration of those countries. His real design in the voyage was to intercept the king's resources, while the other conspirators laboured with equal assiduity to tarnish his glory in the field⁴⁶.

Drunken
fray, in
which Ara-
tus is in-
sulted.

⁴⁶ Polyb. l. v. c. 14, & seq.

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Philip's ministers betray their villainous design.

We have seen how successfully Leontius obstructed the taking of Palle, in Cephallenia; the king, however, still kept on terms with him, fearful of his credit with the targeteers whom he commanded, and because both he and his accomplices had hitherto concealed their hostility. But, at the breaking up of the drunken entertainment, Leontius and Megaleas ventured openly to assault Aratus: he was defended by his friends; a fray thus ensued between the adherents of either party; the king sent troops to end the vile contest, and secure the authors of it; Leontius slid unnoticed through the crowd, but Megaleas and Crinon, more daring at that moment, were conducted to Philip, and aggravated their guilt by declaring that they would not rest satisfied without inflicting condign punishment on their adversaries. The king reprimanded their insolence, imposed on each of them a fine of twenty talents, and ordered them to be taken into custody until the mulct were liquidated. Next day Leontius, attended by some favourite targeteers, repaired to the king's tent, to make inquiry concerning the arrest of his friends, and to know by whose authority they were confined. Philip, though in early youth, answered, "by mine," with an air of such intrepid dignity, that the conspirator was seized with the terror which he had hoped to inspire.

Their trial proves ineffectual.

As the fleet had now prepared for sailing back to Leucadia, the farther examination of the culprits was delayed until they arrived in that island. There, the king made an equitable partition among his forces of the plunder gained in Etolia; and a council of Macedonians, of the first rank in the court and army, met to try Megaleas and Crinon. Aratus was their accuser: among the proofs which he produced against them, many tended also to blacken Leontius and Apelles. But the court was contented with confirming the king's sentence against the persons accused. Leontius was even admitted as surety for Megaleas, who was therefore discharged; Crinon remained in confinement.

Philip's

Philip's success in Etolia encouraged his hopes, and invigorated his activity. He staid but two days at Leucas, and early in the third morning sailed for Corinth, not omitting, in the course of his voyage, to ravage the Etolian coast, particularly the fertile district of Æanthè. From the harbour of Lechæum he sent couriers to his allies, desiring them to meet him in Arcadia, that their united forces might invade Laconia⁴⁷. He then left Lechæum, and on the seventh day gained the hills that overlook Sparta, and encamped at Amyclæ, three miles south of that capital. Leaving Amyclæ, famous for its temple and colossal statue of Apollo⁴⁸, and distinguished for its rich variety of trees and fruits, he carried his incursions southward to the promontory of Tenarus, and then retracing his route, passed the city and safe harbour of Gythium⁴⁹; from thence skirting the inmost recesses of the Laconic gulph, he again proceeded southward to Bæa, near the promontory of Malea the western horn, as it were, of Laconia and Peloponnesus. From cape Malea he returned northward, and wasted the country on every side, particularly the beautiful plain of Helos, the largest and finest district in the whole territory. A predatory march of four days brought him back to his former encampment at Amyclæ.

Meanwhile the Spartan king Lycurgus could hardly give credit to Philip's celerity, having just heard of his expedition to Thermum, and of the ruin with which he had overwhelmed, only fifteen days before, a place a hundred and fifty miles distant from Sparta, and two hundred from cape Malea. While the invasion raged in the south of his country, Lycurgus had been occupied on the opposite frontier, and was returning from Glympes, where he had defeated a body of the allies hastening to join Philip, according to the instructions which, as before seen, they had received from that prince. As much elated by this victory as he was enraged at Philip's devastations,

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Philip's return to Corinth, and invasion of Laconia.
Olymp. cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

His wonderful celerity.

⁴⁷ Polybius, l. v. c. 17. & seq.

⁴⁸ History of ancient Greece, c. xiv.

⁴⁹ The city Gythium, or Gythæum, is distant above two miles from the harbour.

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Bold operations in the neighbourhood of Sparta.

Lycurgus determined that his enemies should not repass Sparta without fighting a battle.

For understanding clearly his dispositions toward this end, it is necessary to advert to the situation of the Lacedæmonian capital, which, though commonly described as a round city⁵⁰ on a plain, was defended by mountains at no great distance from it. The Eurotas flows on the East of Sparta, a river too deep to be forded during the greatest part of the year, and whose eastern margin is roughened by the ridge called Menelaïum, from its towering temple of Menelaus, as well as from the tombs of that hero and his too celebrated queen. The hills of Menelaïum are of sufficient altitude to command the space between themselves and Sparta; which space, including the part occupied by the stream, does not exceed three hundred yards in breadth⁵¹. To interrupt Philip's return through this narrow ground, in his way from Amyclæ, Lycurgus in person occupied mount Menelaïum, with two thousand men, and gave orders to the far greater number which remained in the city, as soon as they beheld his signal, to issue from several gates at once, with their front towards the Eurotas, and in the place where that river flowed nearest to the city. His orders were obeyed with precision. Yet Philip, after twice defeating the Spartans, forced his way through the defile, and encamped securely at its northern extremity, about a quarter of a mile distant from Sparta. The post which he thus occupied commanded the only access to that city from all the northern parts of Peloponnesus, and was admirably adapted for making safe incursions into the adjacent districts. At breaking up his camp, Philip formed his men in proud array, thus defying his enemies before he began his retreat. As the Spartans stirred not from their walls, he converted his order of battle into a column of march. In his return northward he offered sacrifices of thanks to the mountains Eva and

⁵⁰ The circuit of Sparta was 48 stadia: that of a circle. Polybius, l. ix. c. 21.
that of Megalopolis, 50; yet the former was the larger city, its form being more nearly

⁵¹ Polybius, l. v. c. 18, et seq.

Olympus, scenes already commemorated in the history of the Cleomenic war. He made a short halt at Tegea, to dispose of the heaviest part of his booty; and from thence passed through Argos to Corinth.

The kings of Macedon were never exposed to greater danger than after some brisk tide of prosperity. This peculiarity arose from the composition and character of their armies. In the battles near Sparta, the targeteers, headed by Leontius and his friends, had carried away the palm of victory. Their natural insolence, heightened by success, broke out into open mutiny, which was quelled by the presence of mind and spirit of the young king.

Philip quells
a sedition
raised by his
ministers.

Leontius and Megaleas, seeing that their schemes against Philip had redounded to their own disgrace, sent for their coadjutor Apelles from Chalcis, that his great dexterity might be exerted towards re-establishing their influence. To grace his return, they sent to meet him the most distinguished divisions of men whom they commanded. His entrance to Corinth had thus the air of a triumph. But when he hastened to see the king, an attendant told him that Philip was busy: Apelles disdained to take a refusal; the guards, however, were firm in denying him admission. He then perceived that his perfidies had come to light; and the retinue that attended him also perceived the downfall of his authority. They immediately left him to the company of his own servants; for the estimation of men, as Polybius observes, is decided at courts, by a trifle; and they are either talents or farthings, just as the smile or frown of royalty stamps the impression on them⁵². Megaleas, when apprised of the disgrace of a minister through whose means he had expected to recover his own credit, no longer endeavoured to maintain his ground. He fled from Corinth, unperceived, during a visit made by Philip across the gulph to Phocis, the motives for which, at this juncture, are not explained. Megaleas first took shelter in Athens, but was

They are de-
feated in
their machi-
nations, and
capitally pun-
ished.

⁵² Polybius, v. 26.

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expelled from that city as an enemy to the king: he afterwards found refuge in Thebes. In the voyage to Phocis, Philip carried with him Apelles, and even admitted him to his table, but without giving him much of his conversation, or any share of his confidence. He shortly returned from the northern side of the Corinthian gulph to Sicyon, and lodged in the house of Aratus, without regard to the affront thereby given to the invitation of Eperatus, actual pretor of the republic. When he learned the flight of Megaleas, he ordered his surety, Leontius, to be imprisoned, after he had taken the precaution of removing the targeteers to a distance; and though these troops clamoured with their usual licentiousness against the confinement of their leader, an incident now happened which enabled the king to set their resentment at defiance. The Etolians, humbled by a long series of misfortunes, had prevailed on the republics of Rhodes and Chios, commercial states, ever friendly to public tranquillity, to use their good offices in obtaining for them a truce with Philip, preparatory to a general pacification. To deliberate on this measure, Philip summoned the deputies of his allies to Patræ, in Achaia. But at this place letters were brought to him, intercepted in Phocis, and written by Megaleas, in name of all the conspirators, to the Etolians, exhorting them strenuously to persevere in the war. This discovery afforded such convincing proofs of guilt, that the Macedonians concurred with their king in condemning Apelles, together with his son and Leontius, to death. Persons were sent to Thebes to cite Megaleas before the magistrates of that place, for the payment of the fine imposed on him, in order that his person might be surrendered to a heavier punishment. He escaped the sentence of the law by laying violent hands on himself⁵³.

The only survivor amongst them, Ptolemy, convicted and executed.

The Etolians, when they heard of these events, never doubted that the destruction of so many ministers and generals would create much confusion in Philip's government, and much dissatisfaction in

⁵³ Ibid. c. 28.

his

his army. Accordingly they broke off the negociation; a circumstance by no means displeasing to the king. As the winter was now far advanced, he sent home the Macedonians through Theffaly, and himself failed to Demetrias, in that province. In this place he found Ptolemy, an officer of the targeteers, and the only person still alive who had been involved in the conspiracy. Ptolemy was publicly tried by the Macedonians, and, after clear conviction, sentenced to death⁵⁴.

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Though all hopes of immediate peace had vanished, various circumstances kept the armies on both sides inactive during the first weeks of spring. New commotions in Sparta had driven Lycurgus from his country; and it was not until his return, that the Lacedæmonians resumed courage to co-operate with their Elia and Etolian allies. The northern frontiers of Macedon were invaded by hovering hordes of Dardanians. Before marching into Greece, Philip was obliged to fortify his dominions on that side, and particularly the valley, watered by the Axios, in Pæonia⁵⁵, the easiest route from Dardania into Macedon. A considerable body of Macedonians, under Taurion in Peloponnesus, was obliged to keep on the defensive, because, through the bad administration of the pretor Eperatus, the Achæan army had dwindled to a mere shadow. But when the month of May came round, the elder Aratus was, for the sixteenth time, named to the pretorship. Under his direction, a decree passed for raising eight thousand infantry and five hundred horse; to which body of mercenaries the Achæans were to add three thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, all to be chosen from the wealthiest portion of their citizens, and to serve at their own expence. They were also to guard with stout galleys the coast of Argolis; and a squadron in the Corinthian gulph was to be kept in readiness for infesting the

State of the
belligerent
powers.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

⁵⁴ Id. l. v. c. 29.

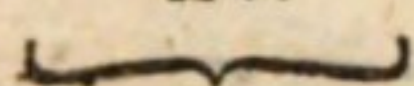
⁵⁵ The Dardanians had recently made an incursion that way, and taken the city Bylazor, the largest in Pæonia. Philip ex-

pelled the enemy from this place, and secured the passes leading to it. Polyb. l. 5. c. 97.

Etolians.

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Etolians. Shortly after this resolution, operations commenced by reciprocal incursions: these open inroads were accompanied by surprises in the night and ambushes by day; but no pitched battle was fought, nor did any place of importance change masters. The Achæan fleet made several bold descents on the coast of Etolia, near Naupactus, and carried off much booty and many prisoners, among whom Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus, because he had been connected in hospitality with the Achæans, was enlarged without ransom⁵⁶. His companions were sold for slaves. The generous treatment of Cleonicus, though not unusual on similar occasions, engaged him to prolong his stay in Achaia until Philip's arrival there, by whom we shall see him employed a few months afterwards in the negotiations for peace.

Aratus dexterously adjusts the differences among the Megalopolitans.

Amidst the tumult of military operations, Aratus was for a short time employed in a transaction peculiarly suitable to his character. The citizens of Megalopolis, since the disasters with which they had been afflicted in the Cleomenic war, had been a prey to those discontents which indigence is apt to create, even among a generous and high-minded people. Warm debates prevailed about the manner of rebuilding their city. One party contended that the ancient circuit of their walls, above five miles in extent, ought to be much contracted. Besides this alteration, which they represented as essential to security, they insisted that the richer citizens should severally relinquish a third part of their lands, in order to obtain an accession of new inhabitants. The other party absolutely refused to listen to either of these proposals. Their dissent was sanctioned by Prytanis, the peripatetic⁵⁷, a man of great learning and authority, whom Antigonus Doson had formerly sent to Megalopolis to reform the laws of that state. But in the heat of faction, the reasonings of the philosopher were disregarded, or became the source of fresh discord.

⁵⁶ Id. v. 95.

⁵⁷ Καὶ τοῦτον τῆς αἰσχροῦς (viz. Aristotelism). How much Aristotle was an enemy to agra-

rian laws, and similar interferences with private property, appears from the 2d book of his poleticks throughout.

The

The dexterity of Aratus, whose whole life had united business with study, proved more successful. Through his skilful interposition, the parties in Megalopolis were perfectly reconciled to each other; and the conditions of their agreement were recorded on a pillar erected near Ægium, the seat of the Achæan council. In a grove adjacent to that city, a temple had been dedicated to Jupiter, "the lover of concord and protector of confederacies." Such an edifice seemed a fit receptacle for a marble record, commemorating the accommodation of all differences in Megalopolis, and its determined fidelity to the Achæan league⁵⁸.

Meanwhile Philip moved his army from Macedon, and began his campaign by an enterprise more immediately useful to himself. This was to expel the Etolians from their strongholds extending along the southern frontier of Thessaly, from the eastern extremity of Etolia to the Ægean sea. At Melitæa, one of the strongest of these fortresses, he failed in his assault through the shortness of his ladders. After an obstinate siege, he gained however Thebes, in Phthiotis, a place still more important, since, commanding the entrance of the Pelasgic gulph, it stood conveniently for infesting all the neighbouring districts of Thessaly⁵⁹. Philip then proceeded to Peloponnesus, to grace with his presence the Nemean games, which were ready to be celebrated at Argos. While he sat at this solemnity, a messenger arrived from Macedon, bringing news of the famous battle of Thra-
fymenus, in Tuscany, where Hannibal had defeated the Romans, and driven them from the open country within their walls. New Ambassadors arrived also from Rhodes and Chios, now accompanied by those of Egypt⁶⁰ and Byzantium, all earnestly desirous of composing the differences that had too long reigned in Greece. Philip declared, as before, his readiness to listen to them, provided they could bring the Etolians to reasonable terms. The ambassadors re-

Philip takes
Thebes, in
Phthiotis.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

News of Ha-
nibal's victo-
ries brought
to him at
Argos.

Negotiations
for peace,
through the
intervention
of maritime

⁵⁸ Id. c. 93.

⁵⁹ Id. c. 99.

⁶⁰ From Ptolemy Philopator, then in the fifth year of his profligate reign.

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and com-
mercial
powers.

paired with this agreeable news to Etolia; but, before their return, the king had been strongly urged by Demetrius of Pharus, a man whose character will soon appear in its proper light, to put an end to the wars in Greece, and direct his views towards Italy. He therefore sent Cleonicus of Naupactus to soften, as much as possible, the fierce minds of his countrymen, but at the same time proceeded himself with his army to the Elia frontier, and stormed the city Lasion, that he might not seem too eager for peace. Cleonicus repassed several times between him and the Etolians, and finally returned with assurances, that the magistrates of that people wished only for a personal conference with the king, in which all differences might be adjusted. Philip, in order to second this disposition, proceeded to Panormus, a harbour in Achaia directly opposite to Naupactus in Etolia; writing at the same time to his allies to send thither their deputies, empowered to treat of a general pacification. While he expected their arrival, he, with his usual activity, visited Zacynthus, and settled to his own satisfaction the affairs of that island. The deputies had now joined him: the Etolians still pressed the negotiation: but Philip, in order completely to satisfy his doubts concerning that turbulent people, sent to them the elder Aratus and Taurion to penetrate their real intentions⁶.

End of the
social war.

In one short conference, these able men fully satisfied themselves that the Etolians were sincere. They returned therefore without delay, bringing with them ambassadors to request that Philip would pass into Etolia, for the purpose of accommodating all disputes, more easily, in a personal interview with their magistrates. Philip embarked his troops, sailed across the Corinthian gulph, and encamped at the distance of two miles from Naupactus. The Etolians assembled without arms at a small distance from his camp. The negotiation began by a proposal from Philip, in the name of his allies, that peace should be established on the basis of actual possession. The

⁶ Id. c. 101. & seq.

Etolians consented to this principle, though highly unfavourable to them, because they had lost in the war many important strongholds. But several conferences were requisite for settling all matters in detail, in one of which Agelaus of Naupactus spoke to the following purpose: "It were most earnestly to be wished, that the Greeks had always kept peace amongst themselves, and directed their hostilities against surrounding Barbarians. But that which would have been good policy at all times, is in the present juncture a matter of necessity. Consider the great and ambitious powers that have arisen in the west, and the vast exertions which they have been able to make by sea and land. They are actually engaged in a second and more desperate conflict; and whichever party prevails, think not that the victor will be contented with the spoils of his present adversary. He will look around him for new enemies, that may furnish him with materials for richer and more glorious triumphs. Instead of reducing to weakness and despondency any of the states of Greece, a king of Macedon ought to cherish them all, as members of his own body. The strength, resulting from such concord, will probably prevent aggression; if not, cordial co-operation will most certainly enable us to repel it. Placed at the head of united Greece and a watchful observer of foreign powers, Philip may seize opportunities for successful enterprize, that will place him in a rank with the most illustrious princes in his family; conquerors and civilisers of the world. Let us then hasten to conclude a lasting peace in the sincere spirit of amity; for, if we continue to grow weaker by unceasing divisions, and the storm which threatens in the west should assail us unprepared, I much fear there will be an end at once to our wars and our treaties, and all independent power in the management of our own affairs⁶²." The sentiments of Agelaus met with much approbation from all present, especially from the king; and a general peace was concluded

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Prophetic
speech of
Agelaus of
Naupactus.
Olymp.
cxl. 4.
B. C. 217.

⁶² Id. c. 104.

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State of
Greece at
the end of
the social
war.—Pelo-
ponnesians.

Republics
beyond the
isthmus,—
Their dege-
neracy and
profligacy.

Aratus and
Agelaus re-
spectively at
the head of
Achaia and
Etolia.

on the terms which Philip had proposed. In consequence of this transaction, the states of Peloponnesus obtained a breathing time, after the long wars in which their love of liberty had involved them. No people were better calculated than the Peloponnesians for innocent rural labours, and for enjoying with moderation all those gifts which industry and good polity bear in their train. Yet their unquenchable zeal for freedom, kept them in perpetual agitation and warfare after the principal states beyond the isthmus had submitted to a tranquil servitude. Thessaly had long been a province of Macedon; the Athenians unambitious of assuming their ancient rank, were contented with averting hostility by flattery, indecent, indiscriminate, and under their present magistrates, Euricleidas and Micion, carried to such an extravagant excess, as made it alike disgraceful to its objects and its authors. Yet the Boeotians had sunk still lower than any of their neighbours. Not satisfied with abandoning all concern for the public affairs of Greece, they could scarcely be brought to pay the smallest attention to those of their own community. Dead to every interest of the present age and posterity, they thought of nothing but how to pass the fleeting hour in undisturbed jollity. Those who were without children left their whole property to the clubs in which they had been accustomed to revel; and even many parents, to the impoverishment of their own offspring, bequeathed the greatest part of their fortunes to some contemptible use: so prevalent was this madness among them, that many Boeotians had a right to partake of more club-dinners monthly, than there were days in the month⁶³.

Upon the conclusion of the war, Timoxenus was for the second time, appointed pretor of the Achæans. He was so entirely devoted to Aratus, that the whole weight of his office centered in his patron.

⁶³ Polybius describes this sottish state of he observes, that it began twenty-five years the Boeotians under Olymp. cxlvi. 4. but sooner.

At the autumnal equinox, four months afterwards, Agelaus was raised to the same dignity among the Etolians; an appointment highly seasonable, as that turbulent people had already grown weary of peace, which to them seemed idleness⁶⁴. But Agelaus forced them, much against their inclination, to observe the conditions of the treaty which he had so happily procured for them.

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⁶⁴ Id. c. 107.

THE termination of the social war is the first historical event, in which the state of the East received their impulse and direction from those of the West. The great victories, gained by Hannibal in Italy, inspired Philip with the resolution of accommodating all differences between Greece and Macedonia, in hopes of employing their united strength against the powerful western republic, which by her conquests in Italy, only two years before this period, had confined her victorious arms to the very door of his kingdom. The causes producing these conquests resounded to an early origin, and afford a new proof that the history of the world is only to be connected and embodied by a diligent attention to that of the Greeks, a leading and commercial people, since enterprising and politic. The country, anciently called Ilyria or Illyria, formed, as it were, the counterpart to Italy on the opposite side of the Adriatic;

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Causes of this war.
I. Ilyria, Italy, and Greece.
II. Ilyria, Italy, and Greece.
III. Ilyria, Italy, and Greece.
IV. Ilyria, Italy, and Greece.
V. Ilyria, Italy, and Greece.

Agellus in Ilyria
in Ilyria
—Ilyria—

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CHAPTER XVI.

Apollonia in Illyricum Contracts an Alliance with Rome.—The Romans usurp on the Carthaginians.—Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas.—His Plans of Vengeance.—Depredations of Illyrian Pirates.—Romans reduce Queen Teuta.—Their first Embassy to the States of Greece.—Expel Demetrius of Pharos from Illyricum.—His Flight to Philip of Macedon.—Hannibal sacks the Greek City Saguntum.—Philip's Conquests in Illyricum.—Second Punic War.—Hieron of Syracuse.—His wise Policy at Home and Abroad.—His Successor Hieronymus.—Siege of Syracuse.—Sicilians, their Glory in Arts and Letters.—Oppression and Degradation under the Romans.—Battle of Zama.—Peace granted to Carthage.

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Connection
of this his-
tory.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.
B. C. 216.

THE termination of the social war is the first historical event, in which the affairs of the East received their impulse and direction from those of the West. The great victories, gained by Hannibal in Italy, inspired Philip with the resolution of accommodating all differences between Greece and Macedon, in hopes of employing their united strength against the powerful western republic, which, by her conquests in Illyria, only two years before this period, had carried her victorious arms to the very door of his kingdom. The causes producing these conquests remounted to an early origin, and afford a new proof that the history of the world is only to be connected and embodied by a diligent attention to that of the Greeks, a seafaring and commercial people, alike enterprizing and politic.

Apollonia
in Illyricum.
—Its condi-

The country, anciently called Illyria or Illyricum, formed, as it were, the counterpart to Italy on the opposite side of the Hadriatic;

† Polybius. l. v. c. 105—108.

these long strips² of territory nearly balancing each other, and either of them being nearly commensurate to the intervening gulph. The inlet to this gulph is formed by a strait of forty miles between the heel of Italy and the Acroceraunian mountains, which mark the northern frontier of Epirus. Immediately beyond this boundary, part of the Illyrian shore had been early occupied and planted by a chain of Greek colonies; Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Epidaurus, even to the little island of Pharos adjacent to the maritime district, still well known under the name of Dalmatia. Apollonia³, the first-mentioned of these Greek cities, stood six miles from the sea: its harbour was directly opposite to that of Brundisium in Italy; and, as a station for ships, deserved the praise of convenience even on a shore having generally deep water, and as abundant in good harbours as the corresponding coast of Italy is remarkably deficient in them. Thus favourably situate with regard to the sea, the territory of the little republic was on the land side sometimes infested by inroads, and always exposed to danger. About the time of Pyrrhus' repulse from Italy, the Apollonians trembled for their independence. They regarded the native Illyrians as irreclaimable Barbarians; they dreaded Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon as a prince equally insidious and rapacious; and the friendship of the Romans, who had recently defeated the Epirots, also dangerous neighbours to Apollonia, seemed to promise the best security against the eventual projects of any of the warlike powers, by which their flourishing little commonwealth was environed.

Accordingly, the Romans had no sooner occupied Brundisium, than ambassadors sailed thither from Apollonia, to congratulate with them on the success of their arms against Pyrrhus, and to solicit an alliance with their commonwealth. The strangers were escorted to Rome, received honourably, and favourably answered. But a quar-

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tion previous
to Olymp.
cxxxviii. 3.
B. C. 266.

Admitted
into an alli-
ance with
Rome.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 3.
B. C. 266.

² The Greeks considered Illyricum as extending thirty journies in length and five in breadth. The Romans found it by ad-

measurement 600 miles long and 120 broad. Appian. Illyric. sub Init.

³ Vid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 316. & seq.

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rel falling out between them and some young Patricians, the ambassadors were insulted even with blows. The Romans, instead of abetting this brutality in their countrymen, determined severely to punish it. The culprits, though two of their number at that time held the honourable office of Edile, were solemnly surrendered into the hands of the injured Apollonians, that they might be carried home with them under a proper guard, and subjected to whatever vengeance the magistrates of the Greek state thought fit to inflict. These magistrates examined the affair, dispassionately and indulgently; and their proceedings equally politic and liberal, converted into warm friends a number of young patricians, afterwards of much weight in their country*. Shortly after this transaction, Rome was totally occupied in the first Punic war for twenty-four years; and, after its conclusion, half that space of time elapsed before as protectress of Apollonia, she sent her legions across the Hadriatic, and interposed, as we shall see presently, in the affairs of the adjacent countries with equal efficiency and dignity.

The Romans
seize Sardinia.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 3.
B. C. 238.

During the interval of twenty-three years between her two memorable conflicts with Carthage, her jealous attention was chiefly directed towards that state, which, though deprived of its boasted superiority at sea, divested of its rich possessions in Sicily, and even subjected to a disgraceful tribute, still enjoyed the means of again rendering itself formidable. The Carthaginians possessed an extensive territory; they were an industrious and frugal people; they commanded the rich inland traffic of Africa; and they were surrounded by numerous Nomadic nations, whom they had contrived to render, both in war and in commerce, entirely subservient to their interests. But, after the return of their armies from Sicily, they were engaged for three years in a disgraceful and dangerous conflict⁵ with the numerous foreign mercenaries, always maintained by their re-

* Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xv. Dion.
Cass. Zonaras, & Valer. Maxim. l. vi. c. 6.

⁵ Polybius, l. i. c. 65. & seq.

public. Their general Hanno was unfortunate. The command was entrusted to his rival Hamilcar Barcas, who finished an odious and disgusting contest, remarkable only for the cruelty and perfidy with which it was, on both sides, carried on. During the height of this domestic commotion, the mercenaries serving in Sardinia imitated those of the capital. They destroyed the Carthaginian traders, and were themselves destroyed or expelled by the indignant natives of the island. Among the expelled mercenaries, many were Campanians, whose return into Italy apprised the Romans of an opportunity highly seasonable for gaining possession of Sardinia. The conquest was easily effected; and when the Carthaginians armed with a view to recover their dependancy, the threat of new hostilities on the part of Rome, made them not only cede all claim to the island, but consent to increase their stipulated contributions by the additional sum of 1,200 talents⁶. Their tameness in submitting to such demands might be occasioned by the deep wounds which they had recently received in two successive wars. But long before this time, their government had begun to experience the factious discontents incident to tyrannical and jealous aristocracies⁷. Wealth was the great source of all public distinction; and the wealthy, who had engrossed every preferment and honour, were fearful of war, and jealous of popular generals; solicitous chiefly for their pecuniary interests, insensible to public renown and national glory, and careless, as we shall see, of any other victories and conquests, but those accompanied with the prospect of extending commerce and augmenting revenue.

Other usurpations on Carthage.

Such was the character of the greater number; but such was not that of Hamilcar Barcas. We have seen this general quit Sicily, frowning on the Romans for their pride, and on his own countrymen for their meanness. His successful termination of the war

Indignation of Hamilcar Barcas.

⁶ Conf. Polybius, l. i. c. 88. & l. iii. c. 10. Polybius, l. vi. c. 55. & Tit. Liv. l. xxx.

⁷ Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9. & c. 40.

against

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His com-
mand in
Spain, and
that of his
son-in-law
Asdrubal.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 4.
cxl. 1.
B. C. 237—
220.

against the mercenaries, rendered it impossible for his enemies to discharge and dismiss his abilities with the occasion that had required them. He was sent to command in Spain, where the Carthaginians had long succeeded to the stubborn undertakings and bold enterprises of their Tyrian ancestors. The magistrates of Carthage flattered themselves with the hope of compensating late losses, by making the complete conquest of a country rich in the precious metals beyond every other in antiquity; and Hamilcar hoped in this command, which he should seem to have determined never to lay down, to form an army, qualified, as his country had now yielded its predominancy at sea, to attack the Romans by land, and to counterbalance their acquisitions in Sicily by a successful invasion of Italy. After nine years employed in extending the Carthaginian power and in creating a well-disciplined force, he fell in an obscure battle with the natives⁸. His son-in-law Asdrubal assumed his place in the army, and was confirmed in it by the government of Carthage. During eight years, he prosecuted the designs of his predecessor, when he also was slain, still more ingloriously, by the hand of a slave to avenge the blood of his master⁹. Besides great accessions of territory, acquired by policy¹⁰ as well as arms, Asdrubal's administration was signalised by building New Carthage¹¹, a city in the neighbourhood of rich mines, and admirably situate for commerce. His perpetual encroachments were viewed with much uneasiness by two Greek cities on the eastern coast, Emporiæ a colony of Massilia, and Saguntum a colony of Zacynthus¹². Like Apollonia on a similar occasion, Saguntum had recourse to Rome, and was soon afterwards admitted into confederacy with that commonwealth; which had bound Asdrubal¹³ by treaty that he should not pass the river

⁸ Polybius, l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1, 2.

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 21. & l. xxi. c. 2, & Polyb. l. ii. c. 36.

¹⁰ Polybius, *ibid.*

¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. xx. c. 31.

¹² Strabo, l. iii. p. 110. Conf. Appian de Reb. Punic. l. vii. c. 2.

¹³ Conf. Polybius, l. ii. c. 13. l. iii. c. 27.

Iberus with an army, nor violate the security of her allies. We shall see how little these articles were respected by his successor Hannibal.

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Meanwhile the Romans employed themselves in a highly honourable undertaking on the eastern side of the Hadriatic. The maritime districts ¹⁴ in Illyricum, united under a chief named Agron, began to create much terror by their boldness in piracy ¹⁵. The navies of Athens and Corinth were no more; Rhodes and Byzantium were remote; Egypt was at a still greater distance, and the war galleys, equipped by Ptolemy Philadelphus, had been allowed, through the carelessness of his successor, to rot in their harbours. Thus unawed by any Greek power, the Illyrian freebooters extended their depredations from the inmost recess of the Hadriatic to the southern extremity of Peloponnesus. Agron, who is stiled king of the Illyrians, having finished by intemperance a life sustained by rapine, was succeeded by his queen Teuta, who exercised her authority by Scerdilaidas, kinsman to her late husband, and Demetrius of Pharus, a small island on her coast inhabited by a Greek colony ¹⁶. Teuta was eager to prosecute the lucrative career that had opened to her country. Private corsairs were more numerous than ever; and a public armament, more considerable than any equipped by Agron, gained possession of Phænicè the most convenient sea-port in Epirus. Complaints were brought to the Romans from both sides of the Hadriatic; from their subjects in Magna Græcia; from Epidamnus, Epidaurus, above all, Apollonia, their oldest ally in Illyricum.

Depredations of Illyrian pirates. Olymp. cxxxvii. 2 — 4. B. C. 231 — 229.

Accordingly, an embassy was sent by the senate to remonstrate with queen Teuta against the obnoxious proceedings of her people. The ambassadors, two Coruncanii, found the queen engaged in the siege of Issa, and with difficulty obtained an audience, in the progress of which, Teuta displayed much impatience and haughtiness. When

Teuta, queen of the Illyrians, causes the assassination of a Roman ambassador. Olymp. cxxxvii. 4. B. C. 229.

¹⁴ Those of the Taulantii, Ardyæi, Liburni, &c. Thucyd. Strabo, Polybius, and Appian. Illyric.

¹⁵ Polybius, l. ii. c. 2. & seq.

¹⁶ From the isle of Paros. Diodor. l. xv. f. 13.

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their discourse was ended, she replied coldly, "that the Romans should not, she trusted, have reason to complain of any public injury; but that it was not customary with the kings of Illyricum to restrain their subjects from profiting individually by the sea." The younger of the brothers, Lucius Coruncanius, already piqued at her disdainful behaviour, replied sharply, "but it is customary with the Romans to exact public reparation for private wrongs, and in all cases to right the injured. With the help of the gods! we shall therefore reform the kingly maxims of Illyricum." The pride of Teuta was unable to brook such language: she dismissed the ambassadors from her presence; and knowing no bounds in her resentment, pursued them in their way home, and destroyed by assassins the speaker of the words by which she deemed herself insulted¹⁷.

Successful
war against
her by the
consuls Ful-
vius and
Posthumius.
Olymp.
cxxxvii. 4.
B. C. 229.

The Romans learned with much indignation this daring affront to the majesty of their commonwealth. They levied troops, and hastened to equip a fleet. Before they arrived in Illyricum, Teuta had made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize the city of Epidamnus. Her arms were more fortunate at Corcyra. Demetrius of Pharus was left with a garrison to maintain this important conquest, while the greater part of the troops returned to Epidamnus, in order to resume their operations against that valuable harbour. Another body of Illyrians still carried on the siege of Issa. Such the consul Fulvius found the situation of affairs when he crossed the Hadriatic with two hundred ships of war. But he found also that disgusts had arisen between Demetrius of Pharus and his imperious mistress. This discovery made him direct his course for Corcyra. Demetrius welcomed his arrival, and surrendered to him the garrison with which he had been entrusted. The Corcyrians also received him with open arms, hoping, through help from the Romans, to be delivered from the yoke of the Illyrians¹⁸.

¹⁷ Polybius, l. ii. c. 2—8.

¹⁸ Id. l. ii. c. 9. & seq.

The defection of Demetrius ruined the affairs of Teuta. He accompanied Fulvius to Apollonia, and strenuously co-operated with him in all his measures. Shortly afterwards, the consul Posthumius arrived also at Apollonia, with 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The combined strength of the consuls brought relief successively to Epidamnus and Issa; and caused the sieges of these places to be raised. At Issa, a part of the besieging army revolted to Demetrius. Under his guidance, the Romans invaded the maritime parts of Illyricum, and received all the more valuable districts into their protection. Queen Teuta, with a handful of forces, was compelled to retire inland to a stronghold called Rizon, watered by a river of the same name. The Romans rewarded the services of Demetrius by annexing such extensive territories to his little island of Pharos, as made him a considerable potentate on the eastern shore of the Hydriatic. The consul Fulvius then returned to Italy with the greater part of the fleet and army. His colleague Posthumius retained only forty ships, and wintered in Illyricum with a small body of troops, reinforced by levies in that country¹⁹.

Early in the spring, Teuta anticipated further proceedings against her, by a suppliant embassy to Rome. She stipulated to cede all her dominions, a few places, and those of small importance, excepted; to pay tribute even for the little that was left her; and never to navigate beyond Lissus, her most southern harbour, in more than two vessels, and those unarmed. These conditions being admitted by the senate, the consul Posthumius notified to the principal states of Greece, then living in peace under the virtuous controul of Antigonus Doson, the beginning and conclusion of a war, which so nearly concerned them. A bare recital of facts, formed the highest panegyrick of the Romans. They had avenged the violated laws of heralds, deemed of all things the most sacred; they had punished pirates whose enormities were openly professed and insultingly vindicated;

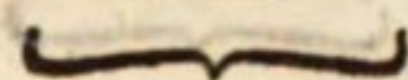
Teuta submits and pays tribute for the narrow dominions left to her.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 1.
B. C. 228.

The first embassy of the Romans to the states of Greece.
Olymp.
cxxxviii. 1.
B. C. 228.

¹⁹ Polybius, l. ii. c. 11. & seq.

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and they had reduced to the lowest humiliation a state rising fast in power, and marking every step of its progress by new aggravations of outrage. The Achæans, Etolians, Athenians, Corinthians all vied with each other in their respectful treatment of the first Roman ambassadors that ever appeared in Ancient¹⁹ Greece. The Corinthians admitted them to the Isthmian games, then ready to be celebrated, and even conferred on the Romans the right of participating thenceforward in a solemnity, till then exclusively appropriated to the Grecian name²⁰.

Depredations of the Illyrians under Demetrius and Scerdilaidas. Olymp. cxxxix. 3. cxi. 1. B. C. 222—220.

For seven years after this period, the Illyrians were entitled to the comparative praise of committing few injuries. Queen Teuta abdicated her government, in favour of Scerdilaidas, kinsman to her late husband. Scerdilaidas, as successor to Teuta, was bound by treaty, and Demetrius of Pharos was bound by fealty and gratitude, to respect the commands imposed on them by Rome. But when the Romans were infested by those Gallic inroads, which ended only four years before the commencement of the second Punic war, and which made them muster and employ their whole forces in Italy, Demetrius and Scerdilaidas, presuming on impunity, began to collect ships, and renew their depredations. Demetrius, in particular, plundered the Roman allies or subjects in Illyricum, and subdued several of their cities²¹: and then uniting with Scerdilaidas, sailed beyond Issus with seventy armed vessels, and extended his ravages to the lesser islands of the Ægean. The Rhodians, indeed, prepared to restrain these enormities; but the Greeks on the continent, having engaged in the social war, were less solicitous about extirpating the Illyrian pirates, than desirous of obtaining their dishonourable aid in distressing each other²².

The consul Emilius sails to Illyricum

Meanwhile the Romans saw that a second conflict with Carthage was inevitable, though they little imagined that Hannibal would

¹⁹ The Romans were masters of the continental part of Magna Græcia, and already connected by embassies with Apollonia a Greek colony, and Egypt a Greek conquest.

²⁰ Polybius, l. ii. c. 12.

²¹ Id. l. iii. c. 16.

²² Id. l. iv. c. 16.

have commenced hostilities so soon by taking Saguntum, and then carrying his arms into Italy. They determined therefore to employ the present interval of tranquillity in chastising the defection of Demetrius, and thereby maintaining that sort of authority, which resulted from their valour and renown, among the nations east of the Hadriatic. Without any formal declaration of war against a rebel who, to his other odious crimes, added the blackest ingratitude, the consul Emilius sailed with a powerful armament to Illyricum. Demetrius anticipated the arrival of the enemy, by destroying all those of his subjects whose resentment he dreaded, and then committing his inferior cities to persons in whom he put most trust, reinforced his two principal strongholds of Dimalus on the continent, and Pharus in the island of the same name, with such supplies of men, provisions, and military stores, as might enable them to resist a long siege. Emilius began the war by making approaches to Dimalus on various sides at once, and gained it by storm on the seventh day. The inferior places in the neighbourhood all submitted through terror; but Demetrius with six thousand chosen men had thrown himself into Pharus. The consul, upon sailing thither and examining the place, perceived that a regular siege must be attended with much delay and many difficulties. He therefore chose a dark night for sending into the island the greater part of his troops, who concealed themselves till morning, in hollow dens thickly covered with wood. At dawn, he appeared off the harbour with twenty vessels; the Illyrians rushed from their gates to obstruct his landing; as the battle grew warm, new numbers flocked from Pharus to support those already engaged with the enemy, until nearly the whole of the Illyrians had quitted the defence of their walls. At this crisis, the Romans emerged from their ambush, and seized a strong post between the deserted city and the scene of action round the harbour. Demetrius suddenly changed his front and courageously assailed those newly discovered adversaries. But he was routed and put to flight; a few

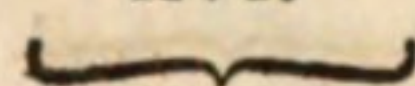
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and expels
Demetrius
of Pharus
from that
country.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

C H A P.

XVI.



Demetrius
of Pharus
flies to king
Philip.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

a few of his men gained the city; many reached, by difficult paths, secret lurking places in the island: he himself escaped to a brigantine, which his guilty fears made him keep always ready for sea on a desert part of the coast, and in which he instantly embarked, to fly from his country and the Romans, to whom the taking of Dimalus and Pharus gave possession of all Illyricum²³. Scerdilaidas, we know, was pardoned and afterwards protected by the victors; but what regulations they made for deriving benefit to themselves from the conquest, or in what manner, and under what conditions, the territory was divided among their allies, history does not record.

Demetrius of Pharus sought refuge with king Philip, to whom his valour and misfortunes failed not to recommend him²⁴. His vessel found that of the young prince on the Ambracian gulph, Philip being then on his way homeward to prepare for his famous expedition into Etolia²⁵. Demetrius, at the king's desire, sailed to Corinth, and thence proceeded through Thessaly to Macedon. There, he was admitted into the number of the king's friends; and, as with his trade of a corsair, he could seasonably intermix the arts of a courtier, he gradually acquired a great and pernicious ascendancy over the Macedonian councils. His influence is said to have occasioned the rapacious and sacrilegious proceedings at Thermum; for Philip's great youth made his behaviour peculiarly liable to be moulded at will by his favourites, who stamped it alternately with the impressions of their opposite characters. Whenever he quitted the honourable path chalked out to him by Aratus and Chryfogonus, and behaved either cruelly to his enemies, or imperiously to his allies, men knew by whose sentiments he had been guided as surely as if they had overheard his deliberations. The unfeeling Taurion, the unprincipled Demetrius, villains who defied alike censure and danger, were known in such cases to be his advisers²⁶.

²³ Polybius, l. iii. c. 18. Conf. l. iv.

c. 37. 66. l. xxxii. c. 19.

²⁴ Id. *ibid.*

²⁵ See above, c. xv. p. 84.

²⁶ Polybius, l. v. c. 12. Conf. l. ix. c. 23.

At

At the instigation chiefly of Demetrius, Philip involved himself in hostilities with Rome and her allies, which lasted for a period of twenty years, but of which the longest portion is eclipsed in history, being contemporary with the second war between the Romans and Carthaginians, more properly called the war of Hannibal, since that general should seem to have undertaken it without the authority of his country²⁷, and certainly carried it on without any assistance from Carthage.

From his earliest years Hannibal had been inspired with relentless hatred to the Romans; the daring views of Hamilcar had been opened to him²⁸, and the vengeful soul of the father revived in the son, and flamed in his fiery breast with new intensity. During three years, he served under Asdrubal in Spain, the terror of the Spanish enemy, the idol of the Carthaginian army; by which, on the death of its general, he was called to the chief command. His preferment was ratified at Carthage: to dispute it would only have shewn the weakness of that government. Master of an army disciplined in seventeen campaigns, he speedily completed the conquest of all Spain south of the Iberus, except the single Greek city Saguntum. This place he next invested with an army, it is said, 150,000 strong. The Saguntines defended themselves eight months with equal skill and bravery; and when the sack of their city seemed inevitable, endeavoured, by destroying their most precious effects, to render the conquest of little value. Hannibal, however, recovered much gold and silver, highly useful to him in his transactions with the Gauls, who lay on his road to Italy. He saved also much elegant furniture, and much valuable merchandise, which, being useless to himself, he transported into Carthage. The inhabitants of Saguntum were either put to the sword, or divided as slaves among his soldiers²⁹.

C H A P.
XVI.

Encourages
him to make
war on the
Romans.

Hannibal
sacks Sagun-
tum.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.
B. C. 219.

²⁷ Fabius apud Polyb. l. iii. c. 8.

²⁸ Id. l. iii. c. 11.

²⁹ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 4. & seq. & Polybius, l. iii. c. 13. & seq.

After

C H A P.

XVI.

Crosses the
Alps into
Italy.

Olymp.

cxl. 3.

B. C. 218.

After this bloody prelude, he went into winter-quarters in New Carthage. The spring recalled him to the field: his brother Asdrubal was appointed to command in Spain; and, after all fit preparations, Hannibal undertook his long projected invasion of Italy. In the space of five months, he advanced from New Carthage to the foot of the Alps. In fifteen days, he crossed these mountains³⁰. From characteristic circumstances³¹, specified in the military historian Polybius, his march over the Alps should seem to have lain through Chambery, Montmelian, Montier, and the little St. Bernard. It extended above a hundred miles in direct distance, from the commencement of the ascent at a place called Echelles, to Ivrière, the ancient Eporedia, near to which the mountains first open into the great northern plain of Italy. This plain Hannibal entered with an army reduced to 20,000 infantry and 6,000 horse; part of forty elephants which he had taken with him also remained. They had rewarded his trouble in conducting them over so many obstacles, by the terror which their formidable appearance in armour inspired into the barbarous nations on his route³².

Military resources of
that country.

With this inconsiderable force he had invaded a country, the circumstances of which might have deterred from such an undertaking even the most romantic valour. Seven years before his expedition, the Romans had been alarmed by those tumultuary³³ movements among the Gauls on both sides the Alps, which made them enter into a computation of the whole of their own strength in Italy; citizens, subjects, or allies. It amounted to 700,000 infantry and 70,000 horse³⁴. The citizens alone fit to bear arms exceeded 250,000.

³⁰ Polybius, l. iii. c. 56.

³¹ Particularly the λευκοπιτρον οχυρον, c. 51, now La Roche Blanche, two marches from Montier; and the necessity of making the passage practicable at three marches from the plain of Eporedia, τον κρημον εξωκοδομη μετα πολλης ταλαιπωριας, c. 55. At La Thuille (a corruption of Haute ville, as appears on comparing maps), agreeing with this dis-

tance, the road is still annually repaired with pine planks. These observations I owe to my friend General Melville, who examined the ground, with a view to the illustration of this celebrated march.

³² Polyb. l. iii. c. 53.

³³ Gallici tumultus, Tit. Liv. passim.

³⁴ Id. l. ii. c. 24. Conf. Diodorus, l. iii. f. 5. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. lib. xx.

Accordingly

Accordingly, the Boii and Insubres, leagued with their brethren beyond the Alps, were totally defeated three years afterwards; stripped of their main stronghold Mediolanum, or Milan; and such of them as were permitted to remain in Italy, reduced to unconditional submission³⁴. The Romans had forces in Sicily, Sardinia, Illyricum, and particularly in the territory which Hannibal had invaded, constituting the Cisalpine Gaul.

When apprised of the sack of Saguntum, Publius Scipio and Sempronius Longus, with their respective consular armies, were ordered, the former into Spain, the latter into Sicily: Scipio with 60 gallies, Sempronius with 220; for this great naval force seemed necessary for carrying the war into Africa. Scipio having touched at the long friendly emporium of Massilia, learned to his surprise that Hannibal was already in the country above a hundred miles north of him, preparing to pass the Rhone. Thither the consul hastened, but found that his adversary had crossed the river, and got the start of him by three days on his way to Italy. The consul Publius Scipio determined therefore to send part of the army with his brother Cneius into Spain, while the remainder embarked with himself, and sailed from Massilia to Pisa. From thence he marched northward, not doubting, after he had been reinforced by the troops in Cisalpine Gaul, to overwhelm the exhausted invaders, as they descended into that country from the Alps³⁵. The armies met at the river Ticinus. Hannibal's infantry, the hardened remnant of so many labours and dangers, might be superior to that of the enemy, comparatively a militia: he had brought it into a situation that left no alternative but victory or death. But the success of this battle is ascribed wholly to his cavalry³⁶. The consul was wounded; and his

Proceedings
of the Con-
suls Scipio
and Sempro-
nius.

Battles of
Ticinus and
Trebia.
Olymp.
cxl. 3.
B. C. 218.

³⁴ Conf. Strabo, l. v. p. 213. Polyb. l. iii. c. 40. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 39 & 40.

³⁵ Hannibal's war in Italy forms the most splendid portion of Livy's history. It runs through nine books, l. xxi—xxx. The sub-

ject derives peculiar interest from the eloquence of the historian, as well as from the enterprise of his hero.

³⁶ Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 24 & seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

C H A P.
XVI.

Of Trafime-
nus.
Olymp.
cxl. 4.
B. C. 217.

Of Cannæ.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.
B. C. 216.

life narrowly saved by the intrepidity of a son, then in his seventeenth year, the future conqueror of Carthage.

Hannibal's unexpected invasion, his more incredible victory, allies prepared for defection, and subjects for rebellion, made the Romans recal the consul Sempronius from Sicily, after he had defeated a Carthaginian fleet, and was preparing to make a descent on Africa. In forty days, he joined his colleague on the river Trebia. A new battle was fought, in which Hannibal prevailed, through a well-con-
trived ambush³⁷. Next year he crossed the Appenines, and drew the Consul Flaminius into a snare, on the intricate banks of the lake Trasimenus in Tuscany, in which that rash commander perished, with the greater part of his army³⁸. Having thus gained an ascendancy in the north by the battles of Ticinus and Trebia, and in the central district of Tuscany, by the battle of Trasimenus, he next year marched southward to Apulia, and surpassed all these exploits in his tremendous victory at Cannæ, by which the vengeance was satiated long brooding in the family of Barcas. The consuls Emilius and Varro had 80,000 foot: Hannibal's infantry had now augmented to 40,000; and his cavalry, so diligent had he been to encrease it, now surpassed in number that of the Romans. By advancing his Gauls and other auxiliaries in a crescent, with its convexity towards the enemy, while its horns rested on two wings of his own hardy veterans, he brought on a battle in which his centre, giving way to the Romans, the pursuers were attacked on both flanks by his veterans, and lost above fifty thousand men. The Carthaginian cavalry greatly contributed to the destructiveness of the rout. The consul Emilius was slain; 10,000 Romans, guarding the camp, were made prisoners: only seventy horsemen escaped with Varro to Venusia³⁹.

³⁷ Polyb. l. iii. c. 69 & seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxi. c. 54—56.

³⁸ Polyb. l. iii. c. 84. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 4.

³⁹ Polyb. l. iii. c. 115 & seq. Tit. Liv. xxii. c. 47 & seq.

Battles less memorable have overturned many a powerful kingdom; but even these confirmed the stability of the Roman commonwealth. Hannibal was indeed master of the open country, but in that age most cities in Italy were well fortified; some garrisoned by the Romans, the greater part defended by the bravery of their own citizens. The consul Varro assumed a commanding attitude at Venusia: Naples defied Hannibal from its walls: and he received a check from Marcellus in attempting Nola⁴⁰. A better hope was founded on alienating, under the plausible pretence of liberty, the Roman subjects or allies. But the higher orders of men, in almost every dependant community, remained unalterably firm in their allegiance, and overawed sedition from within, while they manfully prepared to repel hostility from without⁴¹. Capua, the most shameless city of Campania, itself the most profligate district in all Italy, is thought to have done a real service to the Romans, by opening its gates to the invaders⁴². But had these invaders kept un sullied the supposed purity of their virtue, the ultimate issue of the conflict would not probably have been different. For Rome, according to the just comparison of Pyrrhus, was endowed with the renovating qualities of the Hydra⁴³. An armed people, habituated from earliest youth to military exercises, afforded an inexhaustible supply of recruits; and the decree, investing every Roman who had borne the office of consul with temporary command, provided the immediate assistance of able generals. Though Hannibal remained thirteen years longer in Italy, where Gauls in the north, and Greeks in the south, often cooperated with him as allies, he gained not any fresh laurels. The Romans had sent Publius Scipio to reinforce his brother Cneius in Spain. They employed armies in Sicily, Sardinia, and the countries beyond the Hadriatic. Their exertions abroad, were not interrupted by the dangers threatening them at home; and when, five

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Hannibal's
subsequent
war in Italy.
Causes that
made it un-
successful.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.—
cxliv. 2.
B. C. 216—
203.

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv, l. xxiii. c. 16.

⁴¹ Ibid. l. xxiii. c. 20.

⁴² Ibid. c. 18.

⁴³ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

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years after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, in hopes of raising the siege of Capua, marched suddenly to surprise Rome, he found three armies in order of battle prepared to receive him. Having encamped on the banks of the Anio, scarcely four miles distant, he learned that the ground occupied by his army had brought its full value at a public auction, and that a body of Romans had marched through an opposite gate of the city, to reinforce the legions in Spain⁴⁴. Yet in this long warfare, Hannibal's admirable abilities gave the Romans no opportunity of combating him with advantage. When they endeavoured to force him into action, they were generally losers by the attempt; but the system of procrastination and caution succeeded with them far better; and Fabius Maximus, who had first adopted it, was extolled to the skies as the saviour of his country.⁴⁵

Philip's
league with
Hannibal,
and prepa-
rations.
Olymp.
cxli. 2.
B. C. 215.

A few months after the battle of Cannæ, Philip of Macedon, at the instigation of Demetrius of Pharos, adopted three very decisive measures. He entered into an intimate alliance with Hannibal, including the states friendly to both parties, and ratified by awful invocations of the gods of Macedon and Carthage⁴⁶. He began to build armed transports on the Illyrian model, as the fittest for conveying forces into Italy; and he attacked Scerdilaidas, the Roman ally, in Illyricum, and in a short time divested him of the greater part of his possessions⁴⁷.

Death of
Hieron of
Syracuse.
Olymp.
cxli. 2.
B. C. 215.

Shortly after Hannibal had cemented his league with Philip, the Romans lost a zealous friend in Hieron of Syracuse, who died in his 96th year, amidst strenuous exertions to suppress defection among the Roman subjects in Sicily. From the close of the first Punic war, that island had remained very unequally

⁴⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 11.

Apud Cicer. de Offic. l. i. c. 24, & Plutarch.

⁴⁵ Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

Fab. Maxim.

Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem

⁴⁶ Polyb. l. iii. c. 2, & l. vii. c. 9.

⁴⁷ Id. l. v. c. 108.

Ergo postque, magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Ennius.

divided between Rome and her Syracusan ally. The dominion of Syracuse was confined to a narrow strip of land, stretching about fourscore miles along the eastern coast of Sicily, from Achræ to Tauromenium, and comprehending these frontier towns, together with several other places of note, particularly Leontium, Megara, and Elorus. But the government of Hieron, and his admirable management of his little territory, affords, as it were, a delightful resting place in our painful journey through scenes of perfidy and cruelty, of relentless ambition, and insatiable vengeance. His government was formed on the fairest model of the heroic age; the senate was called to deliberate, and the assembly to decide, while Gelon, the son of Hieron, himself in the maturity of years, co-operated in perfect cordiality with his father in the controul and execution of all public measures⁴⁸. Hieron had wisely chosen his party between Rome and Carthage, but when the latter state was threatened with total ruin in the war above mentioned, with her own mercenaries, he employed his utmost endeavours to serve and save her; deeming the existence of Carthage essential to the independence of Syracuse, since the destruction of that republic would have laid him altogether at the mercy of Rome⁴⁹. When Rome, on the other hand, seemed ready to sink under the impetuous shocks of Ticinus and Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannæ, Hieron spared neither gold nor blood to support her. His fleet and army was at the disposal of his allies; and the money, which he chiefly supplied, enabled the pretor Valerius seasonably to cross the Hadriatic, and to find such employment, at home, for king Philip, as rendered the alliance of that prince of little importance to Hannibal⁵⁰.

His wife policy at home and abroad.

The vast wealth of Hieron flowed from the purest sources. He was the strenuous promoter of productive and commercial industry. The improvement of agriculture, the most profitable of all occupa-

Fortifications of Syracuse.

⁴⁸ Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 88. l. vii. c. 8, & Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 4, & seq.

⁴⁹ Polybius, l. i. c. 83.

⁵⁰ Ibid. l. iii. c. 75. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 37.

pations,

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tions, especially in such a country as Sicily, he forwarded by judicious regulations, by still more useful examples, and by wise and salutary precepts, contained in many valuable treatises which he wrote on that subject.⁵¹ The best blessings of peace he made permanent, by a constant preparation for war; and in an age, when skill in sieges kept not pace with other branches of military science, the vast extent of Syracuse was made on all sides impregnable. In this undertaking he was assisted by the great Archimedes, his friend, some say his kinsman, who, at the king's earnest desire, descended from those sublime speculations which occupied the Newton of antiquity, and applied his wonderful powers of combination and invention to matters of coarse mechanical practice⁵². But of his extraordinary contrivances for the defence of Syracuse, there was not any occasion to make use in the long course of this politic and pacific reign.

Hieron's
galley of 20
tier of oars.

The prosperity of every Greek city was marked by a superabundance of inestimable productions in all the arts of design. The architectural embellishments of Syracuse were regarded among the brightest glories of Hieron's administration: he was distinguished by his magnificence⁵³ in religious games and solemnities, particularly in dramatic exhibitions; and so catching are the follies of our own times, that Hieron vied with contemporary Greek kings in constructing and equipping a galley of twenty tier of oars, uniting the strength of a fortress with all the conveniencies and elegancies of a royal palace. This moving castle, which Sicilian poets likened to mount Ætna, consumed the timber necessary for building sixty trireme galleys. It was compacted by iron bolts, weighing ten and fifteen pounds: its engines launched balls of 300 pounds to the distance of a furlong: one of its masts is said to have been transported

⁵¹ Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3.

⁵² Plutarch in Marcello.

⁵³ Athenæus, l. v. p. 205.

from

from the mountains of Britain⁵⁴; its cordage was composed of broom from Spain and hemp from Gaul: the commerce of the world was ransacked for its ornaments; ivory images of the gods, altars glowing with gems and breathing Indian perfumes, the marbles and more precious materials inlaying its lowest floor, and curiously disposed in mosaic, representing Homer's battles. This prodigy of ill-directed art, for whose safe passage Neptune is tremblingly⁵⁵ invoked by the poet, was built by Archias of Corinth, and launched on the waves by Phileas of Tauromenium; and is said to have been navigated from the harbour of Syracuse to that of Alexandria, as a present to Ptolemy Philadelphus, being, indeed, less absurdly adapted to the navigation of the Nile⁵⁶.

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Hieron, dying at the age of ninety-six, was succeeded by a youth of seventeen, born to his son Gelon by Nereis, daughter to Pyrrhus⁵⁷. Hieronymus, for this was his name, is described as a prey to the vilest passions, but possessing a will of his own, and an ear open to contrariety of council. To this youth, who disdained submission to those naturally entitled to guide him, Hannibal sent Epicydes and Hippocrates, brothers, whose father, a native of Syracuse, had long lived in exile at Carthage. These men were agents in all respects worthy of their employer; bold, dextrous, deceitful; with resources in every difficulty, with intrepidity in every danger. At their persuasion, Hieronymus embraced measures highly offensive to the Romans, and when ambassadors came from that people to remonstrate with him, asked insultingly to hear from them a more accurate account, than had yet, he said, reached his ears of the battle of Cannæ⁵⁸. The cruelty and contumely of Hieronymus provoked a conspiracy of his subjects, to which, after a reign of scarcely one

Reign of Hieronymus and distractions consequent on it. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

⁵⁴ If. Casaubon, however, reads *ἐν τοῖς* l. v. p. 209.

ορεσι της Βρεττανίας, in the mountains of the Brutii. Animadvers. in Athen. l. v. p. 229.

⁵⁵ *Ἀλλὰ ποσειδῶν σώζει κατὰ γλαυκῶν σείλμα τοδε φοβέων.* Archimelus Atheniensis apud Athen.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 207. & seq.

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. vii. c. 4.

⁵⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 6.

year,

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year, he fell a sacrifice. The Syracusans were summoned to liberty: the ancient form of democracy returned with all its tumult and outrage; and one revolution succeeded to another, until the brothers, sent by Hannibal, made their way to supreme power by a series of lies and forgeries; of dark intrigues and daring assassinations⁵⁹. This state of affairs occasioned the memorable siege of Syracuse which lasted nearly three years, and the event of which gave to the consul Marcellus possession of a city computed to be richer⁶⁰ than Carthage itself; besides that the complete reduction of Sicily, the natural consequence of his success, prepared the way for the Roman expedition into Africa, and the humiliation of Carthage into the state of a disarmed and tributary vassal.

Philip's unworthy proceedings.
Olymp. cxli. 3.
B. C. 214.

Meanwhile Philip, in conformity to his treaty with Hannibal, had equipped a fleet of a hundred Liburnians, in which he purposed to transport forces from Illyricum into Italy. But false intelligence communicated by some Sicilian merchantmen, that a squadron of Roman quinqueremes was ready to oppose his passage, determined him to sail back into harbour. Enraged at the deceit practised on him, and the loss of an opportunity of co-operating with his ally, his light and fiery mind, yet untamed by adversity, vented its ungoverned anger in proceedings as frantic as they were detestable. His general in Peloponnesus, in contravention to the peace recently established, seized the mountainous fortress Ithomè, commanding the Messenian capital⁶¹. Demetrius of Pharus said, that this was to hold the bull of Peloponnesus by the two horns; meaning thereby the Acro-Corinthus in the north and Ithomè in the south. But Aratus pleaded so strongly the cause of Messenè and of justice, that the king was prevailed on to let slip his victim. Shortly afterwards, he repented of his forbearance, and sent Demetrius to assault and recover the stronghold. The undertaking was as rashly conducted, as it had been wickedly concerted. Demetrius was repelled and slain; and

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 7—27.

⁶⁰ Id. l. xxv. c. 31.

⁶¹ Polybius, l. vii. c. 12.

Philip avenged the death of a man so undeservedly dear to him, by merciless depredation on the Messenian territory, and by poisoning Aratus, whose honest remonstrances were no longer tolerable to a tyrant⁶². His instrument in this crime was the infamous Taurion, who had long been entrusted with his affairs in the Peloponnesus. Aratus bore the incurable effects of the poison with a composure worthy of his great character. The Achæans, over whom he presided as pretor for the seventeenth time, did not even suspect the cause of his declining health, which he never hinted at in public, though to Cephalon a confidential friend who lamented at seeing him spit blood, "such," he said, "my dear Cephalon, are the fruits of royal gratitude!" His country made every compensation in its power for the execrable perfidy which he had experienced. He was interred at Sicyon with unfeigned expressions of public sorrow; and all Achaia long joined with that city in commemorating his fame by rites held due to the most illustrious public benefactors⁶³.

After the death of Demetrius of Pharus, his great adviser in the Roman war, Philip should seem to have adopted the resolution of first making himself completely master of Illyricum, before he ventured to pass into Italy. In this view, he besieged Oricum, and gained possession of that sea-port, which stood directly opposite to Hadrumtum, on the narrowest part of the Strait. He was on the point also of taking Apollonia, the oldest Roman ally beyond the Hadriatic; when the pretor Valerius crossed that sea with a strong armament, recovered Oricum in which Philip had left but a feeble garrison; and then proceeding with silence and celerity to Apollonia, threw himself by an obscure path into the place, with a chosen detachment. His presence encouraged the Apollonians to attack the besieging army in the night. The enterprise was conducted with such secrecy and boldness, that even the royal pavilion was in danger. The Macedonians

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XVI.

Death of
Aratus.
Olymp.
cxli. 4.
B. C. 213.

The pretor
Valerius ob-
liges Philip
to raise the
siege of
Apollonia.
Olymp.
cxli. 3.
B. C. 214.

⁶² Polybius, l. iii. c. 14.

him subsisted three centuries after his death.

⁶³ Plutarch in Arato. Faint testimonies, Plut. p. 1052.

Διγμὰτα μὲν, of the honours once paid to

C H A P.
XVI.

Philip's con-
quests in
Illyricum.
Olymp.
cxli. 3.
B. C. 214.

fled in precipitation; three thousand of them were slain or taken; their camp became a booty to the Romans; only the battering engines were granted to the Apollonians, that the same machines which had been constructed against them, might thenceforward be employed in their defence⁶⁴.

The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum and Apollonia, and left these places so well guarded, that Philip, after more vigorous preparations than formerly, thought proper to direct his arms against a different part of the coast. Lissus and its citadel Acro-Lissus stood an hundred miles north of Apollonia. They were deemed the most important and strongest places in the whole country. Philip gained both, by a stratagem well concerted and boldly executed. At the foot of Acro-Lissus, and between this fortress and the city, there was a hollow den overhung by thick wood: the remainder of the space between the city and citadel consisted of plain ground, well adapted to the approaches of besiegers. In the den, just mentioned, Philip had the address to plant an ambush of chosen men. The day afterwards, he proceeded with his light forces into the plain, as if he had intended to take measures for advancing his machines against the city. The troops and armed inhabitants in Lissus sallied from their gates: Philip gave way; the men, who garrisoned Acro-Lissus, hastened to join their companions in the pursuit; but had no sooner advanced beyond the den at the foot of that fortress, than the Macedonians rose from their ambush, and clambering over some adjacent craggs, took possession of the deserted citadel. Philip, at the same time, turned unexpectedly on his pursuers, and drove them back in dismay to Lissus. That city was taken after repeated assaults, in which the king showed not less skill than courage: and the fame of such conquests intimidated most cities in Illyricum into a voluntary surrender⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40.

⁶⁵ Polybius, l. viii c. 15. & seq.

Philip thus deprived the Romans of their conquests in that country; but, before he could entirely subdue it to himself, his political adversaries gained over him a very decided advantage in negotiation.

This was a treaty which the pretor Valerius entered into with the Etolians, including all allies of the contracting parties. In consequence of this agreement, copies of which were inscribed in Jupiter's temple at Olympia, and in the Roman capitol⁶⁶, Philip's designs against Italy were completely defeated through his necessity of encountering the same Grecian enemies with whom he had contended in the social war, the Etolians, Elians, and Spartans; in addition to these, the Messenians recently incensed by his wanton cruelties.

Meanwhile, Hannibal received not any succours from Carthage. A reinforcement of forty elephants and 4,000 Numidian horse had been, indeed, voted to him; but before this supply could be got ready to sail, its destination was changed from Italy to Spain⁶⁷, in which latter country, his brother Asdrubal was now hardly pressed by the Scipios. Not only Spain, in which they had so many lucrative establishments, but even Sicily, in which, upon the commotions following the death of Hieron and the destruction of his family, they hoped once more to recover their ascendancy, appeared to the Carthaginians a scene of action more inviting than Italy, the theatre of great but unprofitable victories. To foment defection among the Roman subjects in Sicily, considerable armies had been already sent from Carthage; and these were speedily increased, when it was understood that the Syracusans, abused by the audacious artifices of Epicydes and Hippocrates, had violated their long peace with Rome, and set the resentment of that state at defiance⁶⁸. The consul Marcellus, who had by this time reinforced the pretor Appius hitherto commanding in Sicily, immediately concerted with him the fittest means for besieging Syracuse by sea and land.

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Treaty between the Romans and Etolians. Olymp. cxlii. 1. B. C. 212.

Events that caused the siege of Syracuse. Olymp. cxli. 3. B. C. 214.

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.

⁶⁷ Id. l. xxiii. c. 13, & 32.

⁶⁸ Id. l. xxiv. c. 27—33.

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Description
of that city.

To explain clearly the events which happened in the course of this undertaking, it is necessary briefly to advert to the general plan of Syracuse, and to the distribution of the various parts of that great and rich city. It stood on a head-land, projecting in the form of a triangle from the eastern coast of Sicily. The base advanced into the sea, which flowed a considerable way up the sides. These sides extended westward over the craggy eminences Epipolæ, gradually approaching each other until they finally united in the rock Euryelus, forming the vertex of the triangle. Disposed in a shape, similar to that of the island of which it was the capital, Syracuse measured eighteen miles in circuit, and contained five divisions, deserving each of them the name of city, in point of strength as well as magnitude. The largest division, called Acradina, formed the basis of the triangle, its outward wall washed by the sea. The little island Ortygia lay before the southern extremity of Acradina, forming with it two harbours, one on either side of the island: the two next divisions, the more northern called Tycha, and the southern Neapolis, bordered on Acradina, only separated from it by walls. The last, and most inland division, consisted of the craggy eminences Epipolæ; a quarter taken within the city for the sake chiefly of security, with the rock Euryelus above-mentioned, towering at its extremity, and frowning in defiance over the circumjacent country⁶⁹.

Operations
against it.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
cxlii. 1.
B. C. 214—
212.

In the space of five days, Appius, with incredible diligence, had provided whatever seemed necessary for the siege by land; but the first memorable attack appears to have been made by Marcellus against Acradina with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes. Not trusting to the stones and javelins thrown from single vessels for clearing the enemies walls, he joined two quinqueremes together, by their respective sides, and covered them with a strong floor of wood. On this floor, he applied a huge ladder, provided on either side with

⁶⁹ For the dimensions and divisions of Syracuse, see Thucyd. l. vi. Cicero in Verr. l. iv. Few great cities are so distinctly described.

balustrades,

balustrades, and having at one end a firm stage encompassed with parapets. As this double quinquereme approached the walls, the ladder was raised aloft, and propped at it rose by beams of various lengths; so that the soldiers might safely mount it, and having reached the stage at top, drive the enemy from their battlements. This machine received the name of Sackbut, because it nearly resembled in shape this triangular harp; the swelling base of the instrument being represented by the joined quinqueremes; its sides and strings respectively, by the sloping ladder, and the various props by which it was supported⁷⁰.

Now an opportunity first offered to Archimedes, for displaying, in all its powers, the wonderful machinery which, at the desire of king Hieron, he had erected. His philosophical mind, if insensible to personal glory, was not to that of his art. Syracuse, indeed, had fallen into bad hands; but he would still exert his abilities in defence of his country. Perhaps he was duped by the artifices through which Epicydes and Hippocrates had irritated the public mind against the Romans; a geometer is not the best judge in matters depending on moral evidence. But whatever motive determined him; glory, patriotism, the delusions, or even the threats of the unworthy usurpers of Syracuse, it is certain that his abilities long retarded, and might, but for events against which the utmost skill in defence could not avail, have ultimately defeated the operations against that unfortunate city. He had engines fitted to all distances: the hostile armament was battered while yet a furlong from the walls, and when the enemy waited darkness to make his approaches more safely, huge beaks projecting beyond the battlements, at the slightest touch of a cord, precipitated masses of stone and metal, weighing, many of them, ten talents⁷⁰. By such means, the sackbuts, four in number, were broke in pieces, while any single vessels, that ventured to come near, were grappled by iron hands, and on the quarter seized, being raised

Its wonder-
ful defence.

⁷⁰ Polybius, l. viii. c. 6—8.

⁷⁰ Lb. 600.

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to a fit height, suddenly replunged in the sea with destructive violence". Appius was not more successful in his assaults by land, than Marcellus in those by sea. The siege of Syracuse was therefore converted into a blockade under the pretor, while the consul, with one-third of the army, marched to quell insurrection in other

" Polybius ubi supra. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell. Marcellus jested at this rude reception, saying, that his ships were entertained with brimful goblets, while the *sackbuts* were pelted with stones and driven disgracefully from the feast. Polyb. l. v. c. 37. The joke lies in the equivocal word *sackbut*, denoting not only the musical instrument, but the girl who played on it. Such girls were rudely dismissed when they displeased either by their music or their manners. I have not mentioned the burning glasses by which Archimedes is said to have destroyed the Roman fleet. Zonaras and Tzetzes, to whom we owe this report, lived 14 centuries after the siege of Syracuse; and are discredited by the silence of Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. The verses of Tzetzes, Chil. ii. v. 119. & seq. are obscure and barbarous; they suggested, however, to Father Kircher the idea, that the effect ascribed to Archimedes' burning glasses, might be produced by a combination of plain mirrors; with 400 of which, so arranged as to reflect their heat on the same object, Buffon succeeded in the experiment of melting lead and tin at the distance of 140 feet. Mem. de L'Acad. des Sciences, An. 1746. Archimedes needs not the glory of this and other doubtful inventions, to support his fame: it rests on "the sphere and cylinder," the admirable work "on spiral lines;" and two other treatises, "*περί επιπέδων ισορροπιῶν*," and "*περί οχρῆμενων*," in which he explains the true principles of statics and hydrostatics. Conf. Fabric. Bibliothec. Græc. l. iii. c. 22. & Montucla Histoire des Mathematiques, part i. Liv. iv. In the treatise *περί οχρῆμενων*, we find principles affording the solution of the famous question referred to him con-

cerning the composition of Hieron's crown. The artist, instead of making this elegant piece of workmanship of pure gold, as the king had desired, combined in it a large portion of inferior metal. To find the quantities of each, Archimedes provided two masses, one of gold, another of the inferior metal; and each of the same weight with the crown. He then weighed these masses in water, to discover what proportions of their weight they respectively lost. The gold, he knew, being the more compact, would lose the least; because any body is less heavy in water, by the weight of a quantity of water equal to its own bulk. Having thus ascertained the parts of their weight lost respectively by the gold, the inferior metal, and the composite crown, it was easy to perceive that the quantity of gold in the composition must bear the same proportion to that of the inferior metal, as the difference of weights lost by the crown and inferior metal to the difference of weights lost by the crown and the gold. Another method of solving the same question is given by Vitruvius de Architect. l. ix. c. 3. It is that copied in all complements, though less ingenious, and therefore less worthy of Archimedes. The glassy sphere of Archimedes, representing the true picture of the Heavens, is best known by Claudian's Epigram.

Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Risit, et ad superos talia verba dedit:

Hucine mortalis progressa potentia curæ:
Ecce Syracusii ludimur arte senis.

Pope, if he did not borrow, has hit on, the same thought,

Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
And showed a Newton as we show an ape.

Essay on Man, Epist. ii. v. 33, 34.

parts of the island. He was opposed by 20,000 men, under Himilco, assisted by Hippocrates, who, while his brother Epicydes ably defended Syracuse, thought his own activity might be usefully employed in co-operating with the Carthaginian general. The flames of discord thus raged more widely: cities were taken, lost, and recovered; both parties were powerfully reinforced; and while other scenes of the war excited comparatively little interest, all men turned their eyes to the well sustained conflict in Sicily⁷². Marcellus, having compelled his opponents to shut themselves up in Agrigentum, returned to assist Appius in the siege of Syracuse. His assaults were as unprosperous as before; and when, by means of Syracusan exiles, who had joined him, he gained a strong party within the city, the intrigues of those traitors were disconcerted by Epicydes, a traitor of far greater dexterity.

The following occurrence, at length, opened a gleam of hope to the besiegers. Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, had been employed as a confidential agent between Hannibal and his coadjutor Epicydes on one side, and king Philip on the other. In his way to Macedon from Syracuse, Damippus had fallen into the hands of the Romans. Epicydes wished exceedingly to recover him; and Marcellus was the less unwilling to release him, because the Romans at this time were solicitous, as we have above shewn, to gain the friendship of the Lacedæmonians, his countrymen. In consequence of this disposition on both sides, deputations met to treat of his ransom at the fort of Galeagra, overlooking that part of the sea which washed the northern wall of the city. A Roman soldier availed himself of this opportunity to examine the wall narrowly, and having noted the spot where it was most assailable, communicated his observation to Marcellus. The general delayed, however, to proceed on this information, until apprized by deserters, that the Syracusans, in perfect security, were celebrating Diana's festival; that, amidst the scarcity of other luxuries,

Part of the
city taken.
Olymp.
cxlii. 1.
B. C. 212.

⁷² Tit. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35. & seq. Conf. Plutarch in Marcell.

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wine had been distributed to them in great profusion : and that two preceding carousals would probably be outdone by the intemperance of the third and last day of the solemnity ⁷³. Upon this intelligence, Marcellus selected a fit band of assailants, provided with ladders of the necessary height, for the soldier had carefully remarked the size of the stones and the number of layers in which they rose above each other. At that hour of the night, when Syracuse was most likely to be buried in sleep and wine, the wall was scaled by 1,000 men, who, finding the solitude around them disturbed only by a few drunken revellers, hastened westward to the Hexapyle, or "Six Gateways," forming so many entrances to the quarter called Tycha. Having burst open the least obstinate barricade, they admitted their watchful companions in such numbers, that the business was no longer to elude, but to terrify the enemy. The trumpets were sounded ; a general shout was raised ; and the guards in Tycha and Epipolæ only waked from their intoxication, to fall headlong from the walls, or to fly in terror through the streets.

Acradina
and Ortygia
defended by
Epicyles.

The sound of arms had scarcely reached Acradina and Ortygia, in the latter of which Epicyles occupied the royal palace, when Marcellus at dawn entered the Hexapyle, with the greater part of his army. Epicyles hastened to repel the assailants, venting execrations against those who had allowed the wall to be scaled, and reproaching the cowards, who, flocking to him on his way, greatly increased, he said, by exaggerating, the danger. But when a nearer approach made him acquainted with the full extent of his misfortune, he returned with the utmost diligence to secure Acradina and the island, the only parts of the city which he judged to be still tenable. Meanwhile Marcellus, having gained the fortresses in Epipolæ, successively took possession of Tycha and Neapolis. The submission of the inhabitants saved their lives, but came too late to protect their property. Those regions of the city were subjected to a general pillage, extorted

⁷³ Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 23. & seq.

rather

rather by the rapacity of the soldiers, than permitted through the cruel indulgence of the general; for Marcellus, at first entering the place, and viewing its vastness and magnificence from the heights which gave name to Epipolæ, shed tears of pity at the hard duty which the obstinacy and impolicy of the Syracusans had imposed on him⁷⁴; he remembered the high renown of the commonwealth, its innumerable trophies over Carthage, and its signal triumph over Athens in the zenith of her glory; above all, the late virtuous reign of Hieron, during which Syracuse had continued for upwards of fifty years to be intimately connected with Rome in an alliance equally useful and honourable to both parties.

Meanwhile Epicydes exerted equal diligence and dexterity for the defence of Acradina and Ortygia; in which, chiefly, consisted the admired splendour of the city. The assaults of the Romans had been repelled vigourously on every side, when Hippocrates and Himilco arrived to succour the besieged at the head of a great army. Battles were fought with various success, and the combatants did not suffer more cruelly from each other, than from the pestilence, a common evil, which, after greatly afflicting both, finally swept away almost the whole Carthaginian army with the two generals commanding it. Their Sicilian auxiliaries dispersed into neighbouring cities; while Epicydes, though deprived of external aid, persevered in defending his walls with unabating energy⁷⁵. This obstinacy of resistance, allowed time for a new effort in his favour. A fleet, consisting of 130 large galleys and 700 victuallers, sailed prosperously from Carthage to the southern coast of Sicily, and anchored, most of them, at a place called the Harbour of Ulysses, on the farther side of Pachynus; but a strong wind from the east rendered it impossible to double that promontory. The news of this vast armament, its first successful navigation, and long subsequent delay, excited alternate emotions of hope and fear among the besiegers and besieged. Epi-

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The Carthaginians assist Syracuse by land and sea.

⁷⁴ Tit. Liv. & Plutarch ubi supra.

⁷⁵ Id. ibid.

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Cowardice of
Bomilcar
their admi-
ral.

The remain-
ing divisions
of Syracuse
taken
through the
treachery of
Mericus a
Spaniard.
Olymp.
cxlii. 1.
B. C. 212.

cydes, who dreaded that, should the storm continue to blow from the east, Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, would sail back to Carthage, determined to join him with the utmost expedition, leaving the defence of Syracuse, meanwhile, in the hands of his lieutenants; and Marcellus, who perceived that the Carthaginian partisans throughout Sicily were encouraged to new exertions by the prospect of such powerful assistance, hastened to sea, though with an inferior fleet, in the design of fighting the enemy. The two fleets were on opposite sides of Pachynus. The cessation of the tempestuous east wind enabled them to come in sight of each other. Epicydes exerted all his endeavours to inspire Bomilcar with confidence; but that commander no sooner perceived the Romans advancing towards him in full sail, than, being seized with a sudden panic, he bore away with the ships of war, and sent orders to the transports in Heraclæa and other harbours, to make all haste into Africa. Epicydes, totally disconcerted by his cowardice, instead of returning to Syracuse, which he considered as now lost⁷⁶, sailed to Agrigentum, and after occasioning new troubles to the Romans there, finally escaped safe into Africa.

The destruction of the Carthaginian army, followed by this shameful flight of the fleet, diffused consternation through a large body of Sicilian rebels, who had again assembled in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. They wished by any means to obtain forgiveness; and, for this purpose, while they applied directly to Metellus, they sent a numerous deputation into the besieged city, with a view to prevail on it to capitulate. The persons, employed in this transaction, intimated their commission only to such Syracusans as had been long connected with them in the bonds of old hereditary friendship; and they soon understood, that all attempts to bring about any offer of capitulation must prove fruitless, while those men remained alive, whom Epicydes had left in authority. This obstacle being removed

⁷⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 27.

by the help of assassins, an embassy was sent to Marcellus in order to extenuate past errors, and to implore his clemency. But, before his answer could be received, Syracuse was subjected to a new calamity. The Roman deserters in the place well knew that the mercy which might be shewn to others, would not be extended to them; and had the address to make many bodies of Greek mercenaries unite with them, as in a common cause. The best part of the citizens were intimidated, the worst abetted the sedition. The gates were shut against the Romans, and guarded more carefully than ever. Yet, after the first ferment had subsided, it was determined that the persons sent to Marcellus should be re-admitted, and together with them a deputation from that general. Among the soldiers escorting his deputies, the Roman commander, who had learned, by secret intelligence, that one of the three gates of Acradina was entrusted to Mericus a Spaniard, sent a fit agent of that nation then serving among his auxiliaries. Through the persuasion of this auxiliary, his countryman was prevailed on to betray his post. The Romans, having thus entered Acradina by treachery, completed their success by arms, both there and in the island Ortygia connected with it by a bridge. Being exempted from observing any measures with the Syracusans, they imposed no bounds to their wanton abuse of victory, except what seemed necessary for securing to the Roman exchequer a due proportion of the booty, particularly the money contained in the royal treasury in Ortygia. Amidst innumerable acts of rage and cruelty, one only is pointedly commemorated, but by this alone, laurels, brighter than those of Marcellus, would be for ever blasted. The murder of Archimedes, in which the sanctity of science was violated, is so variously recorded, that the Romans should seem, through shame, never to have made any authentic report of it". A tomb, by order of the conqueror, was erected for him in the suburb, and inscribed, as had been his own desire, with a sphere and

The city
plundered.Death of
Archimedes.His tomb
discovered at
the distance
of 139 years
by Cicero.

" Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 31. & Plutarch in Marcell.

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cylinder. At the distance of 139 years from this period, Cicero, when questor in Sicily, asked the magistrates of Syracuse, who were officiously pointing out to him less interesting objects, for the tomb of Archimedes. They could not acquaint him with its site; and, to cloak their ignorance, denied the existence of any such monument. At his desire, he was then conducted beyond the gate to an ancient cemetery. After much search amidst brambles and rubbish, a stone was found, bearing a sphere and cylinder, with part also of the mouldering inscription on this great geometer. Cicero boasts of his discovery with honest exultation⁷⁹, and contrasts his own keen curiosity with the careless indifference of the magistrates of Syracuse, one of the noblest cities of Greece, and once one of the most learned. But he considered not, or, considering, forbore to mention, the cause of this wretched degeneracy.

Glory of the
Sicilians in
arts and let-
ters.

Geometry, indeed, since the decline of the Pythagoreans in Sicily, might be considered as a sort of exotic, transplanted laboriously from Egypt. But the Sicilians, while an independent nation, produced poets, orators, and historians, many of whom we have had occasion to commemorate. The eloquence of Gorgias, of Leontium, was admired even in Athens. The historians Antiochus⁸⁰, Philistus, Callias, Antander, Timæus, furnished a chain of narrative downward from the 90th to the 129th Olympiad and the Punic wars, including the affairs of Sicily, and of all those countries with which that island was connected. But pastoral poetry was the peculiar boast of the Sicilians, and should seem to have flourished in their island from the fabulous times of Daphnis⁸¹ and Diomus⁸², to those of Bion and Moschus, in the age of Ptolemy Philometor⁸³. But in the space of seventy-three years from the death of Philometor, to the discovery of the tomb of Archimedes by Cicero, the Sicilian muses

⁷⁹ Tusculan. Quæst. l. v. c. 3.

⁸⁰ Diodor. l. xii. p. 333. & Strabo, l. vi. crit.

p. 254.

⁸¹ Diodor. l. iv. sub fin. & Schol. in Theo.

⁸² Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 619.

⁸³ Suidas.

had become dumb, and both literature and science were totally neglected. Such was the change produced on this lively and ingenious people by the accumulating oppression of a foreign yoke!

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Marcellus stripped Syracuse of riches not inferior to what the sack of Carthage would have yielded, and of works of art, adorning public monuments, which no wealth could purchase. The Romans thus usurped the trophies reared over many foreign enemies by this long illustrious republic; and by decking their own capital with ornaments which they wanted contrivance to invent, and even industry to imitate, they exposed themselves to the just reproaches of all civilised nations, particularly of Greeks, in every division of the world⁸³. At the taking of Agrigentum by the consul Lævinus, the riches and elegancies of that city, the second in the island, were ransacked with equal avidity, and carefully transported to Rome. Lævinus then made himself master of six other cities by assault, of twenty by treachery, and of forty by voluntary surrender⁸⁴. The whole island thus fell under the dominion of Rome; and though its various communities were treated differently, according to their several deserts, yet the justice administered to all of them appears to have been measured on a scale of rigid severity. In what had formed the proper kingdom of Hieron, the regulations of that wise prince were upheld respecting tillage, tythes, and other matters of rural œconomy, because none more profitable could be devised⁸⁵; and the fertile Sicily, long the seat of arts, arms, and tumultuary liberty, sunk into a peaceful farm, cultivated chiefly for the benefit of the Romans, and of which, before the age of Augustus, the whole superfluous produce was annually transported to feed their voracious capital⁸⁶.

Oppression
and degra-
dation under
the Romans.

⁸³ Plutarch in Marcell. Conf. Polybius, l. ix. c. 10. & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 40. l. xxvi. c. 30 & 31.

⁸⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 40.

⁸⁵ Cicero in Verrem. l. ii. de Jurisdic. Siciliens & l. iii. Oratio Frumentaria.

⁸⁶ Strabo, l. vi. p. 273. Among the exports of Sicily he mentions corn, cattle, hides, wool, honey, saffron.

The

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War in
Spain.
Olymp.

cxlii. 1—

cxliii. 2.

B. C. 212—
207.

Scipio Afri-
canus.

Asdrubal
passes into
Italy. De-
feated and
slain.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

The success of the Romans in the conquest of Syracuse, was balanced by contemporary and very disastrous events in Spain. The Scipios, Publius and Cneius, having separated their forces too widely, and being deserted by their Spanish auxiliaries, were in the space of one month successively cut off, with a great proportion of their respective armies. But the officers, who had commanded under them, especially Lucius Martius, a young Roman, endowed with talents far beyond his years or his rank, collected the scattered legions, and made head against the enemy⁸⁷, until the arrival in Spain, as proconsul, of the son of Publius Scipio. This new general, who bore also the name of Publius, assumed the command at the age of 24: seven years before this time he had saved his father's life in the battle of Ticinus: his talents, civil as well as military, were of the highest order; his zeal for the public service, his integrity, and magnanimity surpassed the glory of his talents. The Romans were inclined to regard the brightness of his unspotted merit with a superstitious reverence; and Scipio too well knew the influence of such prepossessions, not to employ fit means to confirm them, and to establish himself in the public mind as the peculiar favourite of heaven, destined to retrieve the misfortunes of his family, and to extend the renown of his country⁸⁸. His first exploit was the capture of New Carthage; and success is said thenceforward to have attended him for the space of ten years, till his victory over Hannibal in Africa gloriously terminated the war.

Yet, this account is not altogether consistent with those facts which the partiality of Roman historians could not venture to dissemble. Hannibal, disappointed in his succours from Carthage, and deceived in those promised from king Philip, looked with anxious expectation towards his brother Asdrubal, in Spain. For seven years Asdrubal was prevented from gratifying his hopes by the brothers Publius and Cneius; but in the fourth year after the son of Publius had assumed

⁸⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 37, & seq.

⁸⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 18, & seq.

the command, Asdrubal marched through Gaul into Italy, and having passed the Po and the Rubicon, was totally defeated and slain on the Metaurus, in Umbria, by the consuls Livius and Nero. This decisive defeat was the work chiefly of Nero. He had been opposing Hannibal in Apulia, when Asdrubal's letters, desiring Hannibal to meet him in Umbria, were intercepted: Nero left his camp with a select detachment; marched northward two hundred and fifty miles along the sea coast, and by a seasonable junction with his colleague, defeated Asdrubal in the Metaurus, before Hannibal was apprised of the departure of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse from lines opposite to his own. Nero marched back into Apulia, carrying with him the terror of a battle as bloody as that of Cannæ. At sight of his brother Asdrubal's head, Hannibal acknowledged with a sigh the sad destiny of Carthage. He quickly moved into the country of the Brutii, and contracted the few confederates that remained to him into that remote corner, where only he was still able to protect them⁸⁹.

After the departure of Asdrubal from Spain, Scipio defeated four divisions of the Carthaginians, and successively expelled them from that country. The last division left it under Mago⁹⁰, also son to Hamilcar, and not unworthy of his father and brothers. He escaped to the Balearic isles, from thence sailed to Genoa, and collected an army of Gauls and Ligurians, with whom, while he fought the pretor Quintius Varius near Milan, he was badly wounded and obliged to retreat to the sea coast. In the bay of Genoa, he found some Carthaginian vessels bringing orders both to himself and to Hannibal, that they should return to the defence of their country⁹¹. The pressing necessities of Carthage required indeed this measure. Scipio, after driving the enemy from Spain, had been elected consul, and sailed into Sicily with Africa for his province⁹². His lieutenant Lælius had been sent to ravage the coast of Carthage, and to excite defection among the allies or subjects of that state; Masinissa, the

Scipio's victories in Spain. He prepares to pass into Africa.

Olymp. cxliiii. 4. B. C. 205.

⁸⁹ Polybius, l. xi. c. 7. l. xv. c. 1. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 41, & seq.

⁹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 13.

⁹¹ Polybius, l. xiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 18, 19.

⁹² Id. l. xxviii. c. 45.

Numidian,

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Sails thither.

Olymp.

cxliv. 1.

B. C. 204.

Hannibal
comes to the
defence of
Carthage.
His mea-
sures.
Olymp.
cxliv. 2.
B. C. 203.

Numidian, having already, amidst the misfortunes of the Carthaginians, revolted to Scipio in Spain. After employing the whole year of his consulship in preparations, wonderfully facilitated by the alacrity of all ranks of men both in Sicily and Italy, Scipio, with 400 transports, escorted by 50 galleys, had passed into Africa⁹³. The number of his forces is uncertain, but its strength far surpassed any thing that could be brought against it. He was master of all the open country: he besieged Tunes and Utica, bastions, as it were, on either side of Carthage: Syphax⁹⁴, rival to Masinissa, was his prisoner; and the flower of the Numidians, long the best auxiliaries to Carthage, now received orders from the proconsul.

Under these circumstances, Hannibal arrived at Hadrumetum⁹⁵, eighty miles south of Tunes. His brother Mago, while on the voyage homeward, died at sea of his wound. Hannibal, finding the country round Carthage occupied by enemies, marched westward towards the river Bagradas. Scipio, apprised of his arrival, did not think it expedient to prosecute his attack against places on the sea coast. He therefore proceeded southward to offer battle to the enemy, now encamped near Zama, about sixty miles inland from Hadrumetum. By this time Hannibal had drawn to him the remains of vanquished armies, and all the forces that could be spared from any of the besieged cities. Besides his veterans from Italy, whose horses however he was obliged to leave behind him for want of transports, his standard was followed by that wide variety of nations, which distinguished the service of a people supplied chiefly by mercenaries. They consisted of Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, Moors, and tribes of Numidians hostile to Masinissa⁹⁶. Throughout the whole of the present war, the Carthaginians had avoided to meet the Romans at sea. Their cowardice on this element, long propitious to their ancestors, prevented all co-operation between them and

⁹³ Id. l. xxix. c. 24, & seq.⁹⁴ He was king of the Massylians; Masinissa, of the Massylians. Conf. Tit. Liv.

xxviii. 17. xxix. 32. xxx. 11.

⁹⁵ Polybius, l. xv. c. 5.⁹⁶ Ibid. c. 3.

their

their ally Philip of Macedon. But Philip, having now with much labour created a fleet of his own, had sent to them 4,000 Macedonians. This reinforcement, however, which afterwards cost Philip so dear, left them far inferior to the enemy in strength as well as spirit. While Scipio was on the march to Zama, Hannibal dispatched three spies, who were detected and brought to the Roman camp. The general desired every thing to be shewn to them at much leisure, and then dismissed them under a safe conduct to make report to their employer⁹⁷. The generosity of this proceeding made Hannibal desire a conference. Scipio consented; and for this purpose drew nearer the enemy, to a place called Nadagara⁹⁸, a very advantageous post, and having water at command. Hannibal brought his army within three miles of him, and encamped on a hill, strong and otherwise convenient, but too far removed from water⁹⁹. The conference was not productive of any good effect; and both parties prepared for battle on the adjacent plain.

Hannibal, inferior in other respects, had above eighty elephants, which he placed in his van, that their resistless strength and wild impetuous movements might disturb the Roman ranks. His army was drawn up in three lines, with cavalry, in which he was weak, on the wings. The first line contained the different bodies of mercenaries above enumerated; the second consisted of the domestic forces of Carthage; the third, in which he chiefly confided, of the veterans brought with him from Italy¹⁰⁰. Scipio's men also formed in three lines; the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii: his cavalry was disposed on the wings; the right commanded by Masinissa, the left by Lælius. But in order to provide against any confusion in his order of battle, that might be occasioned by the enemy's elephants, he did not draw up his van in a full line, but separated its cohorts at

Battle of
Zama.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

⁹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29.

⁹⁸ Otherwise called Naraggara.

⁹⁹ Polyb. l. xv. c. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Polyb. l. xv. c. 8. & seq.

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wide intervals from each other¹⁰¹; his second and third lines were also provided with intervals corresponding with those in the front of the army. His men being thus arranged, not according to the chequer order¹⁰² usual with the Romans, but by rank and file, in direct back-standing, the elephants, he expected, would find their way, without doing much harm, through the avenues left open for them. The battle began by desultory skirmishes of Numidian horsemen. The elephants were then brought forward, and being galled and enraged by the Velites, disposed in the intervals of the cohorts, either pursued them to the rear of the Roman army, or were carried towards the extremities of their own line, where they produced much disorder among the Carthaginian cavalry. At this crisis, Mafiniffa and Lælius made their attack, and put to rout the squadrons to which they were respectively opposed. Meanwhile Hannibal brought forward his first and second lines. The Romans advanced slowly and silently to meet them. Within a due distance, both armies raised a shout; that, on the side of the Carthaginians, confused and heterogeneous; that of the Romans in one according voice, and therefore louder and more terrible. The mercenaries, however, fought strenuously, but entirely unaided by the Carthaginians behind them, whereas the Principes of the Romans were always at hand, to support their Hastati, or first ranks. The mercenaries, being thus obliged to give way, turned their arms on the Carthaginians, by whose cowardice they had been so shamefully deserted. The Carthaginians, now driven to despair, were seized with a frantic rage, and exerted themselves with a boldness, or rather ferocity, altogether unusual to them, both against their own mercenaries and the

¹⁰¹ Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes, ut esset spatium, quo elephanti hostium accepti nihil ordines turbarent. Tit. Liv. xxx. 33.

¹⁰² Καθὰ περ εἶδος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. (Polyb. xv. c. 9.) may be referred either to the chequer order of maniples or of soldiers. I take it in the latter sense, for the reasons given above. C. xii. p. 673—676.

Romans.

Romans. At length, repelled by superior force, they hoped to be received into the line of veterans which Hannibal had kept in reserve; but as they approached, the veterans presented to them the points of their spears, so that only a feeble remnant was saved by flying to the wings. Scipio, on this occasion, as the ground, slippery with mud and gore, was interrupted with broken armour and heaps of carcases, and his ranks considerably disordered, commanded his Hastati to close to the centre, and his Principes and Triarii to gain the flanks, and form with the Hastati in one continued line. In this order, an obstinate battle began against Hannibal's veterans, the issue of which was not decided until the return of Masinissa and Lælius, who having defeated and dispersed the enemy's cavalry, now assailed in flank and rear, and totally destroyed Hannibal's only remaining resource¹⁰³. He escaped with a few horsemen to Hadrumetum, and being recalled to Carthage, declared the war at an end.

The Carthaginians consented to every condition imposed on them. They had lost the possession, and now abandoned all right to Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, or any other foreign conquest. Even on their own continent, they bound themselves by oaths and hostages not to take arms without permission from the Romans. They surrendered all their galleys, ten only excepted; and had the mortification to see 500 armed vessels burnt by Scipio's order. By a clause of far less importance, they surrendered also all their elephants, and promised no longer to train for war any of those fierce animals: they agreed at the same time to pay 10,000 talents, at the rate of 200 talents yearly. The first payment being immediately exacted, the senate of Carthage was in tears. Hannibal laughed aloud; and being reproved for his indecency, maintained that there could not be any thing more laughable, than the absurdity of men who bewailed the loss of their money, more than that of their ships, arms, and independence¹⁰⁴.

Peace—its
conditions.

¹⁰³ Polybius, lxxv. c. 9—16.

¹⁰⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 44.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Etolians and Acarnanians endeavour respectively to gain the Lacedæmonians.

—Manly Resolution of the Acarnanians saves their Country.—Philip defeats the Proconsul Sulpicius.—His Bravery in the Battle of Elis.—False Report of his Death.—Philopæmen's Return to Achaia.—His Character and Victories.—Philip's Exertions against the Romans and King Attalus.—Disappointed by the Carthaginians.—Machanidas Tyrant of Sparta.—Battle of Mantinea.—Prosperity of the Achæan League.—Philip's Alliance with Antiochus.—Great Prospects in the East.—Sea-fight off Casysté.—Philip's Conquests in Caria.—Destruction of Abydus.

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Transition to
the events in
Greece, con-
temporary
with the se-
cond Punic
war.

THE transactions of the Greeks, contemporary with the Hannibalic war', are too important to be considered as an under-plot. Philip, the chief enemy to Rome beyond the Hadriatic, light and inconsiderate as he was, excites interest by his activity and spirit. His allies, the Achæans, boasted in Philopæmen a name not eclipsed by that of Marcellus or Scipio. Philip's first opponents, the Etolians Elians and Lacedæmonians, presented even in those latter times of Greece, many singular and momentous scenes, flowing from indelible peculiarities in their national manners; and the adversaries whom his injustice afterwards stirred up against him, I mean Attalus and the Rhodians, enjoyed solid and fair pre-eminences, surpassing the blood-stained pomp of mere military triumphs. This portion of history forms, besides, a natural prelude to the first Macedonian war, from the commencement of which, Rome was engaged in a perpetual series of hostilities or negotiations with the different mem-

'Ο Απιδιακος πολειμος. Polyb. i. 3. ii. 37. iii. i. vi. 51. & Appian, Απιδιακη. l. vii. p. 228.

bers of that empire, until, in the space of thirty-four years, she gained a decided ascendancy over the nations on this side the Euphrates; and having first taught them to obey her as allies, in the course of the following century reduced the whole of them into dependent provinces, or tributary kingdoms.

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The alliance that had been concluded between the Romans and Etolians, opened to the former, the convenient harbour of Naupactus, on the Corinthian gulph. Hostilities commenced from this quarter, by taking Ceneadæ in Acarnania, and Anticyra in Locris. The houses and lands, according to a compact subsisting between the confederates, became the property of the Etolians: all things moveable, including the persons of the vanquished, were seized as booty by the Romans.² Meanwhile the Acarnanians sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, in hopes of preventing that state from co-operating with barbarous invaders. The Etolians sent to the same place to confirm the Lacedæmonians in their engagements. Both ambassadors, Chlainias on the part of the Etolians, and Lyciscus on that of the Acarnanians, pleaded at great length before the Lacedæmonian assembly; and, in their speeches, gave opposite and equally unfair views of Grecian history. According to the Etolian, the kings of Macedon, from Philip, the father of Alexander, downwards, had always been the worst foes to Greece; hostile to its liberty and glory, and cruel persecutors of every citizen zealous to maintain these enjoyments. The forbearance of Antigonus Doson, in sparing the freedom, and even the dignity of Sparta, when conquered in a just war, Chlainias ascribed to motives altogether unworthy of so excellent a prince; "but whatever might be thought by others of that specious transaction, the Lacedæmonians had clearly shewn that they were not its dupes, since they had taken arms against the successor of Antigonus in the social war. After that time, nothing surely had happened that could inspire them with more favourable dispositions towards

The Acarnanians and Etolians endeavour respectively to gain the Lacedæmonians.

Olymp. cxlii. 2.
B. C. 211.

They plead their respective causes before the Lacedæmonian assembly.

² Polybius, l. xi. c. 6. Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 24.

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Macedon." Lyciscus replied ably and warmly, by contrasting the glorious exploits of Philip and his immortal son, with the mean predatory expeditions of the Etolians. He passed slightly over the reigns of Cassander, Demetrius, and Antigonus Gonatas, but dwelt with complacence on the mildness and magnanimity of Antigonus Doson, to whom the Spartans owed the privilege, now exercised by them, of holding their assemblies. Philip, the present king, he observed, had been desirous of treading in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor; it was matter of deep regret, that the Lacedæmonians had ever opposed his views; but though they had done this formerly, they ought not again to repeat and aggravate their error; for the circumstances were greatly changed by the confederacy of the Etolians with a more formidable foreign enemy, now lowering like a cloud in the west; who would first eclipse Macedon, but, ere long, would darken all Greece. He adjured the Lacedæmonians, by the glorious death of Leonidas, and by the sportive magnanimity of their ancestors, who buried the Persian ambassadors in a well, when they came to demand earth and water, not to take party with the Etolians and the barbarous invaders by whom they were abetted³. We are not informed of the immediate decision of the assembly; but the Lacedæmonians, shortly afterwards, embraced the worst resolution, and took the field to maintain it, under the direction of Machanidas, an able and active tyrant.

Manly resolutions of the Acarnanians, by which they save their country. Olymp. cxlii 2. B. C. 211.

The inroads to which Macedon was always liable on its northern frontier, having recalled Philip to the defence of his kingdom, the Etolians determined to seize the opportunity of prosecuting their success in Acarnania. Their preparations greatly alarmed the Acarnanians, who knew what they had to expect from the jealousy of the worst of neighbours, and the rage of the fiercest of enemies. Successive messengers were sent to hasten Philip's return: application was made to the Achæans and Epirots; but the dreadful appre-

³ Polybius, l. ix. c. 28, and seqq.

ensions of the Acarnanians appeared chiefly in the domestic measures immediately adopted by them. They sent their women, children, and helpless old men to neighbouring strongholds in Epirus. All males in their country, from the age of fifteen to sixty, were commanded to take arms, and to bind themselves by oath, either to conquer or die. The most horrible imprecations were denounced against all who shunned the enemy, and all who might be tempted, by any false notions of humanity, to receive such cowards into their communion. This firm decree, together with the arrival of Philip in Thessaly, prevented, for the present, the Etolian invasion⁴.

To punish that people for the terror with which they had alarmed antient and most faithful allies to his family, Philip soon after formed the siege of Echinus, a city on the Malian gulph. The place was well fortified, and contained a considerable garrison; with which the Romans co-operated by sea, and Dorimachus, the Etolian pretor, by land. But Philip repelled these enemies from his camp, and prosecuted the siege in a manner worthy of the descendant of Poliorcetes. His engines threw stones of thirty and sixty pounds weight, until the besieged were driven from their works, and compelled, in hopes of saving their lives, to surrender at discretion⁵.

Philip takes
Echinus.

Besides gratifying his passion for sieges, Philip had another motive for occupying Echinus. From the moment that he began to form a naval force, Attalus, king of Pergamus, naturally became his rival. That prince, who in an able reign of thirty years had lost no opportunity of augmenting his diminutive territories, was warmly courted by the Etolians, and invested by them with the pretorship, in conjunction with their countryman Pyrrhias, who, in the absence of his royal colleague, exercised alone the functions of that office. By seizing the harbour of Echinus, directly opposite to the coast of Pergamus, and in the neighbourhood of other Etolian strongholds, Attalus would have been in a condition powerfully to

Progress of
Attalus king
of Perga-
mus.
Olymp.
cxlii. 3.
B. C. 210.

⁴ Polybius, l. ix. c. 40. Conf. xvi. 22.

⁵ Polyb. ix. 41.

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Philip's suc-
cess against
the Etolians
and Ro-
mans.
Olymp.
cxliii 1.
B. C. 208.

assist his new allies. Shortly afterwards, he sailed for that purpose to Ægina, and meanwhile aided them with some forces in Thessaly; the proconsul Sulpicius, who had succeeded Valerius in the command of the Roman fleet, sent them also a thousand of his men, as an earnest of more effectual succour.

Against Pyrrhias the Etolian pretor, thus reinforced by splendid allies, Philip fought successfully in Thessaly, until he drove his enemies from the field, and compelled them to take refuge within the strong walls of Lamia. From thence, for the sake of foraging, he proceeded to Phalara, on the Malian gulph, and was there met by the same ambassadors from Rhodes and Egypt, who had been so zealous in mediating the former peace. Philip assured them, that he would be always willing to treat on reasonable terms. He named a time when an assembly of the Achæans would meet to hear the proposals of their enemies; and immediately granted a month's truce to the Etolians. As he apprehended that Attalus might land on Eubœa, he reinforced his garrisons in that island, and proceeded southward with his cavalry and light infantry to Argos, that republic having chosen him to preside in their Heræan and Nemean games. After solemnising the first of these festivals, he proceeded to the Achæan assembly at Ægium. The Rhodians and Egyptians were present; they employed the same arguments in favour of peace that they had urged on former occasions; but the Etolians having just learned, that Attalus and the Romans had respectively sailed to Ægina and Naupactus, became more intractable than ever. Philip spurned their unwarrantable demands, especially after the recent success of his arms, and rejoiced in an opportunity of throwing on them, in presence of the ambassadors, the whole odium of the war. Having left part of his army to protect the Achæans, threatened on one side by the Etolians, and on the other by Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, he dissolved the assembly of Ægium, and returned to Argos, to celebrate the Nemean games; but that pleasing solemnity

was

was quickly interrupted by intelligence that the proconsul Sulpicius had sailed from Naupactus, and was committing dreadful ravages in the fertile territory⁶ between Corinth and Sicyon. Philip hastened with his cavalry to oppose him, ordering his infantry to follow with all possible expedition. Sulpicius was attacked, defeated, and driven disgracefully to his ships⁷.

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The fame of this exploit brightened the remainder of the festivity, during which Philip divested himself of his diadem and purple, and mingled in every scene of amusement with the familiarity and freedom of a private citizen. But unfortunately, this vain shew of equality was accompanied by the worst acts that can be sanctioned by power. The tyrant added murder to adultery in the case of the younger Aratus, whom he called his friend; he gave unrestrained career to his fierce⁸ voluptuousness at Argos, to the disgrace and affliction of that ancient commonwealth, from which the kings of Macedon boasted their descent.

His profligacy during the Nemean games.

The games had no sooner terminated, than Philip undertook an expedition against the Elians, steady allies to the Etolians, and whose capital, Elis, was actually garrisoned by troops of that nation. He marched against the city in hopes of provoking to battle a people highly susceptible of irritation. He was not disappointed in this particular; but felt no small surprize at beholding Roman arms and standards glittering amidst the ranks of the Elians and Etolians. The proconsul Sulpicius had sailed to Cyllenè, and secretly thrown himself into Elis with four thousand soldiers. Philip would have declined the engagement, but it was no longer time to retreat either with honour or safety. He fought bravely at the head of his cavalry, till his horse was killed by a pilum, and then continued to combat on foot amidst the hostile squadrons, until he received pro-

His campaign in Elis, and personal bravery. Olymp. cxliiii. 1. B. C. 208.

⁶ Agrum nobilissimæ fertilitatis. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 31.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ Polybius, l. x. c. 26. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 31. & Plutarch in Arato.

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tection from his men, and, being placed on another horse, was carried from the field. The advantage gained over him could not have been considerable, since he encamped at the distance of only five miles from Elis, and next day committed great depredations⁹ on the territory.

False report
of his death.
Invasion
of Macedon.
Olymp.
cxliij. 1.
B. C. 208.

Soon afterwards, most alarming news were brought to him from Macedon. A report of his death being credited among the Barbarians, his northern and western frontiers were a prey to invaders. The false rumour arose from an incident in the late expedition, in which he had defeated the Romans near Sicyon, and driven them disgracefully to their ships. The impetuosity of his horse, carrying him against a tree, one of the wings of his helmet was broken off in the shock. The fragment, adorned with the king's arms, had been carried to Scerdilaidas in Illyricum; and through the artifices of that adversary, operating on gross ignorance, easily converted into a sure proof of the king's death, and a resistless excitement to the invasion of his dominions. Philip flew to their defence, having left little more than two thousand men for the protection of his allies¹⁰.

Philopœmen
returns from
Crete, and is
entrusted
with the
command of
the Achæan
cavalry.

His sudden departure, at this crisis of the war, might have been fatal to the Achæans, had not the military arrangements of that people lately undergone an important change. Cycliadas, then pretor, was not distinguished by any pre-eminence of courage or ability; but the command of the horse, which was the second place in the army, had been conferred on Philopœmen, whose presence of mind and penetration, a dozen years before this period, had decided the famous battle of Sellasia. During this long interval, he had resided chiefly in Crete, and taken share in the incessant wars between the petty states in that island, which served as a nursery of men fertile in resources and bold in stratagem, whom we continually meet with fighting, on opposite sides, in all the wars of Alexander's successors. Philopœmen had learned every thing from the Cretans but their dis-

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 32.

¹⁰ Id. ibid.

honest craft. His œconomy despised money, his spirit detested a lie; few loved their country more warmly, and fewer in time of war were better qualified to serve it. As a soldier, he united theory with practice. The different treatises on tacticks were familiar to him; but he delighted, above all, in the military historians of Alexander. That great conqueror, he perceived, had rendered the phalanx, which was imperfect in itself, a complete and resistless instrument of war, by the improvement of its accompanying cavalry. Philopœmen set himself to imitate this accomplished model, and to infuse new emulation and energy into the corps which he commanded". The fame which he had acquired before leaving Peloponnesus, made him the frequent subject of discourse among his countrymen. His return, which had been long looked for, was a matter of public joy. He was received with a degree of fond partiality bordering on enthusiasm; and the qualities of his mind and body were peculiarly well calculated for confirming this disposition in his favour. In the vigour of manhood, his well adjusted frame displayed the utmost measure of strength that is consistent with agility. Frankness, simplicity, and dignity, were announced in his aspect; and with the skill of a great general, continual exercise in arms had enabled him to combine in real war such readiness and dexterity, as surpassed the most surprising feats exhibited at the martial sports of Olympia. The authority acquired by his talents was farther upheld by his prudence: he was a man of few words"; every opinion that he gave was well weighed; and every promise that he made might be firmly relied on. Such was Philopœmen, and such the character which he was zealous to stamp on his followers. The expensive finery, which the young Achæans had formerly employed about their dress and personal accommodations, he taught them to confine solely in future to their

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His proceedings for improving it, Olymp. cxlii. 4. B. C. 209.

" Polybius, l. x. c. 25. l. xi. c. 8. & seq. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. & Plutarch in Philopœmen.

" He considered long speeches as the

greatest impediment to affairs, remembering the answer of the Athenian when asked what had ruined his republick: " provenere adolescentuli oratores." Id. ibid.

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His victories
over the
Elians and
Etolians.
Olymp.
cxliii. 1.
B. C. 208.

Philip's ex-
ertions a-
gainst the
Romans and
their allies.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

horses and armour: their vanity itself was thus enlisted in the service of their country; and through the martial ardour which he inspired, his squadrons, in the course of a few months, were brought to perform the most intricate evolutions with such precision, that they seemed to be harmonised into a single body actuated by a single mind¹³.

Shortly after the departure of Philip from Pelopponnesus, the Achæans were called to defend their possessions and their freedom against the Etolians and Elians. They defeated the enemy in two great battles, the description of which has not come down to us. The first was fought on the banks of the river Larissus, which separates Elis from Achaia. In this action, Philopœmen slew with his own hand Demophantus who commanded the enemy's cavalry, and who had advanced before the ranks to challenge him to single combat. The second victory, still more important, was gained in the neighbourhood of Messenè¹⁴.

Philip, having repelled the Barbarians from his northern frontier, descended early in the spring to Demetrias in Theffaly. The Achæans, indeed, had, through the abilities of Philopœmen, prevailed over the enemy in Pelopponnesus; but the allies beyond the Isthmus, the Acarnanians Phocians Theffalians, as well as the islands of Eubœa and Peparathus, were threatened not only by the Etolians by land, but by the proconsul Sulpicius by sea, who, together with king Attalus and their combined fleets, had wintered at Ægina to the annoyance and impoverishment of that small island, in itself a mere rock in the Saronic gulph, but hitherto regarded as a wonder of industry and opulence. Philip threw fresh garrisons into the places on the coast most likely to be attacked, and, that he might the more seasonably resist the enemy's descents, caused provisions to be made for signals by fire¹⁵ on the mountains of Phocis, in Peparathus, and

¹³ Conf. Plutarch in Philop. & Polyb. l. xi. c. 8. & seq.

¹⁴ Plutarch in Philopœm.

¹⁵ Polybius does not explain these signals

particularly, but nothing can surpass in simplicity the mode of making signals by fire proposed by himself, l. x. c. 43—46.

in Eubœa. He himself erected a signal-house to correspond with them, on mount Tisæus in Thessaly. This precaution saved not Oreum in Eubœa, which Plator, its governor, treacherously surrendered to the Romans, but it enabled Philip seasonably to reinforce the more important city Chalcis. Through the same expedient, he was apprised that Attalus had made a predatory descent on Opus; he flew thither in great haste, and very narrowly failed in surprising him¹⁶. The Macedonians avenged the insult to Opus, by taking some Etolian strongholds in its neighbourhood. Philip's fleet being still imperfectly equipped, he ventured not to cope with the enemy by sea, but made ample amends by land, though fortune often intercepted the fruits of his diligence. It was thus, when the Etolians held a council at Heraclæa Trachinia in order to deliberate with their Roman and Pergamenian allies, that, after a march of extraordinary celerity, he was disappointed by a few hours in seizing his adversaries in full congress. He was anticipated by nearly as short an interval, in an hasty expedition against Machanidas tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, after long and strenuous preparations, had taken the field in Peloponnesus. His affairs, however, were on the whole prosperous, especially as Attalus had crossed into Asia through fear of his neighbour Prusias I. of Bithynia, and the Roman fleet had also returned to Ægina. About this time, Philip repaired to Ægium to meet the Achæan deputies. He expected also to find in that harbour a Carthaginian squadron, which, being joined to the ships now equipped by himself, would have enabled him to try a sea-fight with the Romans. But the Carthaginians, having learned that Attalus and Sulpicius had at once set sail, feared to be intercepted by them in the Corinthian gulph. They quitted, therefore, that inland sea, and proceeded to the friendly harbours of Acarnania.

This disappointment hindered not Philip from addressing the Achæans in a speech full of alacrity and hope. He attested gods

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His signals
by fire.Disappointed
in his
hopes from a
Carthagi-
nian fleet.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2
B. C. 207.His speech to
the Achæan.¹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 7.

and

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deputies.

Olymp.

cxliii. 2.

B. C. 207.

His Thra-
cian and
Illyrian war.Preparations
for the battle
of Mantinæa.

and men, that his vigilance had watched and endeavoured to turn to profit every circumstance of time or place; and that he had spared no march, however fatiguing, that promised to bring him to action with the enemy. But the swiftness of their flight had, hitherto, luded his own diligence in pursuit. They thus acknowledged, however, that to be defeated they needed only to be encountered. He trusted that the time was at hand, when the event itself would be as fatal to them, as their apprehensions of it were fearful¹⁷.

Shortly after the dissolution of this assembly, Philip's affairs recalled him to Macedon. But with the ships already collected by him, he first made a predatory expedition across the Corinthian gulph to the coast of Etolia. The spoil was sent to Ægium under Nicias the Achæan pretor. Philip sailed to Corinth, and sending his army through Bœotia into Thessaly, visited Eubœa to reward the fidelity of Chalcis, and punish the cowardice of Oreum. At his return to Macedon, he caused the keels of an hundred ships of war to be laid at Cassandria. While this preparation was making against Attalus and the Romans, he marched to chastise the Thracian and Illyrian tribes most troublesome on his mountainous frontier.

While Philip was detained in this barbarous warfare, the Achæans were left to contend, single-handed, in Peloponnesus, against the Etolians, Elians, Messenians; above all, the Lacedæmonians invigorated by the dreadful energies of Machanidas their fierce military tyrant. Through arts similar to those of Dionysius and Agathocles, Machanidas now grasped in his own hand the resources of the public and of each individual; he had collected large bodies of mercenaries, and provided vast trains of catapults, to be used in the field as well as in sieges. The first stages of the campaign are not described to us; history records only its closing scene, the death of the tyrant and the glory of Philopœmen in the second¹⁸ battle of Mantinæa.

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 8.

a hundred and fifty-five years before. See

¹⁸ The first was fought by Epaminondas History of Ancient Greece, c. xviii.

That

That general had conducted thither almost the whole domestic troops of the Achæans, infantry and cavalry; together with a large body of mercenaries consisting in light armed foot, and that kind of defultory horse called Tarentines¹⁹, from the nature of their arms and disposition. Machanidas and the Spartans took post first at Tegea, also a city of Arcadia about twelve miles directly south of Mantinæa, and nearly at an equal distance from the Lacedæmonian frontier. In the hopes of either taking Mantinæa, or of bringing Philopœmen to a decisive engagement in its defence, the tyrant marched at day-break in three columns, the phalanx headed by himself in the middle, and his light armed troops and mercenaries on either side of it, and parallel to each other. The carriages bearing his engines followed behind. In the road to Mantinæa, and about a mile from its walls, there was a ravine or natural ditch, bordering a plain before the city, about two miles broad, and terminating on either hand in hills; those on the east were adorned by a temple of Neptune. Upon the enemy's approach, Philopœmen's troops issued from three gates of Mantinæa to occupy the borders of the ravine. His Tarentines and light infantry advanced along the road leading to the temple of Neptune, and occupied the foot of the hills and partly the hills themselves, near the eastern extremity of the plain. Before these troops, he posted the targeteers and Illyrians. The phalanx followed on the right of the targeteers, forming the centre of the army. The Achæan cavalry composed the right wing. Machanidas, as he advanced, made a show of attacking this right wing at the head of his column; but before he had proceeded beyond the point where it would have been no longer safe in presence of an enemy to change his line of march into an order of battle, his light troops and mer-

¹⁹ These Tarentines belonged not to Tarentum in Italy, a republic long dissolved in luxury, and 60 years before this time, deprived of liberty. The "Tarentini" denoted a particular kind of troops, not a par-

ticular people; from which the verb ταραντινίζειν, as Eustathius observes, ελεγετο το τη ενοπλιαν και εις μαχας χρησιμον ιππηλασιαν ποιεισθαι. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieget.

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Second bat-
tle of Man-
tinæa.
Olymp.
cxliii. 2.
B. C. 207.

cenaries on the right posted themselves, by a rapid movement, opposite to those of Philopœmen; at the same time the phalanx, marching by its flank, seized the ground facing the phalanx of the enemy; and the cavalry on the left appeared in opposition to the right wing of the Achæans; so that the two armies were now drawn up parallel to each other on opposite sides of the ravine²⁰.

When things were in this posture, Machanidas' line at once opened in various parts, through which issued his vast train of catapults, with men dextrous in working them. Philopœmen then perceived that his adversary had been well aware of the obstacle between the two armies, and meant not to pass it until he had thrown the Achæans into confusion by that unusual mode of war, of which Alexander had made such effectual use against the Thracians in passing the Danube, and against the Scythians in passing the Iaxartes²¹. To interrupt the play of the enemy's machines, Philopœmen darted across the ravine at the head of his swift Tarentines; they were followed by his light infantry. Machanidas opposed these troops by his own mercenaries, consisting also of the same kind of forces. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued, in which, as had often happened in similar occasions, the mercenaries of the tyrant defeated those of the republic²²; and Machanidas, at the head of the victors, pursued the flying enemy to the gates of Mantinæa. Philopœmen, after vainly attempting to restrain their flight, took post at the head of his phalanx, which had been drawn up in two lines, divided by intervals into sections of sixteen files each, and the intervals of the second line corresponding with the sections of the foremost. By a rapid movement to the left, he filled up with the nearest of these sections, the space left empty by the flight of his mercena-

²⁰ Polybius, l. xi. c. 11—18.

²¹ Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 4.

²² There are clear reasons according to Polybius, why this should often be the case. The mercenaries of tyrants are completely

ruined by defeat: the mercenaries of republics may often be ruined by too decided a victory, since they are employed only through necessity. l. xi. c. 13.

ries, at the same time ordering Polybius²³, uncle to the historian of that name, to collect as many of the latter as had not been carried along in the route, and therewith to strengthen his left. By this seasonable movement, Philopœmen gained the advantage which Machanidas had rashly thrown away. He had it in his power to attack the Lacedæmonians in flank, while they advanced impetuously, elated with the success of their mercenaries. They were not stopped by the ravine, whose sides were of an easy ascent, unobstructed either by brushwood or water; and their emergence from this hollow was the critical moment, watched by Philopœmen, for charging them. The advantage of the ground decided the battle; many Lacedæmonians fell by the well-levelled points of the Achæan spears; and many perished in the ditch, trampled down by each other. The same skillful evolution, which enabled Philopœmen to out-flank the enemy, intercepted the junction of Machanidas with his disbanded infantry. When the tyrant came back from his ill-judged pursuit, he was forsaken by all but two horsemen, with whom he rode furiously along the ravine, hoping in some part to force his passage. Philopœmen espied him at a distance, for he was conspicuous from his purple and the trappings of his horse, and outstripping him in a parallel course on the opposite bank, arrested him as he sprung over the ravine, with the butt end of his spear, and then turning the weapon, stabbed him with its point; thus adorning his victory by an exploit which illustrated the lessons of equestrian exercise in real action²⁴. The Lacedæmonians lost above eight thousand men killed or taken. The city of Tegea, towards which the remainder fled, received promiscuously the fugitives and their pursuers, but readily submitted to the latter when they showed the bloody head of the

Its consequences.

²³ This famous battle was fought Olymp. cxliii. 2; and in the Olymp. cxlix. 4. that is, 26 years afterwards, Polybius the historian was too young for bearing public honours. Fragment. Legat. l. lvii. Notwithstanding which, the French translator by an elegant change

of persons in the narrative says, "Il m'ordonna aussi de rallier."

²⁴ Πληγὴν ἀλλήν ἐκ διαληψέως. This last term, as we learn from Hesychius, is palæstrie: its import is not clearly explained.

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Highest pro-
sperity of the
Achæan
league.
Olymp.
cxliii. 3, 4.
B. C. 206—
205.

tyrant. The Achæans, shortly after, encamped on the banks of the Eurotas, and ravaged, without opposition, the richest districts in Laconia. Except the single city of Sparta, the whole country lay at their mercy. Sparta, which had long boasted her contempt for walls, now owed her safety to these defences, which had been raised and strengthened by successive usurpers; and which, on this occasion, enabled Nabis, a tyrant more ruthless than Machanidas himself, to seize and long²⁵ wield his bloody sceptre.

Meanwhile, Philip was occupied on his northern frontier; and the Romans having to oppose both Hannibal and Hasdrubal in Italy, made but feeble efforts beyond the Hadriatic. Delivered at once from the presence of a formidable enemy and an overwhelming ally, the Achæans had free scope for displaying their prowess and love of liberty; for performing great achievements, and for acquiring the praise due to real merit. A republic, established on principles the most equitable and liberal, once more stood at the head of Greece, and produced a sort of after-spring in that country, not unworthy of the harvest of glory which had preceded. The Achæan league was in its highest bloom during the two years which followed the defeat of Machanidas. It had begun to flourish about forty years before that event, under the guidance of Aratus; and about the same space of time after Philopœmen's victory at Mantinæa, Achaia and the rest of Greece were buried under the rigours of an eternal winter. As sameness of situation naturally brings back a similarity of manners and sentiments, the Achæans and their allies exhibited during this short period, the enthusiasm inspired by valour exerted in defence of those advantages which genuine freedom always carries in her train. Shortly after the destruction of an odious and fierce tyrant, the Achæan pretor joined in the celebration of the Nemean games, devoted equally to the display of bodily and mental acquirements. From directing the martial exercises of his companions, he

²⁵ Fourteen years. Tit. Liv. Conf. i. xxix. c. 12. & l. xxxv. c. 35.

proceeded

proceeded to hear and judge the musical compositions, and happened to enter the theatre as Pylades, a favourite performer, sung the following lines from "the Persians" of Timotheus:

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'Tis he who makes our cities gay,
And crowns them with bright liberty.

Instantly all eyes were turned towards Philopœmen²⁶, and the voice of grateful admiration associated his renown with the kindred glories of Cimon and Miltiades.

When Philip returned into Greece, he found his Achæan allies every where triumphant, and the most inveterate of their enemies heartily tired of the war. For reasons, which will afterwards appear, he likewise wished for the termination of hostilities. A peace therefore was hastily concluded between himself and the Etolians. each party also contracting in the name of its confederates²⁷. This negociation was scarcely finished, when the Romans, who, for upwards of two years, had abandoned their allies beyond the Hadriatic, crossed that sea with thirty-five ships of war, carrying ten thousand infantry, and a thousand horse. The proconsul Sempronius, who commanded this armament, having learned with much indignation that the Etolians had adjusted their differences without consulting the Roman senate, sent his lieutenant Lætorius with nearly one-half of his forces to the Etolian harbour Naupactus, to examine correctly the state of affairs, and, if possible, to disturb the peace. Meanwhile the proconsul himself made a descent on the coast of Illyricum, and infested Philip's dependencies in that country. The king of Macedon hastened to the aid of his allies, and having obliged the Romans to shut themselves up in Apollonia, marched to that place, and endeavoured without effect to provoke the enemy to battle. For this purpose, he ravaged the Apollonian territory; but proceeded not to besiege the city, which would have been the work of time: his thoughts, besides being turned to peace, he wished not by destroying

Philip makes
peace with
the Etolians.
Olymp.
cxliii. 4.
B. C. 205.

²⁶ Plutarch in Philopœm.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxix. c. 12.

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And with
the Romans.
Olymp.
cxliii. 4.
B. C. 205.

Apollonia, to widen the breach between himself and the Romans, and render it altogether irreparable.

The Epirots, now sunk into weakness and cowardice by division into a number of petty states, chiefly dependent on Macedon, also laboured to terminate the war between Philip and Sempronius. The proconsul, when he perceived all his machinations for again involving the Etolians in the quarrel to be fruitless, and reflected on the maxim of the Romans, never to carry on war in any country, where they had not powerful and zealous allies, consented to an interview with the king in Phœnicè, a city of Epirus. Here a truce was concluded for two months: and articles of peace were proposed, subject to the approval or rejection of the Roman tribes, all of which unanimously accepted them. By this treaty²⁸ the Romans adjusted with Philip their interests in some obscure districts in Illyricum, and obtained security for their ally Pleuratus, now the greatest native prince in that country. In the same negociation were included their confederates, Attalus king of Pergamus, Nabis tyrant of the Lacedæmonians; the republics of the Elians, Messenians, and Athenians. Philip also specified his allies as parties to the treaty; namely, Prusias king of Bithynia, his son-in-law: the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. None of these states, in order to obtain peace, made any sacrifice that has been deemed worthy of mention: the thoughts of the Romans were engrossed by the war with Carthage, and vast prospects in the East made Philip anxious to procure tranquillity in Greece.

Partition
treaty be-
tween Philip
and Antio-
chus against
Ptolemy
Epiphanes.
Olymp.
cxliv. 2.
B. C. 203.

Shortly before the termination of hostilities in the latter country, Antiochus had returned to Syria from his triumphant expedition into Upper Asia, and Ptolemy Philopator had closed his inglorious reign in Egypt, leaving for his successor a child only five years old. Antiochus and Philip were both in the vigour of life; their natural ambition was heightened by prosperity; Antiochus was at the head

²⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxix. c. 12.

of an army supposed the greatest in the world, and Philip had by this time equipped a very considerable fleet. It consisted of about two hundred sail, and contained many vessels of such magnitude that trireme galleys were scarcely thought worthy to fight in his line. Between princes thus prepared for action, and devoid of all scruples to restrain their rapacity, an alliance was formed for invading by sea and land the dominions of young Ptolemy, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, and for guaranteeing to each other their respective conquests²⁹.

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Conformably to this project, unsupported by any reason, uncloaked even by the slightest pretence, Antiochus entered Cœle-Syria and Palestine; and, in the course of two campaigns, made himself master of these countries. Philip expelled the Egyptian garrisons from Ænos and Maronea, possessions long held by the Ptolemies on the southern coast of Thrace; seized Thasos, Samos, Chios, and the more considerable of the islands called Cyclades; conquered several seaports on the coast of Caria; and, in order to facilitate his designs against other maritime provinces in Asia Minor, directed his arms against the rich and well-fortified cities commanding the narrow seas which divide that peninsula from Europe. Lyfimachia, Chalcedon, and other places of less note successively submitted to his arms. He crossed the Propontis and laid siege to Cius³⁰, situate at the eastern extremity of that sea; a commercial republic which had manfully maintained its independence against the kings of Bithynia, its nearest and most formidable neighbours. Here, he was resisted with a degree of obstinacy which he had not elsewhere encountered. The persevering valour of the Ciansians exasperated the fierceness of Philip. He disdained the intercession of neighbouring cities and isles in behalf of the besieged; to the interposition of the Rhodians, indeed,

Their success
in this pro-
ject.

His treache-
rous acqui-
sition of Cius.
Olymp.
cxliv. 2.
B. C. 203.

²⁹ Polybius, l. xv. c. 20.

³⁰ The Propontis stretches two arms into Asia; the Ciansian bay deriving its name from Cius, and the bay of Astakus, distin-

guished by the city of that name and by Nicomedia, successive capitals of Bithynia. See above, vol. i. p. 570.

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Philip's war
with Attalus
and the
Rhodians.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

whose fleet rendered them formidable, he paid more regard, sending to them assurances that, in compliance with their desire, he intended not to treat Cius with very uncommon severity. But while his ambassador harangued on this subject in the theatre at Rhodes, and expatiated before the assembled multitude on the magnanimity and mildness of his master, messengers arrived with the sad news, that Cius had been taken by Philip, every thing valuable in it plundered and the whole inhabitants either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity³¹.

From this time the Rhodians, perceiving that war was inevitable, would no longer hear the name of Philip mentioned in their assemblies. The kingdom of Pergamus lay near the scene of Philip's cruelties, and was provided with a considerable fleet in the harbour of Elæa. With equal spirit and good policy, Attalus, though far advanced in life, prepared to assume in person the command of his ships, and to join them with those of the Rhodians. But before this junction could take place, Philip, carried on by the impetuosity natural to his temper, invaded the territory of Pergamus. In this sudden irruption, he trusted to the assistance of Zeuxis, who governed Lydia for his ally Antiochus. Zeuxis, however, wished not to aggrandize Philip in the neighbourhood of his own satrapy, so that having fruitlessly assaulted the walls of Pergamus, the king of Macedon returned to his ships, after he had heightened the odium in which he was held by burning the Nicephorium, a consecrated grove, containing many magnificent temples³². It had been planted by king Eumenes, the father of Attalus, to adorn the neighbourhood of his capital. Philip not only demolished the Pergamenian temples, but broke in pieces the vast blocks of marble composing them, that they might never be repaired. He also invaded the plain of Thebé, the site, anciently, of the opulent city of that name, celebrated by Homer, as "the sacred city of Aëtion"³³; and justly so denominated,

³¹ Polybius, l. xv. c. 22, 23.

³² Id. l. xvi. c. i.

³³ Iliad. l. i. v. 366.

since

since it was one of those emporiums or staples, where, as formerly explained, trade was safely carried on under the protection of temples.

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By this aggression on the part of Philip, a war, chiefly maritime, commenced on the coasts and islands of Asia, while the Romans, intent on employing their main strength in Africa, were not at leisure to interfere in the affairs of the East. By the exertions of the confederates, Philip was checked in his career of conquest, and obliged to fight two great battles at sea, of which the whole honour was claimed for the Rhodians, by the partial patriotism of their historians Zeno and Antisthenes, but of which, according to less exceptionable testimony³⁴, the glory was divided, and the success doubtful. The first of these engagements was fought in the narrow sea between Chios and the shores of Erythræ; and the particulars of it are related with such circumstantial minuteness, as throws much light on the naval transactions of antiquity. Philip was employed in besieging, by sea and land, an unnamed Ionian city, most probably Erythræ itself, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to its relief with sixty-five decked vessels, all exceeding in size the ordinary rate of trireme gallees. Philip had left part of his fleet to be equipped at Samos, which island he had recently conquered from the Egyptians, and was carrying on the siege with fifty-three large ships, reinforced however by a hundred and fifty long boats and undecked triremes. As he had begun to raise walls and sink mines against the place, and as his naval armament was fully equal to their own, Attalus and the Rhodian commanders, who well knew his obstinacy, doubted not that he would persevere in the siege, and therefore anchored at no great distance, until they perceived a fair opportunity for combat. But Philip, whose works had proceeded slower than expectation, came to the resolution of putting suddenly to sea,

Sea fight off
Calyste.
Olymp.
cxliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

³⁴ The letters written by the Admirals among the archives of Rhodes. Polybius, immediately after the action, and preserved l. xvi. c. 9 & 15.

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and sailing southward to Samos. His course was steered close to the Asian coast: Attalus, who had anchored nearest, immediately gave chase; and, through the vigorous exertions of his rowers, reached the foremost division of the enemy. In his own ship, he attacked an octireme, and by a fortunate stroke below water, sent her to the bottom. Without waiting farther signal, the other ships made haste to engage. A Macedonian vessel, carrying ten banks of oars, and commanded by Democrates, Philip's admiral, incautiously shocked with a bireme that had ventured under its prow: the bireme stuck fast in the enemy's hulk, and thereby impeding its movements, exposed it to be attacked on both sides, and sunk with all the men on board. Dinocrates and Dionysidorus, two brothers commanding under Attalus, had accidents of a different kind. Dinocrates, in engaging a Macedonian octireme, received a stroke above water, and returned it with such dexterity and force to the lower part of the enemy's ship, while her prow was elevated, that his own beak could not again be extracted, until Attalus bore down upon the octireme, and separated the two ships by the violence of his shock. The octireme was taken empty, her crew having wholly perished in battle. Dionysidorus, in assaulting an enemy's septireme, unfortunately missed his aim, and bared his own ship of her oars. The crash was heightened by the falling of her lofty engines: she sunk with all on board, except the captain and two others, who escaped by swimming to a friendly bireme. By this time the Rhodians, commanded by Theophiliscus, had attacked the rear division of the enemy. When the action engaged front to front, they maintained their usual superiority; for by dexterously depressing their own prows, they received unimportant damage, while they occasioned irreparable breaches to their enemies, by striking them in the parts below water. But as the Macedonians fought bravely from their decks, hand to hand, the Rhodians avoided as much as possible to persevere in a close engagement. They chose rather to dart through the adverse squadrons,

squadrons, breaking off their tiers of oars, and assaulting, as opportunity occurred, sometimes their sterns, sometimes their sides, with a view either to pierce those weak parts, or to carry off the machinery most essential to their manœuvres. In the battle, there were properly two distinct actions; for that part of the Macedonians which turned to support their hindmost ships against the Rhodians, had approached the isle of Chios, whereas the other division engaged with Attalus combated near the coast of Asia. Philip, during all this time, had remained at a small intermediate island³⁵: in this situation he watched the progress of the battle, until the following occurrence determined him personally to engage in it. A quinquereme belonging to the enemy, having separated too widely from her companions, was attacked by a Macedonian ship of greater force, and in danger of being sunk. King Attalus, who observed the unequal combat, hastened to give assistance with two quadriremes, one of which was the royal galley, bearing those gorgeous implements of ostentation and vanity, with which Asiatic princes were usually accompanied in all warlike expeditions. At the approach of the two hostile vessels, the Macedonian captain betook himself to flight. Attalus pursued him with too much eagerness, and thereby exposed himself to be intercepted from his own fleet by Philip, who in the critical moment darted with a small squadron from his harbour. The king of Pergamus, to avoid falling into the hands of his adversary, endeavoured to run his ship on the coast of Erythræ; and when Philip's foremost vessels were on the point of boarding him, his presence of mind suggested the following stratagem for eluding their grasp: He caused the showy appendages above mentioned, his purple vestments and golden goblets, to be carried on deck and displayed before the eager eyes of his pursuers. Intent only on rifling these precious effects, they neglected to secure the person of the king, who thus escaped

³⁵ There are here some small islands between Chios and the coast of Erythræ, called *ἵπποι*, the "horses." Strabo, l. xiv. p. 644.

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to the friendly city of Erythræ. Philip by this time approached, and causing the royal galley of Attalus to be fastened to his own, sailed back into the open sea, collected his scattered ships, and encouraged the whole fleet with shouts of victory. Dionysidorus, Attalus' admiral, thinking his master irrecoverably lost, gave signal to his fleet to make the friendly ports of Asia. At the same time the Macedonians, who on the other side of the battle had greatly suffered from the Rhodians, were glad to cease from combat, and rejoin their king; while the Rhodians, having tied the enemy's captured ships to their own, made sail for Chios. Philip claimed the victory on two accounts; first, because he had defeated Attalus, and captured the admiral galley; and secondly, because immediately after the battle, he anchored on the very scene of action, and thus kept possession, as it were, of the field. This was the sea before the harbour of Casysté³⁶, better known under its modern name of Tcheshmé, where the Russian admiral Spiritoff, in 1770, by means of his fire ships, destroyed the whole Turkish fleet.

Its consequences.

Next day, to confirm his claim to victory, Philip endeavoured to recover the bodies of his slain. When he was thus employed, the enemy sailed from the harbour of Chios, offering to renew the battle. He did not think proper to accept the challenge, for in performing his present melancholy duty, he had perceived the whole coast strewn with Macedonian bodies. His loss had exceeded six thousand sailors and three thousand marines, whereas that of the enemy was inconsiderable. This disproportion arose from the great number of his small vessels, many of which had been run down, and their crews drowned; a misfortune which could not happen on the other side, because the Rhodians and Attalus fought chiefly in gallees exceeding the ordinary rate: they brought only nine biremes and three triremes to the engagement. Philip, besides, had lost twenty-

³⁶ Το καλυμμενον, αργεννον. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 17, which protects on the south the harbour of that is, Cape Blanc, the white promontory, Tcheshmé.

four of his largest ships, and two thousand seven hundred of his men had fallen into the hands of the enemy. His forces, therefore, were diminished by the number of nearly twelve thousand. Attalus lost four ships; the Rhodians, three; but the loss most grievous to these islanders was that of their admiral Theophiliscus. Having merited the double prize of skill and valour, he died next day of the wounds which he had received in one of the characteristic incidents of the battle. A Rhodian ship struck her adversary so forcibly, that she left her beak in the breach: the wounded vessel sunk, but the Rhodian also began to fill with water. Theophiliscus hastened to her relief; and, obstinate in his endeavour to save her, was surrounded on all sides by enemies. His exertions, and the alacrity with which he was supported, did not entirely disengage him, till he had received three wounds, which weakened his body, but only rendered his mind more ardent in subsequent scenes of the battle. Before his death, he wrote an account of the action to his country, and named provisionally a successor. The Rhodians confirmed his appointment, and decreed to his memory honours calculated not only to encourage his countrymen then living, but to inspire their distant posterity with patriotism and true valour³⁷.

Had the Romans been at leisure strenuously to co-operate with their allies, the battle of Casystè might have proved fatal to Philip. But that sea fight happened about the same time with the famous victory at Zama, in Africa, which terminated the second Punic war; and the king of Macedon was not prevented by the loss of twenty-four large ships and twelve thousand men, from carrying on his operations against the Asiatic coast. Shortly after, we find him besieging the city Prinaassus, in Caria, of which he made himself master by a stratagem. From the hardness of the ground on which Prinaassus stood, his miners made not the expected progress. Philip, however, ordered the work to be continued with noise and bustle in the

Philip's conquests in Caria.
Olymp. exliv. 3.
B. C. 202.

³⁷ Polybius, xvi. 9.

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day, and in the secrecy of night caused earth to be carried from a distance, and piled up in vast mounds, indicating the extension of his mine many hundred feet in length. He then summoned the inhabitants to surrender, on pain of having their city laid in ruins, by the withdrawing of his props. The terror of this event made them instantly capitulate³⁸.

Stormy weather obliged Philip to winter in Caria. During this season he made himself master of Jassus, Euromus, and several other free cities, as well as of the maritime district Peræa, directly opposite to Rhodes, and long subject to that island. Notwithstanding these conquests, his army was often in great want of provisions. Neither threats nor promises could induce the natives of Caria to furnish a regular market. There was little resource in Zeuxis, the jealous satrap of Lydia. The Macedonians, to relieve their wants, plundered Alabanda: they failed in attempting similar violence against Mylasia. The people of Magnesia, to whom they applied, assured them that they had not any corn to spare, but sent to them a large supply of figs, desiring however, in return for this present, that Philip would give them possession of the ancient city of Myus, of which he had just made himself master. The king, strange to tell! complied with their request, thus bartering, for some cargoes of Magnesian figs, the once proud capital of an independent republic³⁹.

Proceedings
of Attalus
and the Rhodians.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

Soon after the battle of Casysté, Attalus and the Rhodians repaired their shattered ships in the harbours of Chios. They were quickly in a condition to fight Philip at sea, had the season of the year admitted of naval operations; but as they dreaded to encounter the Macedonian veterans by land, they allowed that prince to infest, without opposition, their allies or subjects in Caria, and to secure in that province his conquests of Peræa, Jassus, Prinaßus, and Bargylia. To compensate for the losses sustained on that side, they wrested from Philip several islands and strongholds near the narrow seas;

³⁸ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 11.

³⁹ Ibid. c. 24.

they threw garrisons into those maritime cities of Asia which were most likely to be attacked, and which it was of most importance to defend; they pressed Rome for assistance by repeated embassies; and they occupied such stations with their ships, as might afford them the best opportunity of intercepting their adversary on his return to Macedon.

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By this time the Romans, having ended the second Punic war, and reduced Carthage to the state of a dependent tributary, began to direct their most serious attention to the affairs of the East. Immediately after the defeat of Hannibal, in the decisive battle of Zama, they sent an embassy to Egypt, to renew their friendly correspondence with Aristomenes the Acarnanian, protector of that kingdom, under the title of guardian to young Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes. The main object of this mission, which had orders to visit other eastern states, was to assure the court of Alexandria, that the Romans would not overlook the injuries committed by Philip and Antiochus against the Egyptians, their allies, who had been honourably known to them in that character ever since the dignified reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and from whose seasonable generosity, Italy had been succoured in the moment of its greatest exigency, the desolating ravages of the Hannibalic war. Shortly after this mission to Egypt, other embassies were deputed to Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians; in a word, to all those states which were named as Roman allies in the peace recently concluded with Philip.

Roman embassies to their eastern allies.
Olymp. cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

The Roman ambassadors sent to Athens arrived there at a moment peculiarly critical. While far distant provinces were involved in the calamities of war through Philip's ambition, the Athenians, amidst general tranquillity in Greece, had exposed themselves to the hostilities of that prince by an execrable act of cruelty*. During the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, two Acarnanian youths, travelling in Attica, unwarily strayed into the temple of Eleusis. By

Superstitious cruelty of the Athenians exposes them to Philip's resentment.

* Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 16.

the

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the ignorant questions which they put concerning what passed before them, they betrayed themselves as persons uninitiated, and were led before the presidents of the temple to answer for their rash impiety. Upon examination of their transgression, it fully appeared that their entrance into the temple at a forbidden time, had been a matter of mere accident, unaccompanied by any blameable intention; yet, by the merciless voice of superstition, they were condemned to death, and consigned to immediate execution. This odious event kindled a war between the Athenians and Acarnanians. Philip, as protector of the latter, took part in their quarrel, and while that prince ravaged Caria in person, his general Nicanor laid waste Attica.

They are
protected by
Attalus and
the Rhodians.

Nicanor had carried his depredations to the suburbs of Athens, when the Roman ambassadors arrived in the Piræus. At the same time Attalus and the Rhodians, having gained some advantages over Philip's fleet⁴¹, but having failed in their attempt to intercept the return of that prince to Macedon, sailed to the island of Ægina, and cast anchor there in a harbour scarcely thirty miles distant from Athens. The threats of the Roman ambassadors, and still more, the powerful armament in his neighbourhood, made Nicanor desist from hostilities, and consent to withdraw from Attica. While the Macedonians evacuated that territory, Attalus and the commanders of the Rhodian fleet hastened into the Piræus, and were received by the Athenians as the saviours of their republic. As they proceeded from the harbour to the city, not only the members of the government, but the whole body of the people, came forth to meet them; the priests and priestesses were arranged on both sides of the way, and every temple was thrown open, as if the gods themselves had been eager to testify respect for those illustrious strangers. The first day of their arrival in the Piræus had, however, been entirely dedicated to the ambassadors of Rome, with whom they had important arrangements to make; and when the Athenians invited Attalus to

⁴¹ Conf. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 15, & Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 14.

an assembly of the people, that judicious prince, to avoid the noisy acclamations and fulsome honours of the multitude, preferred, as more decent and more dignified, to transact the business by writing. He commemorated former services to Athens, made mention of his recent successes against Philip, and exhorted the assembly to seize the present opportunity of uniting against the common enemy with himself, the Rhodians, and the Romans. This letter was heard with the utmost extravagance of popular applause; war against Macedon was declared with every excess of superstitious formality; and such immoderate honours were heaped on king Attalus and the Rhodians, as could either be suggested by the example of Athenian flattery on former occasions, or devised by the inventions of men, still growing from age to age more shameless. In a magnificent pageant, the typified people of Rhodes were crowned with the first honours of victory; and to the ten tribes of Athens an eleventh, called the tribe of Attalus, was added, that the name of this illustrious benefactor might rank with the consecrated founders of the Athenian commonwealth⁴².

Having concluded the affairs of Athens so much to his satisfaction, Attalus returned to Ægina, and the Rhodians sailed to the Cyclades, nine of which they received into their alliance; the remaining three, Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, were too strongly guarded by the Macedonians. During Attalus' stay at Ægina, his emissaries were sent to the Etolians, and to all other states formerly leagued against Philip. Negotiations with these communities, particularly the Etolians, occupied much time, and proved ultimately fruitless. They considered Philip's power as too formidable, readily to engage in new hostilities against him. The Roman ambassadors also applied not only to the Etolians at Naupactus, but to the Achæans at Ægium: they travelled to Phœnice in Epirus, and to Athamania, a warlike district on the western frontier of that country. The

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Endeavours
of Attalus
and the Ro-
mans to stir
up new ene-
mies to
Philip.

⁴² Polybius, l. xvi. 25, & seq. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxxi. c. 15.

object

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His spirited
exertions.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

Desperate
resistance of
Abydus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

object of all these journies was to stir up new enemies to the king of Macedon.

While Philip's adversaries negotiated, that prince had taken the field. Instead of being intimidated by the threats of a Roman war, the encrease of danger only roused his energies⁴³. Having appointed Philocles to succeed Nicanor and renew ravages in Attica, he ordered his fleet to the narrow seas, and hastened to co-operate with it there, at the head of a well appointed army. In that important quarter, he speedily recovered the places which he had lost, and added to them many others; Cypsela, Doriscus, Callipolis, Madytos, Alepeconesus, Serrheum, and Sestus. But the siege of Abydus detained him long, and was attended with an ever memorable issue. This city standing opposite to Sestus, commanded on the side of Asia the Dardanelles, or shortest passage across the Hellespont, and was an acquisition essential to Philip for completing his plan of conquest. He besieged it vigorously by sea and land. But his floating batteries, which he brought to bear against its walls, were resisted efficaciously by engines and ignited weapons: there was much difficulty in saving from destruction those employed in this dangerous service. On the side of the land his miners at length brought down the outer wall; the besieged, however, had raised a new wall behind it: when this also was threatened with demolition, the Abydenians sent two of their citizens, Pantagnotus and Pythiades, to propose the following terms of capitulation:—That a handful of troops belonging to Attalus and the Rhodians, who had co-operated in their defence, should retire in safety with their arms and effects; and that all Abydenians of free condition should leave the city with the garments only that covered their bodies. Philip sternly rejected these terms, calculated to melt the most obdurate heart; and answered, that they must either defend themselves like men, or submit unconditionally. Upon the return of their deputies with this

⁴³ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 28.

dreadful

dreadful message, the magistrates of Abydus assembled in council. They determined no longer to waste the strength of the citizens in attempting to countermine the enemy. Their women were sent into the temple of Diana; the children, assembled in the gymnasium, or place of exercise; their money and precious effects were collected in heaps, so as to be destroyed in a moment by fire, or thrown into the sea; the men of a military age then mounted the wall, bound under terrible imprecations, either to defend it against the enemy, or to perish in the breach. An oath still more tremendous was imposed on the old men who staid behind; that, if their fellow-citizens were overpowered, they should immediately butcher the women and children. On the part of the Abydenian youths, their desperate resolution was carried into full effect. They fought with the rage of lions rather than of men, for, when their weapons were broken or blunted, they darted with their collected bodies against the Macedonians, and grappled with them in a transport of inspired fury, until they forced from them their spears and javelins. Their resistance continued till almost all of them were slain, and until darkness made Philip recal his men from the assault⁴⁴.

Before morning, the old men, instead of performing the more atrocious part assigned them in this horrid tragedy, sent the priests and priestesses in their holy vestments to surrender the city, and implore the mercy of the conqueror. Philip arrived in time to save the treasures, which the Abydenians in case of defeat had prepared for swift destruction: but he was too late for seizing the captives and dragging them into slavery; for the citizens who survived the assault, exclaiming that their brave companions had been betrayed through perjury, flew to the massacre of their women, children, and fathers; and then plunged into their own breasts the weapons still reeking with kindred blood. Philip turned from this scene with disgust, unmixed with commiseration, saying unfeelingly, that he

⁴⁴ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 29. Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 17.

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Strait of
Abydus con-
trasted with
that between
the pillars of
Hercules.

granted three days to the Abydenians to complete their own bloody execution. He then placed a garrison in a post now desolate, but highly important by its situation.

Such was the catastrophe of Abydus, a city which had long flourished in arts, industry, and commerce. Its narrow sea connected Europe and Asia, as the Strait of Gibraltar does Africa and Europe; but the historian who has described its unhappy destiny, observes, that the passage of the Hellespont, only two furlongs broad, compared with the Strait of Gibraltar about twice that number of leagues, seems to have been formed by the hand of nature, not only with some regard to the proportion between the Mediterranean and Atlantic, but also with a view to facilitate the infinitely more active intercourse which prevailed along the shores of the former. The busy traffic and perpetual navigation between Abydus and the coast of Thrace, formed, he observes, a striking contrast with the gloom and deadness, which surrounded the pillars of Hercules⁴⁵.

Philip's al-
tercation
with Emilius
Lepidus.

While the fate of Abydus still hung in suspense, Emilius Lepidus, one of the Roman ambassadors formerly sent to Egypt, and the youngest of the number, came to Philip's camp and desired an audience of the king. To his remonstrances against making war on the allies of Rome, Philip began a studied answer, the purport of which was to prove that Attalus and the Rhodians, allies of Rome, had themselves been the aggressors. As he dwelt on this topic, Emilius, interrupting him, asked, but were the Ciansians also the aggressors, or what injury had you received from the citizens of Abydus? Philip, unused to such rudeness, replied, there are three circumstances, Emilius, that tend to extenuate your ill-breeding: first, the inexperience of youth; secondly, the pride of beauty, for you are a very handsome young man; and thirdly, the insolence congenial to the Roman character. But return to your country and tell the Romans, that I wish them to remain faithful to the treaties

⁴⁵ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 29.

subsisting between us ; if not, by the help of the gods ! I will uphold the glory of the Macedonian name, a name not inferior to that of Roman ⁴⁶." The siege of Abydus was hardly ended, when Philip received intelligence that the consul Sulpicius Galba had crossed the Hadriatic even in the end of autumn, and purposed to winter his fleet in Corcyra and his army in Apollonia. The Romans thus commenced the first Macedonian war ⁴⁷, only a few months after they had made peace with Carthage.

⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 18. Conf. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 32.

⁴⁷ The hostilities preceding the late treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, Olymp. cxliii. 4. B. C. 205, brought neither

advantage nor honour to the former : for which reason chiefly, historians, devoted to Rome, have not dignified them with the name of *war*.

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*State of Greece and Macedon at the Commencement of the War with Philip.—
 Surprise of Chalcis.—Ravages of Attica.—Philopœmen's successful Stratagem
 against Nabis.—Romans invade Epirus.—Sulpicius' and Villius' indecisive
 Campaigns against Philip.—His Successes.—His maritime Possessions attacked
 by Attalus and the Rhodians.—His imposing Attitude on Mount Æropus.—
 Quintius Flaminius takes the Field against him.—Thessaly ravaged by four
 Armies.—Romans baffled before Atrax.—Singular Bravery of 500 Achaean
 Youths.—Magnanimity of the Acarnanians.—Quintius' Surprise of Thebes.
 —Death of Attalus.—Battle of Kynoscephalæ.*

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Causes of the
Macedonian
war.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

THE Romans had just grounds for war with Philip of Macedon. That prince had injured their allies and assisted their enemies. Four thousand of his troops had been made prisoners, while they sustained, in the battle of Zama, the declining cause of Carthage. He was at war with Attalus king of Pergamus, with the Rhodians, and with the Athenians, all of them confederates of Rome; and he had, in part, fulfilled his iniquitous treaty with Antiochus the Great, for dividing between them the rich inheritance of Ptolemy Epiphanes, a prince whom the Romans, in consideration of his youth and the merit of his great ancestor Ptolemy Philadelphus, affected to treat with the regard due to a dear hereditary friend; instead of the cold name of ally, honouring him with the more affectionate appellation of pupil'. But, notwithstanding this distinguished title, and the strong remonstrances of his tutors or protectors, Epiphanes had been stripped by Philip of his possessions in Caria and in Thrace, while Antiochus had dismembered Egypt of the valuable provinces of

¹ Justin, l. xxx, c. 3.

Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In this state of affairs the consul Sulpicius Galba crossed the Hadriatic with a powerful fleet, and an army consisting partly of veterans who had served with distinguished glory in Spain and in Africa.

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Before this armament arrived in the harbours of Corcyra and Apollonia, Philip had sacked Abydos, and was on his return from the Hellespont to his central stronghold of Demetrias in Thessaly. Hitherto, he had maintained against all his enemies an equality at sea, and a decided superiority by land. The ancient and proper Macedon was guarded by impracticable fastnesses, hardy soldiers, and hereditary renown. He had greatly extended it on the side both of Thrace and Illyricum; and towards his southern frontier, such was his hold of Greece, and such the condition of that country, as flattered him with strong hopes of maintaining his authority there against every invader. Of the nine states beyond the Isthmus, he was master of the fertile Thessaly, and had humbled the warlike Etolia. The Acarnanians, in the dangerous neighbourhood of Etolia, regarded Philip as their protector: his general Philocles was ravaging the territory of Attica; Boeotia averted hostility only by the poverty and contempt into which it had long sunk; and Macedonian garrisons overawed the four rocky districts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara. At the entrance of the Peloponnesus, Philip held the important city of Corinth, which, together with Chalcis in Eubœa, and Demetrias in Thessaly, he called the three fetters of Greece. Of the other states belonging to that peninsula, five composed the Achæan league. Sparta pursued a course still peculiar to herself, but as dishonourable in later times as it anciently had been glorious. Actuated by inveterate jealousy of Macedon and Achaia, and torn by domestic factions, the Lacedæmonians had destroyed their kings of the race of Hercules, and together with them all those distinctions and institutions most venerable in their country. A succession of military adventurers, remarkable for abilities and bold-

ness,

State of
Macedon
and Greece
at that pe-
riod.
Olymp.
cxlv. i.
B. C. 200.

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Views of the
consul Sul-
picius.—His
lieutenant
Centho's
celerity in
surprising
Chalcis.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

ness, had usurped the government, at once the creatures and the tyrants of a sanguinary multitude. Nabis, the last of these tyrants, had now ruled six years. He had murdered or banished all men of worth and property whom his predecessors had left in the territory, and divided not only their estates, but their wives and families, among his mercenary partizans. His throne was upheld by emancipated slaves, unprincipled Cretans, and by a conflux of criminals and fugitives from all parts of Greece, in most of which he had his spies and agents. Yet, odious and cruel as he was, a robber abroad and a tyrant at home, the Romans avowed him for their ally, because his activity and energy formed a balance in Peloponnesus to the Achæan league, long confederate with Macedon².

The consul Sulpicius had purposed to winter with his fleet at Corcyra, and his army in Apollonia. During the inactive season, he hoped to gain by negociation, or intimidate by his arms, the inland Illyrian tribes, through whose mountainous territories he intended to march early in the spring, into the heart of Macedon and Thessaly. But he had scarcely landed on the coast, when Athenian ambassadors arrived, imploring that, without delay, he would deliver their country from depredation and their capital from a siege. The Rhodians had sent a small squadron for their protection; troops, in the pay of Attalus, reinforced the garrison of Athens; there was a considerable body of mercenaries in the pay of the republic; yet so fatally had the Athenians degenerated from their ancient prowess, that all these succours could not enable them to repel inroads on the side of Corinth and Megara, and more ruinous naval descents from Chalcis in Eubœa. The consul therefore listened to their request; and commanded Claudius Centho, with twenty trireme gallies, carrying a strong detachment of soldiers, to sail to the Piræus. With this force, Centho did not think it enough to act on the defensive; an opportunity occurred for executing, in the way of aggression, an en-

² Polybius, l. xv. & xvi. passim.

terprize of great spirit. Some deserters from Chalcis informed him of the careless manner in which that city was guarded, though it commanded the narrow Euripus, a passage as important by sea, as is that of Thermopylæ by land; and though Chalcis was at once Philip's arsenal, his granary, and his state prison. Upon this intelligence, Centho sailed from the Piræus, and lay concealed on the western side of Cape Sunium, until the approach of night. When it was dark, he doubled that southern promontory of Attica; and by such vigorous plying of his oars in a calm sea, as will appear incredible to modern seamen, surprised Chalcis, about seventy miles distant, before morning. The gates were forced open; all citizens in arms, and many unarmed, were put to the sword. The marketplace was set on fire. The flames extended to the storehouses of corn, and to the magazines of arms and engines. The prisoners confined by Philip were released; his statues, thrown down and mutilated; and the Romans, weary with destroying, returned loaded with booty to their ships³.

Philip, whose signals by fire and posts of observation had been carefully distributed, speedily learned the arrival of the enemy in Eubœa. He hastened from Demetrias with five thousand light infantry, and a proportional body of horse, in hopes of saving his arsenal, or of taking vengeance on its destroyers. But the Romans had already departed: he came only in time to behold the smoking ruins of Chalcis. This mortifying event did not rob him of his presence of mind. From his early youth, he had now reigned twenty years, and as his character had gradually sunk in virtue, it should seem to have risen in energy; in an activity not to be tired out, in promptness of decision and boldness of enterprize. Without hesitating a moment, he proceeded across a bridge of boats on the Euripus, and advanced at the head of his army towards Athens, with the rapidity of a practised racer. Yet, swiftly as he marched, his speed

Philip's similar design against Athens.

³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 22, 23.

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was outstripped by one of those whom the Greeks called day-runners⁴, who, descrying the Macedonians from his watch-tower, seasonably alarmed the Athenians. Philip arrived a few hours after, and still before day-break. He could behold lights carrying in different directions, and perceive the commotion of the troops belonging to Attalus, of the mercenaries in the pay of Athens, above all, of the frightened townsmen. But he found the walls completely manned, and the gates strongly guarded. Having thus failed in his design of surprize, he allowed his men a short time for rest: and in the morning, led them against the northern gate called Dipylos, with a view to try whether he could force his entrance. Philip hated the Athenians above all other Greeks; and the animosity, as appeared on this occasion, was reciprocal. The gate Dipylos was far larger than any other: spacious streets connected it with the forum; and beyond it, without the city, a wide and well levelled road led to the principal gymnasium, the famed academy of Plato and his followers. The Athenians with their auxiliaries, after forming within the city, sallied forth from the Dipylos, and occupied part of the space between it and the academy. Their wives, and children, and parents, beheld them from the walls. At this sight, Philip was stimulated to new ardour. He spurred forward his horse into the midst of the enemy, calling aloud to his soldiers, that wherever the king was, there ought to be the standards and the army. The Athenians could not resist the onset of his cavalry. He pursued them towards the city gate, wounding many with his own hand. The havoc was greatest at the gate itself, from which the Macedonians, though excluded, made their retreat with little loss, because missile weapons could not be discharged from the towers without pouring destruction promiscuously on friends and foes.

His ravages
in Attica,
and destruc.

Philip did not renew his attack on the city, whose defenders were multiplied in the course of the day, by the arrival of Romans from

⁴ ἡμεροδρομοί.

the Piræus, and of a reinforcement belonging to Attalus from Ægina. But before his departure for Peloponnesus, upon a design that will be explained presently, he wreaked his vengeance on every thing in the neighbourhood of Athens, either pleasing by its beauty or venerable for its sanctity. The gymnasiums, Lyceum and Cynosarges, were levelled with the ground; the consecrated groves were set on fire; even the sepulchres of the dead were deformed by the blind impiety of his rage. Shortly afterwards, upon his return from Peloponnesus, he again invaded Attica in concert with his general Philocles, who conducted a reinforcement of two thousand Thracians and Macedonians from Eubœa. In this expedition, after a fruitless attempt against Athens and Eleusis, the ravages of the Athenian territory were still more extensive than formerly. The elegant temples and statues, that adorned the different towns and villages, were demolished; and the stones composing them were broken in pieces, lest their magnitude and fine workmanship should confer a degree of grandeur even on the ruins³. This was to wound the Athenians most sensibly, for, notwithstanding the decay of all other kinds of merit among them, the exquisite ingenuity of their artists still shone unrivalled; mount Pentelicus still afforded a profusion of precious marbles; and the Athenians were then, and continued long afterwards, the most vainly superstitious of all mankind.

The motive, that drew Philip into Peloponnesus was, that he might meet the Achæan council, then sitting at Argos. In the preceding year, the Achæans, headed by Philopœmen, had defied Nabis and his mercenaries; and by a well-concerted stratagem had considerably diminished the tyrant's formidable power. Philopœmen, having computed accurately the distances from Tegea, of all the places subject to the league, sent letters to the several cities most remote from it to the following purport: "Assemble instantly your fighting men; supply them with money and provisions for five days; conduct them

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tion of works
of art.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

Philopœ-
men's suc-
cessful strata-
gem against
Nabis.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 201.

³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 24. & seq.

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to the next city; and, upon your arrival there, deliver the letter herewith sent to its pretor." By these orders, communicated from one city to another through all the different routes leading to Tegea, a great force would be collected on the Lacedæmonian frontier, without creating the least suspicion in those spies and gatherers of news, industriously dispersed by Nabis in every corner of the country. On the day when the arrival of the Achæans was expected at Tegea, Philopœmen sent from that place a select body of light armed troops, to infest the Lacedæmonian territories, with orders that, when attacked, they should retreat towards Scotita, a town situate between Tegea and Sparta. These troops concealed themselves during the night, and early next day commenced the business entrusted to them. Meanwhile the Achæans had arrived from different quarters at the time expected. Philopœmen made them take supper at an early hour, and then conducting them towards Scotita, posted them secretly in that neighbourhood. About this time, the light troops began their ravages. Nabis' mercenaries sallied forth in great force, chiefly from Pallenè, a city five miles from Sparta, and repelled the invaders with their accustomed vigour; but, pursuing them beyond Scotita, were themselves unexpectedly assailed by Philopœmen, and all of them either slain or made prisoners⁶.

Philip endeavours to embroil the Achæans with Rome.

This advantage on the side of the Achæans was counterbalanced by their appointment next year of a new and very unequal pretor in the room of Philopœmen. Cycliades, who succeeded to him, was practised in affairs, and knew how to manage popular assemblies; but his military character did not inspire confidence. The Achæan youth reluctantly joined his standard, though some districts had been ravaged, and even some maritime cities endangered by the restless rapacity of Nabis. The Achæans had assembled at Argos to deliberate concerning the best means of raising forces sufficient to oppose the tyrant, when Philip unexpectedly made his appearance

⁶ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 36 & seq.

in the council. He told them, that he would remove their difficulty; his army was at hand: he would immediately march into Laconia, and transfer thither the whole terror of the war. His proposal being heard with applause, he added that, while he thus employed his arms for the benefit of Achaia, it was reasonable that they should send part of their youth to reinforce his garrisons in Eubœa and other places beyond the Isthmus. The Achæans perceived his drift: he wanted to involve them as deeply as himself in the war with Rome'. Cycliades, though his friend, could not approve this design. He thought it unnecessary, however, to oppose it by any argument; and contented himself with observing, that the Achæan council could not deliberate concerning objects foreign to the cause of its meeting. With this repulse, Philip, having engaged a few volunteers in his service, returned to Attica, and after committing the depredations above mentioned in that country, hastened to Macedon in order to oppose the Romans, who threatened his western frontier.

The consul Sulpicius had left his winter quarters and encamped on the river Apfus, which flows into the Hadriatic sea between Apollonia and Epidamnus, eight miles to the north of the former city. From thence he sent his lieutenant Lucius Apustius to invade the inland districts of Epirus, whose principal towns and castles were held by Macedonian garrisons. Corragos, Gerrunium, and Orgessus were taken by the first assaults. Antipatria, strongly fortified at the entrance of a narrow valley, made an obstinate but unavailing resistance. The men fit to bear arms were put to the sword; and the town, after being plundered of every thing transportable, was burned to the ground. This dreadful example frightened into capitulation Codrion, a strong place in the neighbourhood, into which Apustius threw a garrison. He then took Ilium, a name as renowned as the city bearing it in Epirus is unknown. In returning,

Romans invade Epirus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

? Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 25. & Polybius, l. xvi. c. 38.

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Rugged
western fron-
tier of Ma-
cedon—why
the Romans
made their
attack on
that side.

however, to the consul's camp, the Romans, heavy with booty, were surprised by Athenagoras, one of Philip's generals; and their rear guard was thrown into disorder. Apustius rode back at full speed, made his army face about, and put to rout the assailants, many of whom fell, and a still greater number surrendered*.

This successful expedition drew to the consul's camp several chieftains of the Illyrian tribes, whose barbarous independence alternately guarded and alarmed the security of Macedon. On the north of that kingdom, they inhabited Dardania, and from the confines of Dardania and mount Scardus, occupied the hilly country running southward above two hundred miles, distinguished in its course by the names Dassaretia⁹, Eordia, and Athamania, which, at the mean distance of fifty miles from the Hadriatic, shuts up the western frontiers of Macedon and Thessaly. This rough chain of abrupt hills and intricate vallies, most parts of which were still friendly to Philip, the consul would be obliged to cross before he could seriously distress his adversary. By attacking Macedon on this difficult frontier, the Romans indeed should seem to have exposed themselves to the vulgar reproach of seizing the bull by the horns. All the noble cities of that kingdom, enriched by the spoils of nations; Dium, Pella, Edeffa, and Philippi, lay at the other extremity of the country, and near the coasts of the Ægean. But Philip's possessions on that side, particularly the delightful region of Chalcidicè, contained garrisons proportional to their importance¹⁰; and his fleet lay at Demetrias, stationed there against Attalus and the Rhodians, but ready also to cope with the Romans, should they endeavour to make a naval descent on Macedon. Besides this, the Romans never did by fleets what might be effected by armies: their sailors dreaded a winter's voyage; and they had not waited the fittest season, in their haste to combat Philip immediately after the defeat of Hannibal.

* Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 27.

⁹ Commonly called Dassaretii, from the

tribe inhabiting it. Appian. Illyric.

¹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 45.

The consul, therefore, moved into the country of the Daffaretii, the northern division of the hilly chain above mentioned, and encamped on the river Bevus¹¹. The towns in that neighbourhood either surrendered or were taken; and their copious granaries of corn enabled the Romans to save the provisions which they had carried with them.

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Philip had by this time sent his son Perseus, attended by able officers, to guard the passes from Dardania, and was proceeding in person to defend his western frontier. The trepidation of the Daffaretii, flying in crowds before the invaders, brought him the first news of the enemy. He dispatched some troops of horse on discovery, who encountered a body of Roman cavalry sent on the same errand. The battle between them was sharp but undecisive, and both of them returned to their respective camps without bringing back any important intelligence. Philip sent immediately to the field of action to recover the bodies of his slain. They were found to the number of forty, and brought for interment to the camp, where their yawning wounds, inflicted by the massy two-edged Roman sword, are said to have occasioned a very discouraging sensation¹². But Philip's army was twenty-four thousand strong, of which four thousand were cavalry. Directed by some deserters, he continued to advance, and seized a strong post at Athacus, which overlooked the Roman camp. Its orderly arrangement struck him as forcibly as it had formerly done Pyrrhus¹³. A combat soon followed between the light troops, in which the Romans, always armed with their shield and buckler, had a decided advantage over the king's irregular skirmishers. Philip also failed in a design for drawing the enemy into an ambush; and, when the consul next day marched from his camp to offer battle, thought proper to decline the engagement. Sulpicius, after thus defying his adversary, ventured to decamp to a place called Octoluphus, eight miles distant,

Sulpicius' battles with Philip.—in decisive campaign. Olymp. cxlv. 1. B. C. 200.

¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 33.

Ibid . c. 24.

¹³ See above, vol. i, p. 703.

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for the greater convenience of supplies. To infuse a false security into the Romans, Philip long kept within his rampart; and, when he found that great bodies of them had gone to forage, he sent part of his light troops and cavalry to surprise the stragglers, while the remainder beset the roads leading back to the Roman camp. To prevent any intelligence from reaching the consul, he ordered his men to give no quarter. These measures succeeded. A great many Romans were surprised, intercepted, and slain; and the advantages gained on these occasions would have been without alloy, had not Philip pursued too eagerly a party of horsemen flying towards their encampment, until they were met and protected by the Roman infantry. The fortune of the day then immediately changed: Philip lost four hundred of his *companions*, and by the fall of his wounded horse, was himself dismounted. But a Macedonian instantly alighted, and throwing him on a sound horse, saved the king's life at the expence of his own.

Philip sent speedily to the consul to crave a truce for burying the slain; and being told that he should have an answer in the morning, availed himself of the intermediate time to fly towards difficult mountains, whither the Romans would be unable to follow him, heavily laden as they were with spoil, and their march impeded by elephants, unseasonably carried with them as trophies of their Carthaginian victories. It was the first time that they had employed in war these cumbrous auxiliaries. Philip's purpose was now to harass the enemy in their passage through intricate vallies, by obstructing the defiles, and pouring down missile weapons from the contiguous heights. In this desultory warfare he succeeded so completely, that the consul thought proper to change his line of march. Having retreated with much danger from the country of the Dassaratii to that of Eordia, he possessed himself in the latter, of the two cities of Pelium and Celitrum, and garrisoned them as useful posts in

in some succeeding invasion". He then returned to the banks of the Apsus and Apollonia, from whence he had commenced an expedition of great labour and very inadequate success.

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While the consul moved towards the Hadriatic, the necessity of Philip's affairs carried him in an opposite direction. This movement was occasioned by the restless rapacity of the Etolians, who, while the king fought in Illyricum, had broken into Thessaly. Before the commencement of the campaign, both the consul and Philip had sent ambassadors to this fierce people, and each urged plausible arguments for engaging them on his side. The Athenians also, enraged at Philip's recent proceedings in Attica, dispatched some of their popular orators to arraign the profaner of temples, the disturber of the ashes of the dead, the odious and abominable violator of rites due to supernal and infernal gods. The Etolians admitted the parties to a hearing at their general council of Naupactus, but Damocritus, who, as pretor for the year, presided in that assembly, had the address to prevent his countrymen from giving a decisive answer. He evaded the question, by recurring to a law of his republic which restrained the determination of war or peace to the annual Pan-Eolian convention at Thermum. It was supposed that he had been bribed by Philip; but he wished only to temporise, that the Etolians, by watching the success of the campaign, might be free to pursue whatever path appeared most profitable. Accordingly, after the first important success obtained by the Romans, they prepared to act as their auxiliaries. Six thousand of their warriors, indeed, whose proceedings will be explained hereafter, had recently sailed to Egypt; but they were reinforced by Amynder king of Athamania, the district of Epirus nearest to Thessaly; and the Dardanians, the fiercest of the Illyrian tribes, on the recall of Perseus from the pass of Pelagonia, had invaded the northern frontier of Macedon. Philip sent his general Athenagoras to oppose the

Negocia-
tions with
the Etolians.
—Philip's
success a-
gainst them.

¹⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 36—40.

Dardanians:

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Attalus and
the Rhodi-
ans infest
Philip's pos-
sessions by
sea.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1.
B. C. 200.

Dardanians: he marched in person into Thessaly against the Eto-
lians and Athamanians. His success on both sides was complete¹⁵.

Meanwhile, with the return of spring, Apustius sailed from Cor-
cyra, and met king Attalus in the Piræus. They were received
with enthusiasm by the Athenians, who, individually and in their
public decrees, poured out the most fulsome praises on their friends,
and the most extravagant execrations against Philip. The united
fleets first attacked the Cyclades, the most important of which were
held by Macedonian garrisons. Cythnus made a successful resist-
ance; Andros submitted after a siege; the territory fell under the
jurisdiction of Attalus; all transportable booty belonged to the Ro-
mans. It has been the fate of those beautiful islands to suffer at
many different and very distant periods the most horrid oppression.
Dicæarchus, when he failed to conquer them for Philip, raised altars
to Injustice and Impiety¹⁶. The Turkish fleet might consistently
invoke the same gods, when it sails yearly from Constantinople to
the Isles, to extort exorbitant contributions¹⁷. When the ships of At-
talus and the Romans were joined by twenty vessels belonging to
the Rhodians, they ventured to attack Philip's important possessions
in Chalcidicè and in Eubœa, without fear of the Macedonian squa-
dron stationed at Demetrias. They failed in the assault of Cassan-
dria, which had a powerful garrison: they succeeded against Acan-
thus in the same Chalcidic region; and they made themselves masters
of Oreum in Eubœa, after a long siege. Having terminated these
expeditions before the approach of winter, Attalus and the Rhodi-
ans sailed to their respective harbours; and the Roman commander,
leaving on his way thirty gallies in the Piræus, returned with the
remainder of his fleet to Corcyra¹⁸.

Perturbed
state of Phi-
lip's affairs

The winter, which relieved others from labour and anxiety,
brought no relief of either to Philip. Publius Villius had sailed to

¹⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 41—43.

¹⁶ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 37.

¹⁷ Eton's Turkish Empire, c. ix.

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. c. 44 & seq.

Apollonia,

Apollonia, as successor to the consul Sulpicius Galba, which indicated that the Romans were little satisfied with the slow proceedings of the latter. Philip had to dread not only the persevering exertions of his enemies, but the defection of his allies and the rebellion of his subjects. The Achæans had already shewn a reluctance to participate in his danger. A spirit of revolt had seized some places in Thessaly, particularly the city called Thaumaci, "the wonder," because in proceeding inland from the Malian gulph and Thermopylæ, the traveller here emerged from craggy rocks and narrow vallies, and first beheld at Thaumaci the rich plains of Thessaly stretching beyond his sight like the boundless ocean. The Macedonians, also, entitled to great privileges by their laws, had become dissatisfied with their king, and still more with his ministers. To obviate these evils, Philip assiduously courted the Achæans, and even withdrew garrisons, which his suspicion had long kept in Orchomenos and some other Achæan cities. He besieged Thaumaci in the heart of winter; and he appeased the Macedonians by sacrificing Heraclides, recently commander of the fleet at Demetrias, and who, in the exercise of that and other high employments, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious by his rapacity and cruelty. Heraclides had entered into the service of Philip like other unprincipled fugitives whom that prince received with open arms, as instruments the best fitted for every mischief. He was a native of Tarentum in Italy, and had successively betrayed his countrymen to the Romans, and the Romans to Hannibal. In time of profound peace, he had undertaken to burn the Rhodian fleet. He was a wretch polluted by every vice¹⁹; of intolerable haughtiness to his inferiors, and the most slavish obsequiousness to men in power, uniting at once every thing base in perfidy and dangerous in audacity; and an example, among many others in the reign of Philip, that bad princes will never fail to find still worse instruments and accomplices.

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—his minister Heraclides given up by him.

¹⁹ Polybius, l. xiii. c. 4. & Polyænus, l. v. c. 17.

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His imposing
attitude on
mount *Æro-*
pus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 2.
B. C. 199.

The strong situation of Thaumaci enabled the place to hold out, until the necessity of Philip's affairs recalled him to the confines of Epirus²⁰. He suspected that the consul Villius would take the field early in the spring; and, profiting by the errors of his predecessor, would endeavour to penetrate into Thessaly by remounting the river Aöus, which falls into the sea at Apollonia. In that case he must traverse Athamania, the southernmost part of the mountainous chain above-mentioned. Athenagoras proceeded thither with a part of the army: the king followed with the remainder, and, after examining the ground, and occupying with detachments less important passes, encamped on mounts *Æropus* and *Asnaus*, between which the Aöus flows in a narrow valley. Where the natural strength of the hills afforded not sufficient security, they were laboriously fortified by art; vast quantities of engines were skillfully disposed. The royal pavilion towered conspicuously in front of the encampment, bidding defiance to the enemy. This imposing attitude strangely disconcerted Villius. His intention, as Philip had foreseen, was to have avoided the dangerous route formerly pursued by Sulpicius, and to have passed through Athamania into Thessaly. But the sight of the king's camp, not by ordinary means to be forced, filled him with perplexity. He resolved, and changed his resolution, and continued still deliberating which course to pursue, when a messenger brought news that Titus Quintius Flaminius had been elected consul; that the province of Macedon had fallen to him by lot: and that he had already arrived in the harbour of Corcyra²¹.

The consul
Flaminius
sent to com-
mand against
Philip.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

The best excuse for the inactivity of Villius is, that Titus Quintius Flaminius, who came accompanied by his brother Lucius Quintius as commander of the fleet, and a reinforcement of eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred horse, remained forty days in sight of Philip without venturing to assault him. Titus Quintius was scarcely thirty years old when he became consul, having risen by his

²⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

²¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 5. & seq.

merit and popularity to that high rank from the office of questor, without passing through the intermediate dignities of edile and pretor²². In the most illustrious age of Rome, he was the most accomplished of all the Romans. He rivalled the Greeks in their own pursuits; adding to a perfect acquaintance with their language and literature, a lively wit, the most winning affability, and such conciliatory manners that, at a time when his country was extending her empire over the greatest nations, he never once spoke of her power or resentment, but only of her good faith, her moderation, and her clemency. Though the province of Macedon devolved to him by lot, wisdom could not have committed the war to an abler general, or, after victory, to a more dextrous politician. In Macedon and Greece, he spent nearly a dozen years of his life; and after rendering the former country tributary, completely established the Roman ascendancy in the latter.

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While the armies remained on both sides inactive, Philip was flattered with the hopes of peace by means of the chieftains of the Epirotes, most of whom adhered to his interest. Through their intervention, for Quintius affected to treat them with much regard in order to gain the nation, a conference was held, during which the king and consul with their respective attendants stood on opposite banks of the Aöus. It was demanded, on the part of the Romans, that the places taken from their allies should be restored, and that all other injuries done to them, should either be repaired or compensated. Philip replied, that many cities and districts, beyond the limits of Macedon, had descended to him from his ancestors; that many others had been conquered by himself. That, for the sake of peace, he would withdraw his garrisons from the latter, and thereby restore them to freedom; but could not think of relinquishing the former, which he held by right of inheritance. As to the other wrongs complained of, the losses sustained in war, he was ready to

Conference
between
them.

²² Plutarch in Flamin. Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 7.

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submit them to the arbitration of any neutral power, which the Romans thought proper to name. Quintius replied, "that there could not be any room for arbitration, since Philip was manifestly the aggressor;" and then proceeding to mention the states that were to be emancipated, named first of all "the Thessalians." At this Philip exclaimed, "What harder condition could be imposed on me, when vanquished." The conference ended with such animosity on both sides, that it was well the river intervened to prevent mutual hostilities ²³.

Battle on
mount
Æropus.

Next day the Macedonian posts were attacked with vigour, but as vigourously defended. From the loss, which he had sustained, the consul was led to despair of making a successful impression on them, when a shepherd sent by Charopus, a friendly chief of the Epirots, offered to conduct part of the Roman army through secret windings of the hills, to the rear of the Macedonian encampment. He had assurances of liberal rewards if found faithful, but was nevertheless delivered bound to a tribune, who departed in a moon-shine night, with a detachment of four thousand foot and three hundred horse. On the third morning, the tribune having rested in the day-time, and marched expeditiously during the night, found himself on an eminence, commanding the enemy's rear, and ready to execute the consul's orders. These consisted in setting fire to a pile of wood, for all those mountains were covered with trees, and thereby signifying his arrival; but he was not to raise the shout of war or alarm the enemy, until the action had commenced in front. During the intermediate time, Quintius had amused the king with slight skirmishes: but, on seeing the smoke made by his detachment, he led his whole army to a more serious attack. Philip, with imprudent gallantry, also sallied from his camp, and was driven back with considerable loss within the protection of his batteries. The Romans pursued him thither, and began in their turn to suffer very severely from the

²³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 10.

perpetual

perpetual discharge of his engines. But their ardour still carried them onward, until their retreat must have been accompanied with great danger, when the shouts of the Romans pouring down on the enemy's rear, spread an alarm in that quarter, which was quickly communicated to the whole Macedonian army²⁴. Philip and his men, alike panic struck, betook themselves to a disorderly flight, and were transported by their terrors over ground where neither cavalry nor heavy infantry could follow them. The king did not recover from his consternation till he had reached a commanding eminence five miles distant. He then began to rally the fugitives: two thousand were missing; their camp was occupied by the Romans.

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After this success, the consul paused to provide himself with proper guides from among the Epirots and Athamanians, and to consider in what manner he might with most safety pursue the enemy. The king, he found, had taken post on mount Lingon, whose northern side looked towards Macedon, and whose long eastern ridges shut up Thessaly. It was covered with thick forests, and its highest regions contained wide fields, and abundance of perennial springs. In this post Philip remained several days, uncertain whether to retreat towards his hereditary kingdom, or to make a stand in Thessaly and defend the most ancient and the most valuable of his Grecian provinces. The latter measure was adopted. He descended to the frontier town of Tricca, and thence following the course of the river Peneus, traversed in their utmost breadth the fertile plains of Thessaly even to the valley of Tempe and its mountains Olympus and Ossa, which overhang the Thermaic gulph. In his hasty progress through the country, he commanded the inhabitants of some defenceless towns to follow him with their most precious effects, lest they should fall a prey to the invaders. What could not be transported by the natives, was either burned or seized as booty by his soldiers. He had scarcely ended his march, when the Etolians and

Thessaly ravaged by four armies. Olymp. cxlv. 3. B. C. 198.

²⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 12.

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Romans
baffled be-
fore Ægi-
nium and
Atrax.

Athamanians, hearing of his defeat and flight, broke by different routes into Theffaly, and committed great ravages; so that the open country had already smarted under three invading armies, before the Romans descended from the gorges of Athamania to attack Phaleria and other well-fortified cities. They made themselves masters of Phaleria and Gomphi²⁵.

They next attempted Æginium, but found it impregnable. They then laid siege to the important stronghold of Atrax, situate eight miles from Lariffa, at the confluence of the rivers Atrax and Peneus. This place was defended with great obstinacy; and the consul, in consequence of preceding ravages committed in the neighbourhood, would have suffered much inconvenience from scarcity, had he not taken the precaution of ordering his fleet of victuallers from Corcyra to the Ambracian gulph. Thither cohorts marched, by turns, to supply the wants of the camp. While Atrax was besieged by the consul, his brother Lucius Quintius sailed with the Roman fleet from Corcyra to the Piræus, and having there taken under his command the thirty gallies that had been left to defend Athens, joined shortly afterwards at Andros the fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians, respectively amounting to twenty-four, and twenty, sail. With this great armament they made a descent on the isle of Eubœa, one of Philip's most valuable possessions. Chalcis, the capital, was not again to be surprized, and was too strong to be conquered by assault. But the invaders, after a long siege, took and plundered Eretria. In gold and silver, the amount of their booty was not considerable. The quantity of works of arts, particularly pictures and statues, far exceeded what could have been expected in a place of so little opulence. Having thus possessed themselves of Eretria in the middle of the island, they next besieged Carystus near its southern extremity. It surrendered on capitulation; the Macedonians in garrison ransomed their lives at the rate of three hundred drachmas²⁶ for each man.

²⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13, 14.

²⁶ A drachma is $7\frac{3}{4}$ pence.

The combined fleet then sailed to Cenchreæ, the spacious western harbour of Corinth, with intention of wresting from Philip that valuable city, as soon as the consul and his army were ready to co-operate in the assault. But that general was long baffled before the walls of Atrax; and when, by his machines and mines, he had made great breaches in them, he found that the bloodiest part of the work was only to begin. The Macedonians, thinking it nobler to defend themselves by bravery than battlements, filled up the entrances by bristling lines of pikemen. The Roman pila made no impression; and as often as the assailants had recourse to their swords, they were on every occasion foiled by the thickset protended spears of their adversaries. The consul, unwilling longer to expose the inferiority of the Roman arms and tactics, at length raised the siege; and, as the country around had been completely foraged, and that there was not any harbour in Etolia or Acarnania fit at once to contain his victuallers, and to lodge his troops, he determined to winter at Anticyra in Phocis²⁷.

This city which had been enriched by its traffic to Delphi, the immemorial seat of commerce and superstition, was further recommended for a military post by its central situation. It had Bœotia on one side, and Locris on the other: Thessaly was behind it; and the Peloponnesus before, separated only by a narrow strith. The Romans had not here to encounter that obstinacy of resistance which had defeated them at Atrax. Anticyra and nine less considerable cities in its neighbourhood were taken in a few weeks; Elatæa alone kept its gates shut, and detained the consul in a long siege²⁸.

While he was thus occupied in Phocis, his brother Lucius had not been inactive at Cenchreæ. He was fully prepared for undertaking operations against Corinth, and, to commence them, only waited the consul's orders, when an object still more important solicited their joint attention. The Achæans, in the room of Cycliades,

Success of
the Romans
in Phocis.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Delibera-
tions of the
Achæan
council.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 15. & seq.

²⁸ Ibid. c. 19.

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a man devoted to Philip, had elected for pretor Aristænus, a warm partizan of Rome. The occasion seemed favourable for gaining that confederacy, especially by opening the prospect of recovering Corinth which had formerly belonged to it. With this proposal, ambassadors were sent from the Romans, from Attalus, from the Rhodians, and from the Athenians: the states of Achaia agreed to hear them at Sicyon, but at the same time called to the council Cleomedon, who, as ambassador from Philip, had long resided in the Peloponnesus. The first day was entirely consumed in hearing the speeches of the contending parties. The Athenians spoke last in reply to Philip's ambassador: as they had suffered the most from that prince, they were likely to make an impression proportional to their high and just resentment. Next day, the council met to deliberate. The herald, according to custom, invited the members to declare their opinions. But all kept silence. Their situation was, indeed, perplexing. Since the praise-worthy reign of Antigonus Doson, who had defended them against Sparta, and enabled them to cement their confederacy, they had been closely connected with the kings of Macedon. Their several states swore annually to Philip, under the name of his allies, an oath rather of fealty than friendship; but they detested the vices, and despised the levity of that prince. They knew his ill-will to Philopœmen, who had infused into many of his countrymen his own elevated patriotism. Philopœmen was now absent in Crete; but all those, who entered into his views, felt an aversion to foreign interference, disdaining Philip, and still more dreading the Romans. The less sound portion of the confederacy, was variously affected towards these powers. In this state of general suspense, the pretor Aristænus arose, observing, that he too would have kept silence, had he been in a private station: but that he felt it his public duty to answer the ambassadors, and that the answer could not be given before the Achæans had decided the nature of it by their decree. Let us therefore consider what fell yesterday from the several ambassadors, not as dictated

dictated by their respective interests, but as different opinions proposed for our deliberation, that we may adopt whichever appears most expedient for ourselves. Under this aspect, the alliance offered by Rome, ought doubtless to be preferred. Peloponnesus is almost an island; the Romans are masters at sea; and we are under the necessity of now accepting them for our friends, or of meeting them instantly as enemies²⁹.

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His discourse was heard with mixed applause and murmur. Not only the members of the council, but the ten demiurgi without whose consent the vote could not be put, were completely at variance. Five contended for the Roman alliance, five as warmly opposed it. Among the latter was Memnon, whose father Rhisiasus, a citizen of Pallènè, after urging with him every argument to withdraw his opposition, at length threatened him with death if he persisted in disobedience. By the defection of Memnon from his party, a majority of the demiurgi proposed the question: the alliance with Attalus, with the Rhodians, and with Rome was accepted by all the confederate cities, except Argos, Dymè, and Megalopolis. The deputies of these cities rose up and left the council. Argos had given kings to Macedon from whom Philip was descended; Dymè owed peculiar obligations to that prince; and Megalopolis was indebted to his predecessor Antigonus Doson, not only for its greatness, but its existence as an independent branch of the Achæan confederacy³⁰.

How rendered favourable to Rome. Olymp. cxlv. 3, B. C. 198.

The Romans thus obtained the alliance of Achaia, but could not pay the price at which they had agreed to purchase it. Corinth held out against its combined assailants; for Philip, who, from his camp at Tempé, sparingly succoured places of less importance, had been careful strongly to reinforce his garrison in the Corinthian citadel. The consul being obliged at the approach of winter to raise the siege, the Roman fleet sailed to Corcyra; that of Attalus and the Rhodians to the Piræus. For his failure at Corinth, Quintius made some com-

Conferences desired by Philip.

²⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 19. & seq.

³⁰ Id. ibid. ubi supra. Conf. Polyb. l. ii. c. 48. & seq.

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penfation by taking Elataea. The Macedonians in the place were allowed to depart unarmed, the citizens had their lives and liberties. The Roman army was then cantoned for the winter in Phocis and Locris. Shortly afterwards a fedition broke out at Opus, a city in the latter diftrict, one party wifhing to furrender it to the Etolians, the other to the Romans, while both were alike eager to expel the Macedonian garrifon. But this garrifon kept poffeffion of the citadel, and was on the point of being attacked by the conful, when ambaffadors came from Philip, faying, that he wifhed for a conference. Quintius liftened to this request, becaufe he did not yet know, but expected almoft immediately to learn, whether the Romans had prorogued the term of his command, or appointed one of the new confuls for his fucceffor. In the latter cafe, he would give the conference a pacific turn, and thus enjoy the glory of putting an honourable end to the war; but if the Romans, pleafed with his fuccefs, fhould, as he greatly wifhed, again affign to him the province of Macedon, he determined to reject all terms of accommodation, until he had completely humbled the enemy. He therefore named a time and place for the interview: the time was fuch as fuited his own views; the place was Nicæa, a Locrian town on the Malian gulph, not far from Thermopylæ.

Singular
bravery of
500 Achæan
youths.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Before the conference took place, a very memorable fcene, in which Philip was concerned, had been tranfacted at Argos. We have feen how the deputies of Argos, from attachment to the Macedonian intereft, abruptly left the Achæan council rather than concur with the majority in concluding an alliance with Rome. They carried home with them this party fpirit, which made it neceffary for the Achæans to fend to Argos a garrifon, confifting of five hundred youths felected from the different cities of the league, and zealoufly attached to its interefts. It was the cuftom at Argos, on the firft day of afsembly, to invoke the auspicious names of Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, to which the name of Philip had of late years been added;
a cere-

a ceremony, that, according to the pliant superstition of the Greeks, seemed a becoming respect to the king, while he was regarded as protector of the Achæans; but as this people had just confederated with his enemies, the invocation of Philip was deemed improper by the herald, and therefore omitted by him. The partisans of Macedon exclaimed against the omission: the honour, they said, had been legally decreed to the king; and the decree had never been rescinded. Philip, besides that his family claimed its descent from Argos, was highly popular in that city, in whose numerous festivities he had often with winning friendliness presided. The general voice of the assembly demanded that his name should be invoked as formerly. This circumstance escaped not the notice of Philocles, the Macedonian governor of Corinth. He hastened to Argos with a strong detachment, and took post in the night on Larissa, a hill so named commanding the city. In the morning, he descended in hostile array to make an easy conquest, as most of the Argives were well affected to his master, when he perceived advancing towards him the five hundred Achæan youths also in order of battle. He sent to them a herald with orders to stop their progress, and exhort them to return to their respective cities; while he shewed them how unable they were to contend even with the Argive citizens, much less to combat the Macedonians, who had so recently defeated the Romans and driven them from Corinth. The youths determined unanimously to obey their commander Ænesedemus of Dymè; and inadequate as their numbers were to a successful struggle, for the Argives by this time appeared in arms against them, resolved with one accord to fight and die for their country. But Ænesedemus, unwilling that the flower of Achaia should be untimely cropped, entered into a composition with Philocles for their departure in safety. In compliance with the orders of their leader, they left the field, Ænesedemus only remaining with a few Achæans attached to his person. Philocles sent a small band of Thracians to learn of him the reason

C H A P. XVIII. for so extraordinary a proceeding. He answered by projecting his shield in an attitude of defiance, adding, that he stood there, to die in arms defending the city entrusted to him. The Thracians, by order of their captain, slew Ænesedemus and his friends³¹. In this manner Philip punished the defection of the Achæans, by taking possession of Argos one of their principal cities.

Conferences
at Nicæa.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

At length the time approached, in which the king and consul were to hold their proposed conference. Philip sailed for this purpose from Demetrias, in a large ship of war, attended by five smaller vessels. He carried with him his secretaries Apollodorus and Demosthenes, Macedonians; Brachylles a Bœotian; and Cycliades, recently pretor of the Achæans, but now living in exile since the confederacy of his republic with Rome³². Quintius came to the shore to meet him with a more numerous and far nobler attendance. Arynander, king of the Athamanians, Dionysodorus ambassador from king Attalus, Acesimbrotus commander of the Rhodian fleet, Phœnias pretor of the Etolians, with other leading men belonging to the Etolians and Achæans. At the sight of this great retinue, Philip kept aloof, and declined coming to land when beckoned by the consul. Upon which Quintius asked him of what he was afraid? He answered, the gods only are the objects of my fear, but I distrust many whom I see around you, and chiefly the Etolians. Trust, the Roman said, is not to be wantonly reposed in enemies; but here the danger is mutual and equal. That, rejoined Philip, is not true; for if Phœneas the Etolian were slain, his countrymen would easily find many new and fit pretors, but in case of the like accident to myself, the Macedonians must at this time be left with a minor for their king. This ill-breeding at the outset shocked all present; and Philip was desired to explain wherefore he had requested a meeting. He said, that it belonged rather to the consul to say wherefore he had

³¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

Liv. l. xxii. c. 32. & seq.

³² Polybius, l. xvii. c. 1. & seq. & Tit.

entered his dominions, and on what conditions he would be contented to quit them. The conditions of peace which I shall propose, said Quintius, are clear and simple; you must relinquish every part of Greece, restoring all prisoners and deserters to their respective states: you must restore to the Romans the places occupied by you in Illyricum, in violation of your treaty formerly concluded with the senate: you must restore also to their friend and pupil Ptolemy Epiphanes, all the cities which you have wrested from him since the death of his father. Such are the demands of the Romans; their allies, here present, will speak for themselves. Attalus' ambassador then required that Philip should surrender to his master, the ships, together with their crews, taken in the famous battle of Chios or Casisté; and that he should restore the Nicephorium, the sacred ornament of Pergamus, to the same splendid condition, in which his desolating invasion had found it. The Rhodians next insisted that he should withdraw his garrisons from Caria, the coasts of which rightfully belonged to them, and that he should evacuate Sestos and Abydos, and all other cities of traffic in Asia, or round the narrow seas. The Achæans demanded the restitution of Corinth and Argos. The Etolians spoke last, to the same effect as the Romans, that Philip should totally relinquish Greece, after he had restored to themselves in as good a condition as that in which they formerly stood, all the places which he had detached from their confederacy. These demands were made briefly by Phœnias the Etolian pretor. But there was a man called Alexander the Isian, from his native city Ifus³³, who passed among the Etolians for an able orator. This man availed himself of an opportunity to display his talents, by inveighing against Philip in the most bitter terms, as a prince disgraced by every thing perfidious in negotiation, or cruel and cowardly in war. His merciless depredations of defenceless districts, accompanied

³³ Strabo places Ifus in Bœotia, there must have been another place of the same name in Etolia.

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compensation by taking Elatæa. The Macedonians in the place were allowed to depart unarmed, the citizens had their lives and liberties. The Roman army was then cantoned for the winter in Phocis and Locris. Shortly afterwards a sedition broke out at Opus, a city in the latter district, one party wishing to surrender it to the Etolians, the other to the Romans, while both were alike eager to expel the Macedonian garrison. But this garrison kept possession of the citadel, and was on the point of being attacked by the consul, when ambassadors came from Philip, saying, that he wished for a conference. Quintius listened to this request, because he did not yet know, but expected almost immediately to learn, whether the Romans had prorogued the term of his command, or appointed one of the new consuls for his successor. In the latter case, he would give the conference a pacific turn, and thus enjoy the glory of putting an honourable end to the war; but if the Romans, pleased with his success, should, as he greatly wished, again assign to him the province of Macedon, he determined to reject all terms of accommodation, until he had completely humbled the enemy. He therefore named a time and place for the interview: the time was such as suited his own views; the place was Nicæa, a Locrian town on the Malian gulph, not far from Thermopylæ.

Singular
 bravery of
 500 Achæan
 youths.
 Olymp.
 cxlv. 3.
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Before the conference took place, a very memorable scene, in which Philip was concerned, had been transacted at Argos. We have seen how the deputies of Argos, from attachment to the Macedonian interest, abruptly left the Achæan council rather than concur with the majority in concluding an alliance with Rome. They carried home with them this party spirit, which made it necessary for the Achæans to send to Argos a garrison, consisting of five hundred youths selected from the different cities of the league, and zealously attached to its interests. It was the custom at Argos, on the first day of assembly, to invoke the auspicious names of Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, to which the name of Philip had of late years been added;
 a cere-

a ceremony, that, according to the pliant superstition of the Greeks, seemed a becoming respect to the king, while he was regarded as protector of the Achæans; but as this people had just confederated with his enemies, the invocation of Philip was deemed improper by the herald, and therefore omitted by him. The partisans of Macedon exclaimed against the omission: the honour, they said, had been legally decreed to the king; and the decree had never been rescinded. Philip, besides that his family claimed its descent from Argos, was highly popular in that city, in whose numerous festivities he had often with winning friendliness presided. The general voice of the assembly demanded that his name should be invoked as formerly. This circumstance escaped not the notice of Philocles, the Macedonian governor of Corinth. He hastened to Argos with a strong detachment, and took post in the night on Larissa, a hill so named commanding the city. In the morning, he descended in hostile array to make an easy conquest, as most of the Argives were well affected to his master, when he perceived advancing towards him the five hundred Achæan youths also in order of battle. He sent to them a herald with orders to stop their progress, and exhort them to return to their respective cities; while he shewed them how unable they were to contend even with the Argive citizens, much less to combat the Macedonians, who had so recently defeated the Romans and driven them from Corinth. The youths determined unanimously to obey their commander Ænefedemus of Dymè; and inadequate as their numbers were to a successful struggle, for the Argives by this time appeared in arms against them, resolved with one accord to fight and die for their country. But Ænefedemus, unwilling that the flower of Achaia should be untimely cropped, entered into a composition with Philocles for their departure in safety. In compliance with the orders of their leader, they left the field, Ænefedemus only remaining with a few Achæans attached to his person. Philocles sent a small band of Thracians to learn of him the reason

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with the burning of sacred groves, and the demolition of temples, he contrasted with the glorious exploits of former Macedonian kings; of the great Alexander who conquered the Eastern world, less with a view to gratify his own resentment or ambition, than to promote the best interests even of the vanquished; of the numerous successors of that prince, who contended nobly with each other for empire, but never absurdly, by desolating countries and sacking cities, robbed all concerned of the just prizes of victory. What madness! to wage war merely for the sake of war, and to destroy those very objects on account of which it can ever reasonably be carried on! The Isian then took a review of Philip's reign, and shewed how obnoxious he had rendered himself to these reproaches. When his invective ended, the king approached nearer to land, and stood forward in his ship to reply. But he had not proceeded far in his discourse, when he was rudely interrupted by the pretor Phœnias, who told him that his excuses were useless and senseless; he had but one alternative, either to conquer in battle, or to submit to the conditions required of him. This, said Philip, is clear even to a blind man; for it happened that Phœnias had weak purblind eyes; and, after explaining the causes which had made him act on some occasions with a severity repugnant to his nature, arraigned in his turn a law of the Etolians, which permitted them "to take spoils from the spoils;" an execrable practice, he said, which both himself and other Greeks had often solemnly exhorted them to abolish, but with so little effect, that the only answer given was, that it would be as easy to separate Etolia from Etolia, as to rescind the law in question. The consul wondering what this might mean, Philip proceeded to describe the unprincipled proceedings of the Etolians, who treated alike friends and foes, and who, in all their wars, lost no opportunity of plundering their own allies, on pretence that these allies were thereby saved from being plundered by their enemies. Having thus explained the technical expression of "taking spoils from the spoils," employed by

by the Etolians to cloak their rapacity, he observed, that the condition imposed on him of relinquishing Greece, sounded harsh and haughty even in the Romans; but that, from the Etolians, such language was altogether intolerable; from men who had neither the laws nor manners of Greece, and many of whose townships had never been acknowledged to belong to that country. The districts of the Agræans, Apodotæ, and Amphilochians, are indeed in Etolia, yet are no parts of Greece. These doubtless you resign to me. Quintius smiled at this conceit. Philip then said, that to the Achæans he would restore Argos, but not Corinth: to the Rhodians, that he would give back Peræa in Caria: that Attalus should have his ships with their crews, but for his grove of the Nicephorium, he knew not how to make the restitution required, except by sending to him some plants, with persons properly qualified to cultivate and rear them. Quintius again smiled at this taunt. The king then addressing himself to the consul, in particular, asked whether in his opinion it were just that he should part with the Greek cities that had been transmitted to him from his ancestors. To this the Roman not making any reply, the pretors of the Achæans and Etolians again rose to speak. But the day was far advanced, and Philip, besides, was unwilling to hear any more of their reproaches. He therefore desired that the conditions of peace might be given to him in writing: he wished, he said, to retire and consider them at leisure by himself, for he was there alone without any person to advise with. Quintius, who had listened with complaisance to the king's biting jests, thought that he ought not here to let slip the opportunity of being witty in his turn³⁴. He therefore said, perhaps Philip you are alone, because you have put to death your best friends. The king forced a reluctant grin, called the Sardonic smile; and the con-

³⁴ Polybius, l. xvii. c. 4—9. The wit on all sides is bad; but the parties also were in bad humour. This occasioned Philip's rudeness at the outset: his ill-breeding at this

time is contrasted, as we shall see below, with his *εὐπρεπείᾳ* and urbanity on future occasions.

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ference thus ended as coarsely and brutally as it had begun³⁵. The conditions however were given to Philip in writing, and a second meeting was appointed. To this the king came at a late hour of the day, on pretence that he could not sooner make up his mind, but in reality to avoid the insulting declamations of his adversaries. At his earnest desire, he held a long discourse with the consul apart, the Greek deputies having for this purpose retired to a proper distance from the shore. Upon their return, Philip's propositions were communicated, and declared to be altogether unsatisfactory; but as the lateness of the hour did not admit of hearing their respective objections, a third conference was appointed for the following day at Thronium, a place five miles from Nicæa, and also on the sea shore. Here, after much altercation, it was finally determined that Philip should have a truce for two months, that he might have time to send ambassadors to the senate; and although this condescension was disapproved at first by the allies, the consul engaged them to consent to it, by representing, that as the resolutions of peace or war depended entirely on the senate, the present was the fittest occasion for consulting that council, when, on account of the severity of winter, it was yet impossible to take the field against the common enemy.

Negotiations
at Rome.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
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Quintius had by this time received from his friends at Rome flattering intimations but no positive assurances, that he would be continued in his province. He sent, therefore, together with Philip's ambassadors, a deputation from himself to the senate, and likewise Amynder king of the Athamanians, whose royal title he thought would give him importance and weight, and whose pliancy of temper, he knew, would make him implicitly submit to the direction of those friends at Rome to whom he was addressed. Fit deputies were also sent from the Achæans, Etolians, and Athenians. By this management, the affair was not brought before the senate, until a decree had passed for continuing Quintius in Greece. The ambassadors then

³⁵ Id. *ibid.*

desired

desired to be heard, and urged again with the senate precisely the same arguments which they had used at the preceding conferences with Philip, insisting chiefly, that there could be no safety for their several states, whatever concessions might be obtained in other points, while that prince kept hold of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which, with no less truth than insolence, he called the three fetters of Greece. When the king's ambassadors began to make reply, in a studied oration, their discourse was cut short, and an explicit answer demanded, whether their master was ready to withdraw his garrisons from the three cities in question? They acknowledged that their instructions did not extend thus far, and were dismissed from the senate, not unblamed by that assembly, for having presumed to appear in it with such imperfect powers ³⁶.

In return for the truce granted to him, Philip had withdrawn his remaining garrisons from Locris and Phocis, so that Quintius enjoyed perfect ease and security during his winter quarters. Upon the approach of spring, the Romans voted him a reinforcement of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be conducted by Sulpicius and Villius, now appointed lieutenants to Quintius, in the same war which they had before carried on as generals. A supply of three thousand sailors was also decreed to the proconsul's brother Lucius, who remained at Corcyra as commander of the fleet. During the continuance of the truce, Philip had not been inactive in preparing for a renewal of hostilities, nor hesitated in adopting any measure, however unwarrantable, that promised to retrieve his affairs, or promote his security. Before he returned to Macedon, for the purpose of recruiting his army, he endeavoured to deprive the proconsul of the advantages which might be expected from his confederacy with the Achæan league. With this view Philip condescended to court his old enemy Nabis, and even surrendered to him the city of Argos; a city whose inhabitants had so recently shewn the warmest

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Transactions
with the ty-
rant Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
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³⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 37.

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personal attachment to himself, but who, when it suited his convenience, were resigned by him into the hands of a merciless tyrant. This most disgraceful action Philip hoped indeed to colour, by the pretence that Argos was only given as a deposit, that it might be defended against his enemies. But Nabis did not thus understand the transaction. By the division of lands, and abolition of debts, two firebrands always employed by tyrannical demagogues, he quickly reduced Argos to the level of Sparta²⁷, and destroyed, or drove into exile, every family, and every individual of birth or fortune in the commonwealth. Having thus moulded the Argives agreeably to his own views, he was so regardless of Philip's interest, that he sent an embassy to Quintius at Elataea, saying, that if he made a journey into Peloponnesus, he doubted not that matters for their common benefit would be amicably adjusted between them. Upon this message, the proconsul went to Anticyra, and sailed from thence to Sicyon with ten quinqueremes, that had been brought round by his brother Lucius from Corcyra. He was met at Sicyon according to appointment, by king Attalus, whose fleet lay at Ægina; and by Nicostratus, pretor of the Achæans. Attalus advised the proconsul by no means to trust himself in Argos; the conference with the tyrant was therefore held at a place called Mycenica, a little distant from the city. The proconsul, with his brother Lucius, as well as Attalus and Nicostratus, all came unarmed. They found Nabis at the head of his soldiers. He began by apologising for this martial appearance, saying, that he had no distrust of any present, but that it was necessary for him to be on his guard against the Argive exiles. Quintius made two demands, that the tyrant should supply him with a body of men to act against Philip; and that he should conclude a peace with the Achæans. The former requisition was complied with; but instead of a peace, all that could be obtained

²⁷ Rogationem promulgavit unam de tabulis novis, alteram de agro viritim dividendo, duas faces novantibus res ad plebem in op-
timates accendendam. Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. 38.

by Nicostratus was a truce for four months. Attalus also, who on every occasion espoused the cause of humanity and justice, failed in obtaining some mitigation of suffering for the unhappy Argives. Nabis positively refused to withdraw his mercenaries from their city, lest even those Argives who had shared with him the plunder of their superiors, might be disposed to take arms to avoid being plundered in their turn³⁸.

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Quintius was alone benefited by the transaction with Nabis, having derived from it a reinforcement of six hundred Cretans. With these, he paraded in his return to Anticyra before the gates of Corinth, in order to shew Philocles, who commanded there for Philip, that Nabis had deserted his master, and to induce that governor also to revolt. Philocles refused to betray his trust; but his behaviour was such as left room to conjecture that his loyalty was not unalterable. To promote the proconsul's views, Attalus had ordered his fleet into the harbour Cenchreæ. He proceeded to join it there, after visiting the little commonwealth of Sicyon, between which and himself there had long subsisted a connection founded on similarity of principles and pursuits, and strongly cemented by many mutual good offices. The king presented that community with ten talents of silver and ten thousand bushels of corn; the Sicyonians honoured him in return with altars and statues³⁹.

Attalus in
Sicyon.

The proconsul, as the season for taking the field approached, removed from Anticyra, near the southern extremity of Phocis, and fixed his quarters at Elatæa, on the northern frontier of that province. From this commanding post, taking a view of his strength and alliances, he had just grounds for confidence. The neighbouring countries of Phocis, Doris, and Locris, were entirely at his devotion. The Peloponnesus was behind him, the whole of which was in his interest, except the single city of Corinth. On his right hand, the Athenians and Megareans were zealous allies; on his left the Eto-

Magnani-
mity and
good faith of
the Acarna-
nians.

³⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 39 & 40.

³⁹ Polybius, l. xvii. c. 16.

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lians had equal inclination and far more power to serve him. The rich plains of Thessaly were in front, where, in all probability, Philip would make a stand, at once to defend those valuable possessions, and to resist the invasion of his hereditary kingdom. Yet this dazzling prospect did not tempt the proconsul to advance into Thessaly, until he had endeavoured to gain the only states behind him, which had not yet espoused his party. These were the Acarnanians on the west, and the Bœotians on the east. His brother Lucius failed therefore to the coast of Acarnania; and after all negotiation had failed with a people of high honour and invincibly firm in their friendships, laid siege to Leucas. His assaults were repelled, and the Acarnanians vindicated their good faith to Philip by deeds of heroic valour; nor did they submit to become allies to Rome, until that prince had been defeated in the decisive battle of Kynocéphalæ⁴⁰.

Thebes
gained by
stratagem.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
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The proconsul took on himself to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, and attained this object by a stratagem unworthy of his character. Having sent for Attalus to Elatæa, he marched, together with him and Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans, through Phocis, and fixed his camp at the distance of five miles from Thebes. Next day, escorted by a single manipule or company of soldiers, they proceeded to that city, the proconsul having taken care that two thousand armed men should follow them, at such an interval as sufficed to prevent suspicion. Antiphilus, the Bœotian pretor, who had recently obtained that office in preference to Brachylles, a man totally devoted to Philip, and now attending that prince, came forth to meet them with a crowd of citizens. As they approached the gates, Quintius proceeded more slowly, on pretence of saluting the multitude, but really with a view that his armed men (the *Hastati* of two legions) might have time to come up. Amidst the curiosity and bustle of the multitude, the lictors driving before them the townf-

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 16. Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 30.

men who obstructed the procession, the Thebans did not immediately observe, or, observing, did not oppose, the entrance of two thousand Roman soldiers within their gates. When they found this body of men surrounding the place of hospitality appointed for the reception of their illustrious visitants, they immediately took the alarm, and doubted not that the city had been betrayed by their pretor. But the glories of Epaminondas and Pelopidas were forgotten: the Thebans were no longer a public spirited, or even a martial people; complaint would be unavailing and might prove dangerous; an assembly therefore was proclaimed for next day, to deliberate on the alliance with Rome; and, as all the inferior cities of Bœotia had on this occasion sent deputies to Thebes, the measure was carried with unanimous approbation⁴¹. This assembly is memorable for a melancholy event which happened in it. Attalus, in the seventy-third year of his age, having overstrained his voice in urging the alliance with Rome, fell down in a fit, and died a few weeks afterwards, in consequence of the only transaction of his public life, of which, in a reign of forty-five years, he had reason to be ashamed. Since his glorious victory over the Gauls, in the first year of his reign, he had been formidable to his enemies, faithful to his allies, indulgent to his subjects, and bound in cordial domestic affection with a family of four sons and their respectable mother Apollonis or Apollonias, a humble native of Cyzicus, but whose virtues endeared her through a long life to her husband Attalus, and her sons Eumenes II. and Attalus surnamed Philadelphus, who followed him successively on the throne⁴². To sooth the sufferings of Attalus, the

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Death of
Attalus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
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⁴¹ Tit. Liv. xxxiii. 1, 2.

⁴² Polybius, l. xviii. c. 24. l. xxiii. c. 3 & c. 18. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 2, & l. xlii. c. 55. The other sons of Attalus were Philæterus and Athenæus. Liv. *ibid.* Apollonias thanked the gods, not for making her the wife and mother of kings, but for the concord that prevailed in the royal family. Plutarch de Fratern. Amore, p. 480. Her

religious procession through the temples of Cyzicus in the midst of her sons, her hands clasped in theirs, was a spectacle of delight to the companions of her humble days, the natives of Cyzicus. She was compared with the happy mother of Cleobis and Biton. See Herodotus, l. i. 31. & Cicero Tuscul. l. i. c. 47. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxiii. c. 18.

proconsul

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proconsul remained longer than he would otherwise have done at Thebes. As soon as the king's condition permitted, he was conveyed to his ships, and set sail for Elæa, his principal harbour; while Quintius returned to Elatæa, and bent his whole thoughts to the prosecution of the war against Philip.

Movements
preceding
the battle of
Kynoc-
phalæ.

That prince had recruited his army, with much difficulty, in a country exhausted by six years of uninterrupted war. He was compelled to admit into the Macedonian phalanx many youths who had barely passed their sixteenth year, and many old men beyond the age of sixty. To this heavy armed body of sixteen thousand men, he added above five thousand lighter troops, with two thousand cavalry, and marched towards the frontier town of Dium, and afterwards to Larissa in Thessaly. The consul, about the same time, entered that province by the straits of Thermopylæ, commanding two Roman legions and about ten thousand allies; Greeks, Athamanians, and Epirots. His infantry was equal to the enemy's; his cavalry was more numerous than theirs, and also bolder and better disciplined; for the Thessalians, who had long languished under the dominion of Macedon, were no longer those fearless and gallant horsemen, who maintained such high renown under Jason and Menon, their native and hereditary leaders. The proconsul, adhering to his plan of leaving as few enemies as possible behind him, attacked, in his way to Pheræ, Phthian Thebes, in which city he had secret abettors. The enterprise failed; he advanced however into the heart of Thessaly, and encamped at the distance of five miles from Pheræ. It happened that, almost precisely at the same time, Philip encamped within three miles of the same city, but on the opposite side of it; for upon hearing of the operations against Phthian Thebes, and conjecturing that the enemy still remained in that neighbourhood, he had hastened southward with his whole army from Larissa. He arrived at Pheræ towards evening, and, at early dawn, sent forth some light troops on discovery. Quintius adopted the same measure; and
the

the hostile parties had nearly met on the ridgy eminence that overlooks the city, when their armour, gleaming with the first rays of the sun, discovered them to each other. They both halted; and after sending notice to their respective camps of their mutual discovery, were both ordered to return. During the whole of that day they remained quiet. Next morning, a body of Roman and Etolian horse, with a due proportion of light infantry, proceeded to the road leading from Pheræ to Larissa; they were encountered there by a more numerous band of Thessalians and Macedonians: the conflict was obstinate but undecisive; both parties returned to camp, the Macedonians having suffered most in the action, so bravely had the Etolians fought under their leader Eupolemus, and so efficaciously had he exhorted the troops of Italy to follow their example⁴².

The event of this skirmish reminded Philip, that the ground about Pheræ, every where covered with inclosures, plantations, and gardens, was equally unfit for the operations of his phalanx, and the compact charge of his Thessalian horse. He wished besides to remove to Scotussa, about thirty miles northward, where he would find ample supplies of corn. The proconsul penetrated his design, so that the two armies again decamped at nearly the same time, and on this occasion marched in a parallel direction, the space between them being filled up by a hilly chain extending all the way from Pheræ to Scotussa, of no great loftiness, yet sufficient to conceal the armies from each other. Philip pursuing his march on the right, made his first halt on the banks of the Onchestus; the proconsul following the direct road, encamped the first night at Eretria. Next day, both parties prosecuting their begun course, Philip rested at Melambium, in the district of Scotussa, and Quintius at Thetidium, in that of Pharsalus. The following morning brought impetuous torrents of rain, accompanied by tremendous thunder; and so thick a darkness fell on the earth, that the soldiers could with difficulty

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Parallel
march to
Kynoc-
phalæ.⁴² Polybius, l. xviii. c. 2.

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Kynoc-
phalæ.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
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find their way. Philip, however, who was so near to Scotussa and the end of his journey, began to march, but afterwards thought proper again to encamp, having first detached a body of light troops to take possession of the heights between the two armies. Quintius continued in his camp at Thetidium, but sent out on discovery a body of light infantry, with ten troops of horse. This party fell in with the Macedonians on the heights above mentioned. A conflict ensued, and the Romans were in danger of being defeated, when a reinforcement of two thousand foot and five hundred horse came seasonably to their relief. The face of affairs now changed; the Macedonians were pressed in their turn, and forced to retreat back to the ground from which they had repelled the enemy. As the darkness began to disperse, Philip, who never suspected that he would be so soon compelled to come to a general engagement, had allowed numerous parties to leave the camp in quest of food. But being informed of the danger of his detachment, he ordered most of the Thessalian and Macedonian cavalry, with all his mercenaries, except the Thracians, to advance to its rescue, with positive orders to return quickly, after effecting this service. In the action which followed, the Macedonians were completely successful; their detachment was not only rescued, but the Romans were driven from the heights, and pursued with such slaughter and shouts of victory as spread general consternation through their camp. Their loss would have been still greater but for the incredible exertions of the Etolian cavalry, which, though often repelled, returned again as often to the charge. When the tumult of war first reached the proconsul, he drew his men from their intrenchments, and posted them near the foot of the hills, which were far less abrupt and rough on his own side than on that of the Macedonian encampment. Having addressed the soldiers in a short and suitable discourse, he ordered his right wing to remain in reserve, and at the head of his left moved towards the enemy. Meanwhile successive messengers came

to Philip, proclaiming with exultation that the Romans were put to flight; that he had only to advance and complete his victory. Philip liked neither the time nor the place; for his foragers had barely returned from their fatiguing excursions, and the heights which he must ascend were roughened by the protuberances of Kynoscephalæ⁴⁴, so called because their rugged cliffs bore a fanciful resemblance to the heads of grinning dogs. Yet the sanguine ardour of his mind carried him into a situation that made a general engagement unavoidable. At the head of his targeteers and the right division of his phalanx, he marched in good order to seize the heights, commanding Nicanor to bring up the remainder and far larger division with all possible expedition. The king advanced to his ground in column, and then formed his line of battle to the left, thirty-two deep. The day would have been his own, had Nicanor pursued a similar course, or been able, from the nature of the ground, to proceed with equal celerity. But that general, to avoid loss of time in forming when he should reach the summit, brought forwards his men in order of battle; the sections of his line thus finding, some of them no difficulties, and others almost unsurmountable obstacles in their way, were separated from each other; their impatience to ascend only increased their disorder, and the greater part were still clambering over rocks and crevices, when Philip was compelled to engage the enemy. The Macedonians levelled their spears; and on this occasion the phalanx maintained the superiority which it always enjoyed in close engagement over all other kinds of military force. The Romans receded; and their retreat was soon so manifest, that a general, less skilful than Quintius, would have considered the battle as lost. In this difficulty his sole confidence was in his right wing, which had stood in reserve, fronted by a chain of elephants to break the first violent irruption of the phalanx. While his left gave way, this division had advanced

⁴⁴ Or Cynoscephalæ; the change of the first C into K better indicates the meaning of the name.

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against the Macedonians, who were still employed in surmounting the rocks of Kynoscephalæ; and who, in their disorder, being only encumbered by their long spears and heavy shields, were altogether unable to resist the Roman sword in a desultory combat. Quintius joined the victorious part of his army, and by completing, on this side, the overthrow of the enemy, made some compensation for the disgrace of his left wing. But in this state of affairs, a Roman tribune, whom historians do not name, fixed the fortune of the day, and obtained a great and ever-memorable victory.* Leaving it to his companions to cut down the Macedonians that were flying before them, he withdrew from the pursuit twenty maniples or companies, and returned with the utmost speed to attack Philip's victorious division in rear. This assault was decisive, for the Macedonians were not headed by an Alexander, who, in such an emergency, would have availed himself of his great depth, to form the double-fronted phalanx, and thus have resisted the enemy behind him, without ceasing the action in front. But, as this movement was not attempted, as the Macedonian left wing was irrecoverably lost, and as the Romans, who had been repulsed by Philip, were still maintaining a running fight, and when they perceived the disorder in his line, began to act with reanimated hope, the havoc made by the tribune and his maniples, continually inflicting wounds which the enemy had no means either to ward off or retort, spread dismay through the whole phalanx. The greater part, throwing away their useless arms, betook themselves to a shameful flight. It is uncertain whether those, who retained them, received quarter; for in another scene of the action, Quintius had not been able to save a division of the enemy's left wing, who, on perceiving his approach, erected their spears in token of surrender. The Romans not understanding, or affecting not to understand the meaning of this manœuvre, cut most of them in pieces, before the proconsul,

* Polybius, l. xviii. c. 4, & seq. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 7. & seq.

by explaining its signification, could effectually interpose in their favour. This victory, whose consequences were so important, is said to have cost the Romans but seven hundred men; of the Macedonians eight thousand were slain, and five thousand made prisoners ⁴⁵. C H A P. XVIII.

When Philip saw the troops under his immediate command throw down their arms, he fled with some horse and light infantry to a neighbouring eminence, from whence he could survey the whole extent of his disaster. He then hastened to Gonni, a strong post at the entrance of the narrow and intricate vale of Tempè, and about fifteen miles distant from the field of battle. In the fortified camp, which he had formerly occupied there, he determined to halt, until he should collect the sad remains of his discomfited army; sending orders meanwhile to Larissa, to burn all his letters and papers, which, upon marching against the Romans, he had deposited in that city. This cool recollection in the midst of such heavy calamities, does no small credit to the king, for had his correspondence been preserved, the discoveries contained in it would not only have exasperated the Romans against himself, but provoked their keenest resentment against many of his friends ⁴⁶. While the Macedonians sought safety amidst the winding defiles of Tempè, the Romans had been anticipated by the Etolians, in plundering the king's camp at Kynoscephalæ; they secured, however, a gleaning of booty with their prisoners; and proceeded to Larissa, which, like the other cities of Thessaly, was now ready to open its gates to the victors. Thither Philip immediately sent heralds, on pretence of craving a suspension of arms that he might bury his slain, but really with a view to obtain the permission of entering into a negociation for peace. Quintus gratified the heralds to the full extent of their requests, desiring them to tell the king to be of good courage, and to hope every thing from the clemency of Rome. We shall presently see the Roman's motives for a moderation, which gave much offence to his allies, par-

Negotiations
for peace.

⁴⁵ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Polyb. l. xviii. c. 17.

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Opposition
made to it by
the Etolians.

particularly the Etolians. This relentless people maintained, that there could be no security for themselves or the other states of Greece, until Philip was either slain or deprived of his kingdom. But the proconsul told them, that the Romans were not accustomed to carry on war with such implacable revenge. Good policy, he said, required that Philip should be humbled, not ruined. If the power of Macedon became extinct, what bulwark would remain to the Greeks against the Thracians, the Illyrians, the Treballi, and all the fierce nations around the Danube? Shortly afterwards two of Philip's friends, Demosthenes and Cycliades, came to propose a conference between their master and the generals of the allies. The arrangements for this meeting were fixed by the proconsul; and all parties assembled at the entrance of the vale of Tempé on the day appointed. At this interview Philip appeared quite a new man: his coarseness and asperity had hitherto been offensive; he now conciliated the good-will of all by his urbanity and mildness. Instead of disputing the ground, as it were, inch by inch, and then either yielding angrily, or holding out obstinately, he was more forward to make concessions than his enemies were to require them. Alexander the Isian, and Phœnias the Etolian pretor, alone remained obdurate; alike insensible to his misfortunes, and to the spirit with which he sustained them. When the king shewed the utmost readiness to relinquish not only the conquests made by himself, but even many possessions that had descended to him from his ancestors, Phœnias demanded explicitly, do you then abandon to us Larissa, Pharsalus, Phthian Thebes and Echinus? Philip replied, take them all, and welcome. Upon this Quintius interposed, observing, that to those cities of Thessaly which had voluntarily accepted their alliance, neither himself nor the Etolians could lay any fair claim. Phthian Thebes alone, which had shut its gates and rejected the friendship of Rome, was a just and legitimate conquest⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Polyb. l. xviii. c. 19.—22. Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 13.

This

This remark highly offended the Etolians, who objected to it he terms of their confederacy with the Romans in the former war, stipulating that all moveable spoil should belong to the latter; but that conquered cities and territories should accrue to themselves. Quintius answered, that the treaty alluded to had been done away, when the Etolians in the former war made a separate peace with Philip, without consulting, as good faith required, their Roman allies. He might have added, but was probably restrained by a sense of dignity, that the Etolians had flagrantly violated the terms of their first confederacy with Rome, in being the foremost to plunder the king's camp at Kynoscephalæ, and thus depriving the Romans of any considerable share of the booty. The proconsul's resentment at this transaction, was heightened by the whole behaviour of that selfish and arrogant people. Not more rapacious of wealth than covetous of undeserved fame, their presumption claimed for themselves the chief, or rather sole honours of the war. According to their unblushing encomiasts⁴⁸, the Etolians, rather than the Romans, had gained the battle of Kynoscephalæ, and to them fairly belonged the first prizes of victory. Indignation against these insolent allies, whose pretensions were re-echoed throughout Greece, concurred with other causes, that will be explained hereafter, to make Quintius come to a speedy adjustment with the common enemy. Philip was required to pay the sum of two hundred talents, and to surrender his younger son Demetrius, and a few other hostages. He was allowed in return to send ambassadors to the senate, with assurances from the proconsul, that if his negociation failed, his hostages

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Provisional
terms granted
to Philip.
Olymp.
cxliv. 4.
B. C. 197.

⁴⁸ One of these was the poet Alceus, who contrasted the bravery of the Etolians with the cowardice of Philip, who ran away from Kynoscephalæ, leaving the slain unburied. Philip, who was also a poet, parodied his impertinent verses by the following inscription for a gallows:—

Luxuriant once, I widely swept the ground,
My fragrant boughs diffusing sweets around;
But now, a sapless gibbet, doom'd to bear
The traitor Alceus, rotting in the air.

Translated from Plat. in Flamin.

and

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and money should be restored to him⁴⁹. To allow full time for a happy accommodation of differences, a truce of four months was granted; an interval chequered with events, some of which were calculated to soften, while others had a tendency to aggravate the hard conditions of peace imposed on Philip by the senate.

⁴⁹ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 22.

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Progress of Antiochus.—His politic Views.—War in Greece.—Murders and Robberies in Bœotia.—The Rhodians oppose Antiochus.—Isthmian Games.—Proclamation of the Liberties of Greece.—Antiochus' Thracian Expedition.—Conferences at Lysimachia.—Conspiracy in Egypt.—The Usurpation of the Romans arraigned by Alexander the Etolian.—War against the Tyrant Nabis.—The Romans withdraw from Greece.—Glory of Quintius Flaminius.

HAD the Romans made war on Philip, merely in defence of their allies, Antiochus, at the same time, ought to have become the object of their hostility. The latter prince had wrested from Ptolemy Epiphanes, whom they fondly denominated their pupil, both Cœlesyria and Phenicia¹, and had availed himself of the resources of these provinces in men, timber, and iron, to equip a fleet, which gave great importance by sea to a power long formidable by land. After a seven years war in the East, during which, through the resolute vigour of the phalanx and its accompanying cavalry, he had disarmed the rebellion of Parthia and Bactria, and dispelled the contagion of revolt from neighbouring satrapies, Antiochus turned his arms westward, that he might restore the Syrian monarchy to the fullness of its ancient splendour. In the prosecution of this design, he respected neither the free cities on the coast of Lesser Asia, nor the allies of Rhodes in that peninsula, nor the dominions of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus, who was then zealously co-operating with the Romans in the war against Philip, their common enemy, sent ambassadors to the senate, requesting that either the le-

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Progress of
Antiochus.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Stopped
partly by ne-
gociation.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

¹ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 18, & seqq. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 19.

gions.

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gions of Italy might be dispatched to defend him against Antiochus, or that he should be excused for abandoning the affairs of Greece, at a crisis peculiarly threatening to his hereditary kingdom. The Romans replied, that they could not employ their forces against Antiochus, that prince being their ally; but would send to him an embassy, desiring him to relinquish all hostile designs against Attalus, who was also in alliance with them; that kings, friends to the Romans, ought to live in friendship with each other². In consequence of remonstrances from Rome, joined to another cause still more powerful, Antiochus withdrew from Lesser Asia, and Attalus continued to prosecute unremittingly the war against Philip, both by arms and negociation, until, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, he fell a martyr to his zeal, and breathed out, as it were, his soul with his voice, in arraigning the common foe before the assembled Bœotians.

War in Syria.
Olymp.
cxlv. 1—3.
B. C. 200—
198.

The cause that made Antiochus return hastily towards Syria, originated in Egypt. Those who governed that country during the nonage of Ptolemy Epiphanes, had beheld with much regret the dismemberment of Cœlesyria and Phenicia from their master's kingdom. Hopeless of recovering these provinces by cowardly Egyptians and degenerate Alexandrian Greeks, they had recourse to Scopas, formerly, as we have seen, pretor of the Etolians, but who from dissatisfaction at home, had come to Egypt in quest of riches and preferment. Scopas was sent back into Greece loaded with money, and with assurances of tempting pay to as many of his countrymen as he could engage to follow his standard. He returned to Egypt at the head of six thousand warlike Etolians, whom, without waiting the usual season for taking the field, he immediately conducted in the winter to the mountains of Cœlesyria and Judæa. His invasion was not to be resisted by the feeble garrisons left there by Antiochus. Most parts of the coast, as well as the inland cities, sub-

² Tit. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 8.

mitted

mitted to his arms; and many of them experienced all the severity with which war was carried on by the most rapacious and relentless of enemies. Antiochus, when apprised of these proceedings, hastened from Lesser Asia into Syria, attacked the Etolians and Scopas, now greatly reinforced in point of numbers from Egypt; defeated them in a great battle at the foot of mount Panius, near the sources of the Jordan, drove them from the field, and the most important of their strong holds; and at length shut up Scopas himself, with ten thousand of his men, in Sidon. That city made an obstinate resistance, but was compelled by famine to capitulate. The Etolians and Egyptians only bargained for their lives; and were allowed to depart unarmed and half naked into Egypt³.

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Battle of
Panius.

On this occasion the Jews, instead of opposing Antiochus, greatly facilitated his success. Enraged at the mad impiety of Ptolemy Philopator, and exasperated by the recent rapacity of the Etolians, the inferior cities of Judæa as well as the capital itself, with its temple and castle, readily opened their gates to a milder and more magnanimous master. Antiochus, to confirm their good will, and to heighten the contrast between himself and the persecuting Philopator, published an edict prohibiting all strangers from entering the temple of Jerusalem. Many Jews from Palestine as well as many of their brethren from Babylonia, were settled by him in Lydia, Phrygia, and other districts of doubtful allegiance, because surrounded by the territories of his enemies. In all such places, Antiochus relied on the firmness and fidelity of the Jews, and therefore frequently reinforced their colonies⁴; a circumstance which accounts for the great numbers of that nation scattered over Lesser Asia at the first preaching of the gospel.

Antiochus'
friendship
with the
Jews.
Olymp.
cxlv. 3.
B. C. 198.

Having settled the affairs of the provinces, which he had thus successfully recovered, Antiochus went into winter quarters at An-

Politie views
of Antio-
chus.

³ Polybius, l. xvi. c. 39. Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

⁴ Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. xii. c. 3.

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Olymp.

cxlv. 4.

B. C. 197.

Antioch, but prepared early in the spring for renewing hostilities with the utmost vigour. His sons Ardyes and Mithridates, hereditary names in the family of the king of Pontus, to whose daughter he had been twenty-three years married, were sent before him at the head of a great army to Sardes; he took on himself the command of his fleet, amounting to more than a hundred gallies, with which he reduced the maritime cities along the southern coast of the peninsula, as far as Coracesium in Cilicia. While this place detained him before its walls, he received an embassy from Rhodes, which is memorable for the boldness with which so small a republic ventured to defy such a mighty monarch. The Rhodians, adopting the stile of Athens in the meridian of her power, forbade Antiochus, as the Athenians had done Artaxerxes', to pass with an armed force beyond the Chelidonian isles. If he transgressed these boundaries, which lay opposite to Coracesium at the western entrance of the same bay, the Rhodians said, that they would oppose him with their utmost might. The king, dissembling his indignation, replied, that he had no hostile intentions against Rhodes, and that he was on good terms with its Roman allies; he added, that the Rhodians would soon receive from him an embassy in return, to remove every cause of jealousy⁶. Through these pacific declarations and successive missions to Rhodes and to Rome, he endeavoured to lull the suspicions of states, which, being themselves deeply engaged in the war against Philip, were not on their part unwilling to temporize. In whatever manner the fortune of that war should be decided, Antiochus expected to turn the event to his advantage. Should the Romans be repelled from Greece, their Rhodian and Pergamenian allies would no longer have courage to oppose his usurpations in Lesser Asia; should Philip's power, on the contrary, be greatly reduced by the war, the representative of Seleucus Nicator might revive with good

⁵ History of Ancient Greece, c. xii.

l. xviii. c. 22—24.

⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 20, Conf. Polyb.

success

success his claims on Macedon. With these views Antiochus sailed round to Ephesus, and made that harbour the principal station for his fleet: his land army lay at Sardes: and that he might have no disturbance on his southern frontier, while he carried on his great designs in the west, he entered into a friendly correspondence with the regency of Egypt, and concluded a treaty of marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Ptolemy Epiphanes, then in his eleventh year, with a promise, that when the young prince was of an age to consummate the nuptials, Cleopatra should bring him for her dower the restored allegiance of Cœle-Syria and Phenicia⁷.

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Meanwhile Philip, who had vainly expected assistance from his Syrian ally, was defeated in the decisive battle of Kynoscephalæ, and allowed a truce of four months to negotiate his peace with Rome. He had scarcely obtained this boon from the proconsul Quintius, when, as if no respite had been doomed to his exertions, he was obliged to hasten from Thessaly into Macedon, to repel an incursion of the Dardanians, the fiercest of the Illyrian tribes, his hereditary enemies. These Barbarians availed themselves of his absence, to break into his northern frontier, and to carry their devastations through the richest parts of his kingdom. Philip, at the head of six thousand infantry and five hundred horse, surprised and routed their main body at Stobi in Pæonia; and then directed his arms against their numerous parties which were scattered over the country. The Dardanians were defeated on all sides⁸: most of them were put to the sword; a remnant escaped, carrying into their own forests and mountains, the terror of the Macedonian name.

Philip repels
the Darda-
nians.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

After this fortunate expedition, Philip went into winter quarters at Thessalonica, formerly Therma, at the inmost recess of the Thermaic gulph, there anxiously to await the return of his ambassadors from Rome. During the interval between the battle of Kynosce-

His losses in
Peloponne-
sus.

⁷ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 17. Conf. Hic. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 19.
ronym. in Daniel, c. xi.

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phalæ and the conclusion of peace, his success against the Dardanians was the only circumstance that chequered the general gloom of his fortune. In the Peloponnesus, in Greece beyond the Isthmus, and on the coasts of Lesser Asia, his enemies were every where triumphant; for though the Romans had granted him a truce, this did not suspend the exertions of their Achæan and Rhodian allies. Androsthene, now commanding for him in Peloponnesus, was encountered by the Achæans at Cleonæ, near the eastern bank of the Nemea, a river dividing the territories of Corinth and Sicyon, and so named because it flows into the Corinthian gulph from the district Nemea in Argolis, renowned for the Nemean games. The Achæans were commanded by Nicostratus, then pretor, a general of abilities and enterprize. He totally defeated Androsthene, killed fifteen hundred of his men, and made three hundred prisoners. The remains of the discomfited army threw themselves into Corinth, the only retreat for them now open in all Peloponnesus⁹.

Submission
of the Acarnanians.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

In Greece beyond the Isthmus, the only nations adverse to the Roman cause were the Acarnanians and Bœotians, the former out of fidelity to their ancient alliance with Philip, and their high sense of honour¹⁰; the latter from sentiments and principles of a quite contrary complexion. With uncommon bravery, seconded by skill and perseverance, the Acarnanians in their capital Leucas, opposed Lucius Quintus, the proconsul's brother, who had attacked them with his fleet from Corcyra; nor did they think of capitulation, until they learned the fatal issue of the battle of Kynoscephalæ. Upon this melancholy intelligence, the capital, as well as all the inferior cities of Acarnania, craved the protection of the victors¹¹.

⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14. & seq. Philocles still held Corinth for Philip, but that general had afforded grounds for suspecting his fidelity; and fatally betrayed his master, as will be hereafter seen, in a concern still dearer to him than the Corinthian citadel. Philip's suspicions of Philocles had made him

commit his army in the field, about 6,000 men, to Androsthene; but he durst not punish, and feared to offend his Corinthian governor.

¹⁰ Polybius, l. iv. c. 30.

¹¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 17.

We have seen in a former chapter, how the Bœotians were surprised into a reluctant alliance with Rome. But Brachylles, their banished pretor, with many of his adherents, having followed the fortunes of Philip, had been taken among other prisoners in the service of that prince. Upon an application to the proconsul from the commonwealth of Bœotia, these prisoners were restored to their country rather through policy than generosity; for Quintius, who was apprised of the movements of Antiochus, foresaw new hostilities on the part of that prince, still more dangerous than those just terminated with Philip, and, therefore, thought it incumbent on him to establish throughout Greece, which was likely to be the scene of the approaching conflict, the fair renown of the Romans, not only for warlike valour, but for indulgence and clemency. Brachylles and his partizans had no sooner returned to their country, than its councils were filled with discord. Instead of ascribing their release to the indulgence of the Roman general, they procured a deputation of their countrymen to thank Philip, as if they had been solely indebted to him for that favour, in which he had really no share. Those of the Bœotians, who adhered to the cause of Rome, were calumniated or insulted; their pretensions were slighted at every competition for office or emolument: and in the room of Zeuxippus, a man highly acceptable to the Romans, Brachylles, chief of the adverse faction, was elected pretor. The defeated party felt the utmost indignation at these proceedings, and complained that, if their adversaries could behave with such insolence, when the legions were almost at their gates, their own condition would be altogether deplorable when these forces should return to Italy, and Bœotia be left at the mercy of the Macedonian faction. Zeuxippus knew no better method both for removing the immediate grievance, and warding off the apprehended danger, than the destruction of Brachylles. He proposed his assassination to Quintius; but the Roman declined to have any concern in so black a transaction. Brachylles, however, was assassinated, as he returned

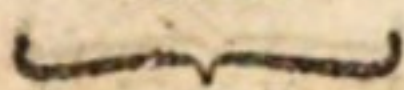
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Factions in
Bœotia.—
Assassination
of the pretor
Brachylles.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

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Romans in
Bœotia rou-
bed and
murdered.

returned from a drunken festival surrounded by a crowd of buffons and parasites, wretches contemptible for their profligacy in the most profligate of all the Greek commonwealths. His murderers were three Italians and three Etolians, who escaped undiscovered in the throng; and, as the death of Brachylles only encreased the evils for which it had been deemed the remedy, Zeuxippus, the instigator of it, fled for refuge to Athens: Pisistratus, the most noted of his adherents, was accused, seized, and executed¹².

But the death of one of the conspirators and the banishment of the other, did not satisfy the Bœotians for the loss of their pretor Brachylles. They felt the most implacable animosity to the Romans, whom they regarded as accomplices in his murder, and as the original authors of all their own misfortunes. Conscious of total inability to carry on an open war, they determined to have recourse to vengeance more secret, but not less effectual. While the proconsul kept his head quarters at Elatæa in Phocis, his soldiers were indulged with furloughs to travel through the neighbouring districts, that they might, as inclination prompted them, gratify their curiosity or supply their wants. Of those who in such excursions entered the territory of Bœotia, few were observed to return: they were waylaid by assassins in secret lurking-places; sometimes they were decoyed to shops and taverns, designedly left empty for the purpose of murder. As the Roman soldiers were well provided with money, avarice extended the havoc which vengeance had begun; and not less than five hundred of them were missing. Quintius sent ambassadors into Bœotia, accompanied with a proper detachment of troops, to enquire into the robberies and murders which he suspected. Many dead bodies were dragged up from the lake Copais, into which they had been sunk by weights for concealment. The cities of Coronæa and Acræphia, in the neighbourhood of that lake, were found to

¹² Conf. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 26. l. xx. c. 7. l. xxiii. c. 2. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 27, 28.

have

have infamously distinguished themselves above all other places in Bœotia, in these deeds of darkness. Quintius demanded from the general council of Bœotia, that the assassins should be punished; and that a talent¹³ should be paid for each Roman soldier that had disappeared. The Bœotians declined compliance, on pretence that, as nothing had been done by general consent, the public ought not to be punished for the crimes of individuals. The proconsul, therefore, after sending an embassy to the Achæans and Athenians to justify his resumption of arms, invaded the territory of Coronæa and Acræphia, and prepared to assault these obnoxious cities. In this extremity, the Bœotians thought proper to submit to whatever was required of them, only obtaining a mitigation of the mulct through the intercession of the Achæans¹⁴. Peace being thus re-established, the proconsul withdrew to his former quarters at Elatæa, after committing the government of Bœotia to such persons as he had the least reason to distrust.

During these proceedings of the Romans in Greece, their Rhodian allies had been diligent to avail themselves of Philip's defeat at Kynoccephalæ. They collected an army composed of Europeans, Asiatics, and even of many unknown nations of Africa, with all of whom their industrious island had been long linked in the bonds of amity and commerce; and invaded the Macedonian conquests in Caria, particularly the maritime district Peræa, which Philip in the height of his power had wrested from their republic. A battle was fought at Alabanda, in which the Rhodians obtained a decisive victory¹⁵. The strong holds of Stratonicæa and Bargyliæ saved the discomfited army, and were so ably defended by Dinocrates, Philip's general in Caria, that they continued to hold out, until assailed shortly afterwards by Antiochus, who usurped them to himself with equal disregard to the rights of the Rhodians his enemies, and of Philip his ally.

Operations
of the Rhodians against
Philip's general in
Caria.
Olymp.
cxlv. 4.
B. C. 197.

¹³ 193 l. 15 s.

¹⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 29.

¹⁵ Id. ibid. c. 18.

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Articles
of peace
brought to
Philip from
Rome.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

Amidst these various events, all of them so adverse to Philip, his ambassadors returned from Rome; and together with them, ten commissioners sent by the senate to assist Quintius in adjusting the peace with Macedon. The commissioners, among whom the Romans had taken care to send Sulpicius and Villius, who had successively commanded armies in Illyricum and Greece, repaired to the proconsul at his head quarters in Elatæa, to which place he had just returned after punishing the crimes of the Bœotians. In this Phocian city, the conditions of peace were specified, of which only the outline had been drawn by the senate, but of which the particular articles had been left to the future decision of Quintius and his assessors. Assuming their complete rights as conquerors, these Romans prescribed, that before the Isthmian games, the celebration of which was fast approaching, Philip should surrender to them those cities in Greece still held by his garrisons; that all others in that country should be declared free; that the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from Thrace, from the narrow seas, and from Caria; and that all the Greek cities in those parts should resume their ancient laws and liberties. Philip was farther required to restore all prisoners and deserters; to surrender all his ships of war, except five small vessels, and a galley of sixteen banks of oars, destined rather for ostentation than use; and to pay a thousand talents, one-half of that sum immediately, the remainder in the course of ten years. His son Demetrius was to remain at Rome until these conditions were fulfilled ¹⁶.

Isthmian
games.—
Proclama-
tion of the
liberties of
Greece.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

Meantime the Isthmian games were at hand, a solemnity always crowded by spectators, both from the fondness of the Greeks for such shows, and from the central scene of exhibition. The Romans, also, were on this occasion to be present, from whom the Greeks expected publicly to hear their fate; and this circumstance, as it gave the deepest interest, brought vast accessions of people to the

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30.

solemnity.

solemnity. Before the time appointed for the games, Quintius with the commissioners proceeded from Elatæa to Anticyra, and from thence sailed to Corinth. The religious ceremonies had been performed; the spectators had taken their seats; and the combatants were prepared to commence their accustomed exhibitions. A herald, as usual, proceeded into the middle of the arena, but, being previously instructed by Quintius, instead of declaring, as on ordinary occasions, well known particulars concerning the games and those offering to contend in them, he proclaimed with a loud and clear voice in the name of the Romans and Titus Quintius their general, complete liberty, both civil and political, to the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, the island of Eubœa, and the four districts of Thesfaly: thus particularising those communities that had longest submitted to the dominion of Macedon. The joy was greater than the minds of men could contain. Their sympathy with each other heightened its intensity. The herald was ordered by them to repeat sounds so pleasing to their ears; at the distinct hearing of which, the whole assembly was in commotion: the wrestlers and reciters disappeared, the noise of acclamation resounded from the two seas of Corinth, and such multitudes advanced to thank and salute the proconsul, that nothing short of the vigour of youth (he was then in his thirty-third year) and the alacrity derived from seeing his labours rewarded with so much public happiness, could have saved him from being overwhelmed and stifled by their cumbersome kindness. For many succeeding days, the games being hastily flurred over without interest, and without attention¹⁷, the deputies of the several states were solely occupied in congratulating each other, and in decreeing crowns and statues¹⁸ to Quintius and the Romans; men who had passed the seas, and by their own exertions and dangers, unlocked the chains of Greece, and restored to that country its hereditary freedom. The generosity of those remote strangers appeared in the

¹⁷ Plutarch in Flamin.¹⁸ Appian, l. ix. c. 2.

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Embassies
from the
Greek kings,
particularly
Antiochus.

more striking light, when contrasted with the selfish policy of Alexander's successors, who, though Greeks themselves, had so often deluded their unhappy brethren with unsubstantial prospects of liberty, only to plunge them the deeper into real servitude. But there was a nation, it seemed, in the western world, raised up by the bounty of heaven, to diffuse the inestimable blessings which itself enjoyed; to fight against unjust domination wherever it prevailed; and to spare neither labour, nor treasure, nor blood, to defend the cause of the injured, and to make law and right triumphant over brute force¹⁹.

To the celebration of the Isthmian games, which was regarded as the scene not merely of amusement, but of most important business, there had come ambassadors from Antiochus, Philip, Eumenes, and all the kings who, either from affection or policy, claimed connection with Greece. These ambassadors, as well as deputies from the several republics, had most of them very serious affairs to transact with the proconsul; and, according to the custom of antiquity, their transactions were public. From respect to so great a prince, the minister sent by Antiochus was heard first. The object of his commission was to persuade Quintius and his assessors, that the king of Syria wished to maintain peace with the Romans and their allies. But his professions on this subject were belied by the evidence of facts. Antiochus, when he advanced westward to the Grecian sea, had no sooner found that Philip was defeated at Kynoscephalæ, than he hastened to invade his possessions in Caria and Mysia, and had made himself master of Bargylia in the former province, and Abydus in the latter. These proceedings were totally incompatible with the views of Rome, which purposed to emancipate the cities of Caria, and to restore them to their ancient confederacy with the Rhodians; and which had not ordered Abydus, and other places near the Hellespont, to be evacuated by Philip, that strongholds so important because commanding the passage between Asia and Europe, might be

¹⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 33.

seized by a prince equally ambitious and still more powerful. Quintus therefore answered the Syrian ambassador without any of that reserve or ambiguity, which had been thought necessary before the humiliation of the king of Macedon. He told him, that his master must relinquish his unjust conquests; that he must abstain from all vexations of the Greeks in Asia; and that he must no longer entertain the design, which his usurpations near the narrow seas made manifest, of passing personally into Europe, or of sending an army thither²⁰. After thus dismissing the Syrian, Quintus found little difficulty in settling all affairs amicably with the ambassadors of the other kings as well as with the Greek deputies²¹.

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Those of the Etolians alone, exclaimed against the terms of peace. They said that, while many distant commonwealths in Asia were to be restored to their ancient independence, the cities in Proper Greece, garrisoned by Philip, were to be surrendered to the Romans; and that this, in effect, was nothing but a transfer from one master to another: at the same time they complained of their own unworthy treatment, boasting that, without their assistance, the Romans could neither have defeated the king of Macedon, nor even have set foot in Greece²². These remonstrances, not altogether absurd, might have had some weight, had they come from any other quarter. But all knew, that the Etolians were provoked at not being allowed to recover those fortresses in the territories of their neighbours, from which they had formerly carried on their depredations; and none could imagine for a moment, that any generous concern for the public safety actuated a people whose insolence, rapacity, and cruelty, rendered them a disgrace to the Grecian name.

Complaints
of the Eto-
lians.

When the business of the assembly was concluded, Quintus still remained in Corinth, that he might superintend the complete execution of the treaty in that and the neighbouring districts. Most of the Roman commissioners dispersed, for the same purpose, to Thrace,

Transactions
of the Ro-
man com-
missioners. —
Cornelius'
advice to
Philip and to
the Etolians.

²⁰ Polyb. l. xviii. c. 30.

²¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34.

²² Id. ibid. c. 35.

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to Caria, to the camps of Antiochus and of Philip. Cneius Cornelius, who was sent to the latter prince, after settling with him affairs of less moment, asked whether he might give him an advice that appeared highly seasonable and salutary. Philip replied, that nothing could please him more. Cornelius then said, that as the Romans were likely to be soon embroiled with Antiochus, it would be useful for Philip to send ambassadors to the senate, that the peace which he had just obtained might be followed by a closer intimacy and real confidential friendship with the republic: otherwise the Romans might suspect that, notwithstanding his declared purpose of maintaining peace, he only lay in wait for a favourable opportunity of co-operating with his ancient ally. Philip hearkened to the counsel, expressed his gratitude to the giver of it, and sent his ambassadors to Rome²³. From Tempè, where this conference was held, Cornelius crossed about seventy miles over Greece to Thermum, the ancient capital of Etolia, and the stated place of convention for the deputies of that district. The Etolians complained in their usual offensive strain, that the Romans behaved to them now, with a degree of haughtiness which they had not assumed during the dependance of the Macedonian war. Without entering with them into any altercation on that subject, Cornelius gave them his advice, that if in any particular they thought themselves aggrieved, they should send their ambassadors to Rome; every equitable request, he said, would be granted by the senate. The Etolians, because they saw no better remedy, consented to have recourse to this measure²⁴.

Antiochus' generals besiege Smyrna and Lampfacus. Olymp. cxlvi. 1. B. C. 196.

Meanwhile Antiochus, though he talked only of peace, continued to prosecute his conquests in Lesser Asia. Even the free cities on the western coast, which had entered into treaties with his ancestors on a footing of independence, either submitted to his arms, or were kept in a state of siege both by sea and land. Smyrna and Lampfacus still continued to make a vigorous resistance, and Antiochus

²³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 35.

²⁴ Id. *ibid.*

spared no exertions to take them, because the former encouraged what he called rebellion in all the neighbouring commonwealths of Ionia, and the latter inspired the same stubborn spirit into the cities in its vicinity around the narrow seas. But the impatience of a haughty mind, intoxicated by a long flow of prosperity, made him commit a work of time and perseverance to his generals. While they employed arms and negociation against Smyrna and Lampfacus, the king crossed²⁵ the Hellespont into Thrace, and made himself master of the Chersonesus, a valuable slip of land about fifty miles long, and fifteen broad, adorned by eleven Greek cities²⁶, and which, though secured on the land side by a wall across the Isthmus of thirty-seven furlongs, was altogether defenceless against a naval armament. Having effected this conquest, Antiochus set himself to repair Lyfimachia, which then lay in ruins at the neck of the Chersonesus. This city, which commemorated the name and transient empire of Lyfimachus, had been destroyed by the Thracians; and though repeatedly rebuilt, had been as often demolished by those barbarians, who looked on it with hostile jealousy as a bulwark raised to controul their savage independence. That no disturbance might be given to his workmen by those fierce tribes, Antiochus marched into their country, and repressed their perpetual tendency to aggression by making them feel the power of his arms.

His Thra-
cian expedi-
tion.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 1.
B. C. 196.

At his return to Lyfimachia, he was joined by the Roman commissioners. The king received them politely and hospitably, as the agents of a state with which he wished to live in peace; and civilities were continued on both sides, until a convention assembled for the discussion of public affairs. In this convention, Antiochus was assisted by the same ministers, whom he had before employed as ambassadors to the proconsul Quintius; the Roman commissioners not only from Thrace, but from Caria, were present; there came

Conferences
with the
Roman com-
missioners at
Lyfimachia.

²⁵ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 32. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 38. ²⁶ History of Ancient Greece, c. xxvii.

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deputies also from the besieged cities Smyrna and Lampfacus. The Romans did not dissemble, that the whole of the king's proceedings, since he had in the former year left Antioch, were highly offensive to their republic. They told him that he must instantly abandon the conquests that he had made belonging either to Egypt, their ancient ally, or to Macedon, of late become their tributary. Antiochus replied, that with Ptolemy the young king of Egypt, he had settled all differences, and betrothed to that prince his daughter Cleopatra. That as to the cities, in Caria or in Thrace, which were claimed either by Ptolemy or by Philip, they had been unjustly wrested from his ancestors, during the distractions of the Syrian monarchy. But he had determined to vindicate his undoubted rights as successor to Seleucus Nicator, and was now repairing Lyfimachia which belonged to the heirs of Seleucus by virtue of his victory over Lyfimachus. "That unfortunate city, once the seat of a great kingdom, had been levelled to the ground by hostile barbarians, unrelenting foes to every noble pursuit and every praiseworthy art. But he had resolved in spite of their blind fury, that Lyfimachia should resume its pristine splendour, and contain the palace of his younger son Seleucus, whose name alone asserted fair pretensions to dominion over Thrace." "The Romans," he thought, "were too busy with their remonstrances; he concerned not himself about their transactions in Italy, he knew not why they should interfere unseasonably in the affairs of the East." To this speech of the king, the deputies of Smyrna began to reply; but as they treated his pretensions with great freedom, and proceeded in strong terms to arraign his injustice, still addressing themselves to the Roman commissioners, Antiochus said, that he would no longer hear such language. Had it become necessary to discuss his interests before judges, he would have chosen for umpires not the Romans, but the Rhodians, an Asiatic power; and thus saying, he angrily dissolved the assembly."

²⁷ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 32. Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 39.

A report at this time reached Lyfimachia, which engrossed the attention of both parties, and hindered them from thinking of any future meeting. The intelligence was conveyed both to Antiochus and the Romans, that young Ptolemy had been cut off by conspiracy at Alexandria²³. We shall explain presently the cause of this rumour, which, being believed on both sides, was on both carefully concealed, each party hastening to turn such an important event to his advantage. Antiochus entrusted to his son Seleucus the affairs of Thrace, sent an embassy to the proconsul Quintius, and sailed with nearly his whole fleet towards Egypt, in his sanguine credulity considering the vacant throne as his own. At Patara in Lycia, he first learned the falsehood of the report: a mutiny among his sailors detained him on the coast of Pamphylia. To appease this sedition, and compensate for his own disappointment, he purposed to invade and plunder the rich island of Cyprus, then dependent on Egypt, but was overtaken by a tremendous storm near the coast of Cilicia, which destroyed the best part of his fleet. With the remainder, he sailed to Seleucia Pieria, and giving orders for the repair of his shattered ships, and the rebuilding of new ones in this and the neighbouring harbours of Syria and Phenicia, he conducted his army into winter quarters at Antioch²⁹.

The report of Ptolemy's murder originated in a conspiracy really formed against that prince by Scopas the Etolian, who, not contented with the immense riches which he had amassed in the service of Egypt, had the presumption to aspire to the throne. But as his imprudence equalled his audacity, the criminal design was discovered by Aristomenes the Acarnanian before it was ripe for execution; and Scopas was surprised, seized, and put to death with all his accomplices. The most noted of these accomplices was Dicæarchus, a sea commander formerly employed by Philip of Macedon, who, when he sailed against the unfortunate islands called Cyclades, erected

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Rumour of
the murder
of young
Ptolemy—
Antiochus'
proceedings
thereon.
Olymp.
cxlvi.
B. C. 196.

Real conspi-
racy against
Ptolemy—
Punishment
of its au-
thors.

²³ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 4.²⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 41.

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altars to impiety and injustice. He was the only one of the traitors who died by torture; a punishment never less odious than when inflicted on his monstrous crimes. Shortly after this transaction, the regency of Egypt celebrated the festival of Ptolemy's coronation before he entered his fifteenth year³⁰. It was performed with great magnificence; and Ptolemy thenceforward reigned in his own person, though the government continued to be carried on by the able and faithful Aristomenes³¹.

Quintius' popular proceedings in Greece.
Olymp. cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

During these proceedings in the East, Quintius remained with his army in Greece, and obtained more fame by his popular manners and equity, than he had formerly acquired by his great military success. The Romans were so much pleased with his behaviour, that they committed to his management whatever remained to be done for tranquillising that country, and rendering it subservient to their views. He had repressed the insolence of the Etolians; he had punished the crimes of the Bœotians; he had completely humbled Philip. But one enemy still remained in the bowels of Greece, without the extirpation of whom, the great work of liberty and security could not be deemed perfect. We have seen how Philip, in the midst of his difficulties, delivered the city of Argos as a deposit into the hands of Nabis the energetic tyrant of Sparta. Nabis, with a degree of treachery worthy of his character, instantly betrayed his trust, entered into a correspondence with Quintius, supplied that general with a body of troops to act against Macedon, and expected to retain Argos as the reward of his perfidy. To deliberate on this matter, the proconsul summoned a convention of the allies to Corinth. The Achæans, Athenians, Thessalians, in a word, all the states which had either preserved their independence, or which had

³⁰ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38. This was in the 9th from the death of Philopator, or the 9th year of the reign of *τὸν νεῦν*, "the young king Epiphanes;" according to the famous inscription taken from the French at

the surrender of Alexandria, and deposited with other monuments from Egypt in the court of the British Museum, June 1803. Of this more hereafter.

³¹ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 36—38.

been

been recently emancipated, appeared in this assembly by their deputies: even the Etolians, refractory as they always were, did not think fit to be absent. Quintius opened the business, by observing, that for the war carried on against Philip, the Greeks and Romans had each their separate motives, and had united in punishing a prince notoriously hostile to both. But the question, which he now submitted to their decision, was of a nature altogether different, since it concerned the Greeks only: would they allow Argos, a city ancient and noble, and in the very heart of Peloponnesus, to remain a prey to the tyrant Nabis? This was the subject which he had to propose for their deliberation, determined to be guided in his conduct by the opinion of the majority³¹. Upon this, the chief of the Athenian deputation rose up, and observed, that the generosity of Rome was beyond all praise, which, when its assistance was implored, had defended the Greeks against Philip, and which now, spontaneously and without sollicitation, was ready to defend them against a tyrant still more detestable. The orator then expressed his indignation against those who, affecting to pry into the secrets of futurity, were disposed rather to calumniate the Romans for supposed events, never likely to happen, than to express due gratitude for that beneficent and glorious revolution in the affairs of Greece, which had been already happily accomplished.

This latter observation, appearing to glance at the Etolians, called up Alexander the Isian, the principal deputy from that people, a man with whose character the reader is not unacquainted. He began by arraigning the Athenians, who, he said, had of late years debased themselves as much by a mean selfishness and the vileness of flattery, as their ancestors had formerly been illustrious for their generous and manly defence of the common interests of public and universal liberty. With regard to the present matter of deliberation, he knew that Argos was only to be taken from Nabis, that it might be given

The mean-
ness of the
Greeks and
selfish policy
of the Ro-
mans ex-
posed by
Alexander
the Etolian.

³¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 22.

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to the Achæans, who had formerly followed the standard of Philip, and who were to receive this boon for shamefully deserting that prince in the midst of his adversity; whereas the Etolians, who had always been allies to Rome, and who had never violated their engagements, were deprived of the promised rewards of their signal success against Macedon. In their league with the Romans against that power, it had been stipulated, that all conquered cities and territories should belong to the Etolians; that money, prisoners, moveable property alone, should fall to the share of the Romans: yet that usurping people, while they flattered their allies with a vain shadow of freedom, had occupied with their own garrisons Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, places which, in the hands of Philip, they had called the fetters of Greece. Nabis and Argos were only mere pretences for employing their armies abroad, until they had gratified their utmost views of ambition. Let them withdraw their legions to Italy: the Etolians undertook, that Nabis should either voluntarily relinquish Argos, or be compelled by force of arms to submit to the consenting will of Greece³³.

Answered by
Aristænus
pretor of the
Achæans.

This speech of Alexander, less absurd than unseasonable, was answered with much indignation by Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans. Forbid it, he exclaimed, O Jupiter! and Argive Juno! that a city under your immemorial protection should ever become the impious prize of an ignoble combat between the blood-thirsty tyrant Nabis, and murderous Etolian robbers! The sea, interposed between us and Etolia, is not sufficient for our defence. How wretched would be our lot, were those unprincipled ruffians to plant themselves in the heart of Peloponnesus? The common interest requires, that, before the Roman armies are withdrawn, not only Argos should be rescued from the hands of Nabis, but measures of the utmost vigour adopted for restraining in future the insufferable enormities of the Etolians. Universal acclamations from all sides of the assembly justified the

³³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 23.

strong language of Aristænus, and rendered it altogether unnecessary for Quintius to utter a single word in defence of the proceedings of his country. War against Nabis was decreed by general consent: the deputies returned home to hasten their respective levies; Quintius ordered his lieutenants to march from Elatæa; he sent an ambassador even into Etolia, requiring that state, conformably to the public resolution of the confederates, to raise its contingent of troops for the support of the common cause³⁴.

Though this requisition was not complied with, the army was one of the most numerous that ever entered Peloponnesus. It proceeded by hasty marches to Argos, and encamped within four miles of the city. The government of the place had been entrusted by Nabis to his son-in-law Pythagoras, who was also his wife's brother; for a complication of domestic ties was thought necessary by Nabis to fix a brave and able man in his service. Such was Pythagoras; whose fidelity and vigilance were put to the test, even before he encountered the assault of the Romans. At the bare rumour of their approach, Damocles, a young Argive, aspired to the fame of liberating his country without the aid of strangers. His design was discovered by Pythagoras, who sent one of his guards to summon him from the midst of his associates. Damocles, perceiving that the conspiracy was discovered, encouraged his companions to die with arms in their hands, rather than suffer, unrevenged, the tortures ready to be inflicted on them. They followed him to the market place, summoning the Argives to liberty. None obeyed the invitation, such was the fear of Pythagoras: the conspirators were overpowered; several slain; many thrown into confinement, of whom a part escaped in the following night, by ropes let down from their prison walls, and sought refuge in the Roman camp. The fugitives affirmed to Quintius that their insurrection would have been crowned with success, had his army been nearer to Argos, and would not

Wretched
state of Ar-
gos.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

³⁴ Id. c. 24.

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even now be without effect, if he advanced in force to the walls. Quintius therefore sent forward a detachment of light armed troops and cavalry, to a place of exercise called Cylabaris, from the tomb of an ancient king of that name, only three hundred paces from the city. But instead of a rising of the townsmen in his favour, a party of the garrison made a spirited sally from the gates. The Lacedæmonians, however, after a stout combat, were repelled, and Quintius encamped the same day on the field of battle. Having waited twenty-four hours longer, without perceiving any symptoms of commotion in the place, he called a council to deliberate whether he should proceed to an assault. Most of the allies strongly urged that measure, but Aristænus, pretor of the Achæans, was anxious to prevent the destruction of a place, which he hoped might soon be reunited to the Achæan league. Quintius also was unwilling to sully his fair laurels by the ruin of so ancient and so venerable a city. It was determined therefore to attack the tyrant in Laconia itself, on the presumption that when his own kingdom became the seat of a desolating war, Argos could not long be retained in subjection by him³⁵.

War in Laconia against the tyrant Nabis. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

For making this attack, by sea as well as land, the proconsul called his brother Lucius, with forty gallies, from the harbours of Acarnania: half that number of ships was brought by Sosilaus, admiral of the Rhodians: Eumenes, emulating the active zeal of his father Attalus, sailed with ten stout gallies to the Cyclades, accompanied by more than thirty vessels of a smaller size. While this armament invaded the sea coast of Laconia, and gained possession of one harbour after another, Quintius conducted his army towards Sparta, in which city Nabis had fortified himself by new bulwarks. His mercenaries consisted of outlaws, fugitives, emancipated slaves, and devoted bands of unprincipled Cretans; for with Crete, the tyrant had long maintained an intimate correspondence, and even

³⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 35. & seq.

gained

gained possession of several districts in that island, which supplied him with instruments the fittest for his purposes. With upwards of twenty thousand of such troops, still more formidable by their quality than their numbers, Nabis had embodied reluctant crowds of armed rustics from all parts of Laconia; and his son-in-law Pythagoras, equally distinguished by zeal and enterprize, had contrived, after the proconsul's departure from Argos, to drain with safety the garrison of that place, and to throw himself with three thousand men into Sparta. In advancing thither, the proconsul, contrary to his expectation, found the narrow roads unoccupied. But this was the tyrant's artifice for throwing him off his guard, and which so far succeeded, that the Romans were surprised by a sudden sally, while they took up ground for their encampment. In moving from the northern to the southern side of the city, they were again attacked with great fury; and though both sallies were repelled with considerable loss to the assailants, the boldness of such enterprizes taught Quintius what obstinate resistance he must expect in his endeavours to make himself master of the place. He therefore fixed his camp at Amyclæ, a few miles south of Sparta, and after desolating that beautiful and rich district, directed his ravages against the valley under mount Taygetus, and extended them from thence to the sea. These movements brought him into the neighbourhood of his brother, who was employed in the siege of Gythium, the principal harbour of Laconia. The place had been defended with the utmost obstinacy, and still made such vigorous resistance, that Quintius allowed the garrison to capitulate. The news of the capture of Gythium, and that his soldiers had been granted their lives, turned the thoughts of Nabis towards peace³⁶.

Upon demand made by a herald, he was allowed to send ambassadors to the allied camp. He sent only his son-in-law Pythagoras; and with one sole request, that he might be admitted to a conference

Conference
of Quintius
with Nabis.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

³⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 27, & seq.

with

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with the Roman general. The place appointed was a plain, overlooked on both sides by rising grounds, on which select bodies of troops from either party took their station. Nabis came attended by a few of his life guards: the proconsul was accompanied by his brother Lucius, by king Eumenes, by Sosilaus admiral of the Rhodians, and by Aristæus the Achæan pretor. Nabis began by accusing the Romans of inconstancy, in having formerly accepted him for an ally, and, without the smallest offence on his part, now treating him as an enemy. You formerly called me king, I am now denominated a tyrant! because, forsooth, I have given liberty to slaves, and divided small portions of land to the poor who wanted bread. Do not, Quintius, estimate the Spartan institutions by your own. You Romans hold the multitude in no account, and consider the many as made for the conveniency of the few. "Lycurgus was of a different mind; and by equalising possessions and honours, sought to diffuse patriotism and valour through the community at large. Yet, by whatever title you may call me, I am the same man with whom you before treated amicably; nor have my circumstances, since that time, undergone the smallest alteration." In this speech Nabis played the sophist; but in the character of sophist, Quintius was not to be outdone by him. Accordingly, in making his reply, the Roman affirmed that his former transaction with Nabis ought not to be considered in the light of a treaty, since no friendly engagement could take place between the deliverers of Greece from slavery, and the fiercest and most sanguinary of usurpers. The Romans had not crossed the seas to free from the dominion of Philip, Jassus, Bargylæ, and other places almost unknown in history, and at the same time to leave at the mercy of Nabis, Argos and Lacedæmon, two illustrious luminaries of Peloponnesus. They meant to render their work complete, and to punish the violator of every right most essential to society, who had the impudence to justify his enormities by the misapplied example of Lycurgus; an example preposterous in

the mouth of one who had filled the best regulated commonwealths with rapine and murder; who had usurped Messenè, a city in alliance with Rome; and who, infesting by his piracies the seas round the Malian promontory, had rendered them more hostile to the Romans than were the coasts of Macedon in the time of open war with Philip. By two things chiefly a state of hostility with any nation is manifested; a co-operation with its declared foes, and the commission of injuries against its allies; in both respects Nabis was criminal, since he had assisted Philip, and possessed himself of Messenè by force of arms³⁷.

When Quintius finished his discourse, Aristæus, pretor of the Achæans, affecting compassion for Nabis, exhorted him to avert approaching ruin, by relinquishing his unjust acquisitions, and abdicating his illegal authority. To determine him to this latter resolution, he mentioned several examples of usurpers, not less odious than himself, who by a return to the paths of rectitude, had, after divesting themselves of their ill-gotten power, lived to old age, beloved and honoured by their fellow citizens. Nabis said, in reply, that he was ready to meet the wish of the Romans, and to withdraw his garrison from Argos. As to the other conditions required of him, he desired to have them in writing, that he might enjoy leisure to discuss them with his friends³⁸.

This being readily granted, the proconsul, in the meantime, summoned a council of his allies. They unanimously exhorted him to persevere in hostility, until the complete destruction of the enemy, since the war ought never to have been undertaken, unless it were to be brought to this issue, because any accommodation that could be entered into with Nabis, would only tend to sanction his execrable tyranny. But Quintius had other views. The difficulties which he had encountered in gaining Gythium, made him sensible of the waste of time and labour necessary for the conquest of Sparta.

Different views of Quintius and of his allies — his address in bringing them over to his sentiments.

³⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 32.

³⁸ Ibid. c. 33.

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Villius, besides, had just returned from Antiochus, with accounts of the hostile dispositions and powerful preparations of that prince; if the Roman forces were occupied in a tedious blockade, what was to hinder Antiochus, who had again invaded Thrace, from passing southward, and after he had either disarmed the resentment of Philip, or perhaps renewed his friendship with that ancient ally, from entering Greece, and possessing himself of its strongholds? These and other arguments urged by Quintius proved ineffectual; his allies continued eager for prosecuting the war against Nabis to the utmost extremity, and for undertaking without delay the siege of Sparta. Seeing it impossible to alter this resolution by direct means, Quintius had recourse to that oblique dexterity, of which he was a consummate master. With my hearty concurrence, he said, you shall attack Sparta, and destroy the tyrant in his capital. But you will consider that, though we have advanced our army to the walls, there has been no commotion, no symptom of revolt in the city. The place, strong in itself, and defended by a numerous, firm, and well provided garrison, must be conquered by a long and difficult siege. We have desolated the circumjacent country; our provisions must be brought from a distance; great expence must be incurred for the weapons and engines requisite in so arduous an enterprise. The winter, besides, is at hand, which will augment all our difficulties; do you therefore write home to your respective states, to know what supplies of money and corn they can conveniently furnish, before we engage in an undertaking which, if once begun, it will be disgraceful to relinquish. Quintius thus recalled the several allies to a sense of their domestic evils; the emptiness of their public treasuries, the slowness and uncertainty of private contributions, the supine negligence of many who remained at home, together with their invidious misrepresentations of those who served abroad; above all, the extreme difficulty of procuring any thing like unanimity and concord

cord among men in the tumultuary ferment of newly recovered freedom³⁹. C H A P.
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These considerations wrought such a sudden change in their minds, that they requested the Roman general to adjust matters with Nabis as he judged most convenient. Accordingly, Quintius granted a truce of six months to the tyrant, on condition that he should evacuate the Argive and Messenian territories; restore to their several countries all prisoners and deserters; surrender all his shipping, except a few boats; divest himself of his possessions in Crete, and no longer maintain any connection with that island; deliver five hostages such as the Romans thought proper to name, and among them Armenes his only son; and that he should pay down one hundred talents immediately, and stipulate to pay an annual contribution of fifty talents for the term of eight years. To these articles it was added, that the tyrant should restore their wives and children and effects to the exiled Lacedæmonians. Of these unhappy men there were many now following the Roman camp; and among them Agefipolis, who, if the ancient government had subsisted, would have been one of the rightful kings of Sparta: their wives, whom Nabis had subjected to the embraces of his ruffians and slaves, were by this treaty to be recovered by them, with the express condition, however, that no woman against her own will, should be sent back to her husband⁴⁰.

When the harsh terms of peace were made known at Sparta, they enflamed the tyrant's partizans with all the madness of anger. Nabis himself could not endure the thoughts of surrendering his shipping, and thereby depriving himself of the hopes of recovering the maritime districts, which he had found by experience to be the nursery of men fittest for his purpose. When he perceived the violence of the popular current, he determined still to augment its force, by loading the treaty with many false conditions of far greater rigour. The

*Assault of
Sparta.—
Resisted by
setting the
city on fire.*

³⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 34. & seq.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid.*

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multitude encouraged him to spurn such a disgraceful peace, as worse than the most disastrous war: "fortune would favour their bravery; before Sparta could be taken, Antiochus and the Etolians would come to their assistance, and enable them to repel an enemy equally inexorable and insatiable." The tumult and hurry of men running to mount the bulwarks, first taught the proconsul that all thoughts of accommodation were laid aside. Several days were consumed by him in examining the assailable parts of the city; in repressing some furious sallies; and in drawing to his camp the forces that had been employed against the sea-coast of Laconia. When his whole army was reunited, it did not fall short of fifty thousand men. As delay in the present state of his affairs, might be attended with great inconvenience, he determined on making a general assault, and attacking the city on all sides at once, by escalade, by fire, and by batteries. His men gained access into the place; they cut down the Lacedæmonians who opposed them in the streets; Nabis' mercenaries were repelled, and the tyrant giving up all for lost, was only anxious about providing for his personal safety. But in this emergency, his dauntless son-in-law Pythagoras, retaining all his presence of mind and activity, raised a skilful conflagration in such fit places, that the Romans who had proceeded farthest, were in danger of being intercepted by it, while those left behind were prevented from advancing to their rescue. Under these circumstances, Quintius founded a retreat and relinquished his hold of a city which he wished to take, not to destroy⁴¹.

Nabis obtains peace.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 195.

During the following days, the besieged were kept in such perpetual alarm that it seemed adviseable to admit the propositions that had formerly been rejected. To intimate this disposition, Pythagoras, who to the fiercest courage added the utmost meanness of submission, whenever it suited his interest, came to crave an audience of the proconsul. He was at first commanded to quit the camp: and

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 37—39.

only heard at length in consequence of his prostrating himself on the ground at Quintius' feet with tears of the humblest supplication. In this manner he obtained peace on the terms originally proposed; the money and hostages were immediately sent to the Roman general ⁴².

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About the same time that Sparta thus submitted, Argos obtained its liberty. The Argives had been apprised of the danger of the former city, and the ruin ready to fall on Nabis. Pythagoras had withdrawn the best part of the garrison that bridled them. At the summons of their townsman Archippus, they flew to arms, and overwhelmed the Lacedæmonians still left in the citadel; but even in the midst of tumult and blood, respected the obligations of gratitude, by dismissing unhurt Timocrates, an Achæan exile of Pellenè, whom Pythagoras set over them, because he had conducted himself mildly in the exercise of his authority ⁴³. After this successful expedition in the Peloponnesus, Quintius prepared to conduct his army northwards to their former quarters at Elatæa in Phocis. His brother Lucius, king Eumenes, and Sosilaus admiral of the Rhodians joined their respective fleets.

Argos recovers liberty. Olymp. cxlvi. 2. B. C. 195.

In marching towards Phocis, the Romans stopped at Argos, and beheld in that neighbourhood the Nemean games, which had been intermitted at the preceding period of celebration on account of the servitude of the Argive capital. Quintius presided in the assembly at the desire of the grateful Argives, and was himself, as the author of their liberties, the most admired part of the spectacle. During his winter quarters at Elatæa, the proconsul's pavilion was converted into a tribunal of political justice. Innumerable references were made to him with respect to the internal arrangements of the several states, as well as concerning their disputed interests with each other; and all parties retired from his presence with a profound sense of his sagacity and integrity. Early in the spring, he summoned to Corinth a conven-

Popular proceedings of Quintius. Olymp. cxlvi. 2, 3. B. C. 195—194.

⁴² Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 40.⁴³ Id. *ibid.*

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tion of deputies from his allies. To this assembly, more crowded than on any former occasion, he explained his principles and the drift of his past proceedings; and, if he did not really feel the deepest concern for the happiness of Greece, he had at least the address to persuade his audience, that this was his prevailing sentiment. While he detailed those maxims of sound policy, which he might have learned from the ancestors of the people to whom he spoke, expatiated on the value of equal laws and impartial government, nicely discriminated between liberty and licentiousness, and above all, exhorted the Greeks to concord, which he said would render them invincible, such paternal admonitions drew tears of joy from the multitude: Quintius sympathised with their feelings, and his own tears often interrupted his discourse. He then told them, that before he sailed for Italy, the Roman garrisons should evacuate Chalcis and Demetrias; and that, before the convention was dissolved, they should see his soldiers descend from the citadel to which he pointed, that Corinth might return, as a free commonwealth, into the bosom of the Achæan league⁴⁴. He concluded by requesting, that all Romans who had been sold as captives into Greece, during the late Punic war, might be ransomed by the several states in which they were found, and sent to him into Thessaly before his embarkation. The hearers thanked him with acclamations for reminding them of so just and pious a duty: and they afterwards performed it, dear as it cost them. In Achaia alone, the expence of redemption amounted to a hundred talents⁴⁵, at five hundred drachmas, about sixteen pounds, for each individual. The aggregate therefore of Roman captives in that country alone, was not less than twelve hundred: how great then must have been their number throughout the Greek states collectively⁴⁶.?

His progress
through
Greece pre-

The acclamations of the assembly were renewed at beholding the foreign garrison on its march from the Acro-Corinthus. Quintius

⁴⁴ Plutarch in Flamin.⁴⁵ About 20,000*l*.⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 50.

soon overtook this body of men in their way to join the army in Phocis. He there gave orders to his lieutenants to proceed with their respective forces through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum, the harbour nearest to Italy, at which his brother Lucius was commanded to have the transports in readiness. While proper measures were carrying into execution for ransoming and collecting the Roman captives, and for conveying them together with the troops, treasures, and hostages across the Hadriatic, the proconsul made a progress through all the northern states of Greece, not excepting the island of Eubæa, and every where performed the meritorious offices expected from him. In Eubæa he withdrew the Roman garrisons from Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria; assembled deputies from the several cities in the island; reconciled their differences with each other; and made the necessary arrangements for enabling them, as a free people, to resist the threatened encroachments of Antiochus. With the same views, he visited all the cities on the continent, and every where placed the government in the hands of those who had most interest in its safety⁴⁷. He then joined his fleet and army at Oricum; and, after an absence of nearly four years, returned to Rome to the enjoyment of his well-merited triumph. In this splendid procession, he displayed the golden crowns, the marble statues, and sculptured vases, which were partly the offerings of allied commonwealths, and partly the spoils of conquered enemies; the noble hostages who followed his car, among whom were Demetrius the son of Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis; the great quantities of precious metals which either in coin or bullion were to be consigned to the public treasury; above all, the grateful multitudes of ransomed Romans, whose heads, shaved bare, indicated the miserable condition of slavery from which he had rescued them⁴⁸. The applauses of the multitude were unbounded; but a proof still more important of public favour happened shortly afterwards at the election of new consuls in the room of Lucius Cor-

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vious to his withdrawing his army from that country.

His reception and unrivalled credit at Rome. Olymp. cxlvi. 3. B. C. 194.

⁴⁷ Plutarch in Flamin.⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 52.

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⁴⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 10.

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Rome the Seat of Negotiation.—Causes of the War with Antiochus.—Its instigators; Eumenes, Hannibal, and Thoas.—Affairs of Greece.—Philopæmen's War of Stratagem with Nabis.—Opposite Counsels given to Antiochus by Hannibal and Thoas.—He arrives in Greece.—His Transactions there.—Battle of Thermopylæ.—He returns to Ephesus.—His measures for Defence.—Sea-fight off Corycus.—A Rhodian Fleet captured by Treachery.—Pergamus invaded.—The Rhodians and Romans intercept Antiochus' Succours under Hannibal and Apollonius.—Sea-fights of Eurymedon and Myonnesus.—The Scipios in Asia.—Romans visit Troy.—Decisive Battle of Magnesia.—Conditions of Peace with Antiochus.—General Arrangements with regard to Greek Cities in Asia.—Manlius' Expedition against the Gauls.—Siege of Ambracia.—Humiliation of the Etolians.

BY relinquishing their hold of Greece, and drawing home their legions, the Romans adorned their laurels with the fair renown of moderation and clemency. Their capital became thenceforward the seat of embassies from allies whom they had protected, enemies whom they had conquered and pardoned, republics reinstated by them in the enjoyment of liberty, and kings, who either courted their friendship, or who, notwithstanding some grounds of quarrel, still hoped to avert their hostility. Of the last description was Antiochus; on whose part, Menippus and Hegefionax, two Syrian Greeks, appeared in the senate. That council having heard the ministers of other powers, with none of whom there was any difficulty, committed the discussion with the Syrians, as involving matters of a more intricate nature, to Quintius Flamininus, and the same persons who had assisted him in settling the affairs of Greece. These persons were empowered to answer the ambassadors of the king in the way

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Rome the
general seat
of negotia-
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Olymp.
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XX. the commonwealth.

Her trans-
actions with
ambassadors
from Syria.

In the conference held for this purpose, Menippus declared¹, that he knew not of any peculiarity that perplexed the object of his mission. Between nations, there were only three kinds of transactions or treaties; the first, when having waged an unfortunate war, the vanquished obtained peace by submitting to the will of the victors: the second, when the struggle being undecisive and its issue doubtful, matters in dispute were adjusted, by mutual consent, on the footing either of ancient right, or of actual possession: the third kind of treaty was altogether simple, when powers entered into friendship, that had never before been at variance; and this last was the relation in which Antiochus stood to the Romans. To this Quintius replied, "since, by enumerating and dividing treaties, you shew a wish to reason correctly, I also will propose distinctly, the only alternative, on which any amicable engagement between us can take place. If Antiochus expects that the Romans should not interfere in the affairs of Asia, he must withdraw his garrisons from Europe: while he occupies a single post in the West, he must not be surprised that the Romans should be watchful to defend their old allies in the East, and earnest to acquire new ones. Hegesionax, upon this, observed, that the condition was unequal. The Romans could not justly lay claim to any portion of Asia; but his master, by right of inheritance from the First Seleucus, conqueror of Lyfimachus, was legitimate lord of Thrace and other European countries. His possessions in the Thracian Chersonesus and neighbouring districts, he held by another, and, if possible, still more respectable title. He had rescued them from hostile Barbarians, repaired their ruined cities, and restored them from gloomy desolation to the splendour of social and civilised life. It concerned his honour, to retain dominions so honourably acquired." Quintius replied calmly, "Since honour is the main

¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 57. & seq.

consideration,

consideration, as it ought surely to be with so great a king, would not this object be attained better by emancipating all Greek cities, wherever situate, rather than by reducing any of them into reluctant vassalage. If Antiochus' glory requires that he should assert a dominion, which, though the great founder of his house claimed, none of his nearer progenitors ever really held, how much more is the glory of Rome interested, after delivering from the yoke of Philip the Greeks inhabiting Europe, to rescue the Greeks in Asia also, from oppression and slavery. The Eolians and Ionians did not cross the seas, that they might be slaves to eastern kings, but that they might propagate and diffuse a race of enlightened freemen through the finest regions of the earth." The Syrians were not empowered, they said, to make concessions, by which the empire of their master would be lessened. Next day, in company with other foreign deputies, they were introduced into the senate-house. Quintus made report of the conference which he had held with them; and the ambassadors, perceiving the strong effect produced by his discourse, especially among the Greek strangers present, entreated the senators not to proceed at once to extremities. "The peace of the world was the question; rather than be the means of disturbing it, Antiochus would submit to any reasonable compromise." In consequence of this declaration, the senate sent to him Sulpicius, Villius, and Ælius, the same persons who, in the preceding year, had treated with him at Lyfimachia².

Meanwhile, his generals carried on the sieges of Smyrna and Lampfacus, the former of which was the main bulwark of the Ionian commonwealths; and the latter, of those near the Hellespont. The king, in person, was employed in an expedition against the warlike Pisidians, of all nations in Lesser Asia the most reluctant to the Syrian yoke. He had exerted himself with boldness and ability to consolidate and extend the dominion of his ancestors; but, besides the too

Causes of the war with Antiochus. I. Eumenes, his views. Olymp. cxlvi. 4. B. C. 193.

² Tit. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 57. & seq.

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natural enmity between great neighbouring powers, separated from each other only by the precarious independance of Greece, three causes concurred to frustrate all amicable negociation between him and the Romans. Eumenes II. of Pergamus saw that his own ruin was at hand, unless the great western republic were embroiled with the ambitious king of Syria. He therefore spared no pains to effectuate that purpose. On the supposition that the conflict were doubtful, he thought it better for him to provoke war, with the Romans on his side, than to fight, as it must soon become necessary for him, single-handed, against so mighty a potentate. But he was confident that Rome would prevail in the contest, by which means he hoped not only to save his own kingdom, but to share the spoils of his great hereditary foe³.

II. Hannibal.—His proceedings and plans of vengeance.

While Eumenes thus counteracted pacification with the eagerness of fear and interest, Hannibal, actuated by the fiercer passions of hatred and revenge, endeavoured to infuse them, in their full force, into the soul of Antiochus. Shortly after the battle of Zama, this extraordinary man had been raised to the first magistracy of Carthage. Of this authority conferred on him by the multitude, he availed himself to reform the abuses, which, as mentioned on a former occasion⁴, had crept into the administration of police, justice, and the finances; and which had grown inveterate through the combination of a few powerful families to compensate by rapacity their expences incurred by bribery, and to traduce and punish as criminals all whom they had reason to fear as accusers. Until the election of Hannibal to the pretorship, all offices of power or profit had circulated among the members of this junto: they managed the treasury, exercised the function of state inquisitors; and tried all causes, either of private right, or public delinquency. Their dilapidations of the revenues, screened by the perversion of justice, rendered the imposition of new taxes necessary for discharging the

³ Conf. Polybius, l. iii. c. 7. & c. 32. & l. xviii. c. 22.

⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 547.

annual tribute payable by treaty to Rome. Hannibal, in virtue of an ancient law, empowering the first magistrate, when his sentiments were at variance with those of inferior members of government, to appeal to the people at large, summoned a popular assembly; and with great benefit to the commonwealth, introduced a fair rotation in the judiciary power, and remedied the other grievances long felt and lamented. But, by these measures, he so much exasperated his adversaries, that they had recourse to the Romans, accusing him of a design to excite a new war, and of having entered, with this view, into a secret correspondence with Antiochus. The Romans, hostilely disposed towards the Syrian king, and in whom the bare name of Hannibal was sufficient to create alarm, consulted their passions rather than their dignity, and dispatching ambassadors to Carthage, interposed with mischievous effect to Hannibal in the domestic dissensions of that state. The object of their persecution, to avoid the snares of his enemies, fled to Cercina, a small island on the coast of Byzantium, and embarked there in a vessel bound for Tyre. In this venerable metropolis of Carthage, Hannibal was received with the fond admiration of a parent for an illustrious and long absent son. From Tyre he sailed to Antioch, and was honourably entertained by Seleucus, son to Antiochus, then celebrating the annual games at Daphné. He remained not long in this soft retreat of voluptuous indolence, but hastened to join Antiochus, speedily expected on the coast of Ephesus, to deliberate concerning peace or war with the Romans. It is unnecessary to add, that the appearance of Hannibal in the council determined him to the bolder side of the alternative⁵.

The third circumstance which precipitated hostilities, also rendered Greece the immediate scene of conflict. Through their embassy bearing remonstrances to the senate⁶, the Etolians had obtained none of those advantages to which they pretended. Their wrongs were indignantly resented by their pretor Thoas, a man rash, arro-

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III. In-
trigues of
Thoas, the
Etolian
pretor.

⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 46. & seq.

⁶ See above.

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gant, impetuous, yet uniting, with boiling courage, the basest and most unprincipled artifice. Thoas had distinguished himself among his discontented countrymen, for virulent invectives against the Romans; and being now vested with authority in Etolia, laboured to communicate his own rancorous passions to the heads of neighbouring states. With this view, he dispatched at once three embassies; to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, to Philip of Macedon, and to Antiochus. To Nabis he observed, that, as the Roman armies were withdrawn, a fair opportunity invited him to recover his jurisdiction over Argos and the maritime districts of Laconia. He admonished Philip, that it was now in his power to obtain what he had often in vain prayed for, the assistance of Antiochus against Rome: and to Antiochus, already stimulated to war by Hannibal, he declared, by a most daring lie, that he had made sure of Nabis and of Philip, and that both these princes, as well as the Etolians, were eager to co-operate strenuously against the common enemy¹.

Nabis de-
feats Philo-
pœmen at
sea.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 1.
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The first effect of these machinations appeared in the proceedings of Nabis, who, uneasy at being excluded from the sea, the source of his former profits, began to employ both force and fraud for regaining possession of his harbours. Into the principal of them, Gythium, the Achæans threw a garrison, thinking it their duty, after the departure of the Romans, to protect against the designs of Nabis the independence of the Laconian coast. The tyrant prepared to besiege the place; and, to intercept succours to it by sea, equipped three galleys with some armed boats and cutters, for he had been recently compelled, as we have seen, to surrender the whole of his piratical fleet. Shortly before the siege of Gythium, Philopœmen had been re-elected to the pretorship of Achaia, an office which he had often discharged with equal ability and patriotism. Alarmed for the safety of his countrymen shut up in Gythium, he hastily put to sea, with a few small vessels, and only one ship of force, now

¹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 12.

old and crazy. She was commanded by Tiso of Patræ, for Philopœmen, a landsman brought up in the heart of Arcadia, professed not any skill in maritime affairs. At the first shock with Nabis, Tiso's galley was disabled, and taken with her whole crew. This unlucky event at once decided the battle. The Achæans fled dispersedly: Philopœmen escaped to Patræ in an advice boat, declaring, it is said, that Nabis should not long enjoy his triumph⁸.

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The tyrant's success, however, only redoubled his diligence. Part of his army was drawn from Gythium to the neighbourhood of Bœa, a harbour on the inmost recess of the Laconic gulph, from which central situation the Spartans might hasten seasonably, wherever danger threatened. Philopœmen was duly informed of this movement. He learned also, that for want of leathern tents, the detachment sent towards Bœa was lodged in huts composed chiefly of twigs and reeds. Upon this intelligence, he embarked his light infantry in small boats on an obscure creek of Argolis, and from thence creeping secretly along shore, landed behind a promontory near Bœa: there, he waited darkness to execute his designs. Through unfrequented paths he advanced to the enemy's station in the night: the reedy huts, thickly covered with leaves, were thrown into a conflagration: the Spartans were defeated by their own fears, before they felt the swords of their adversaries; only a miserable remnant escaped towards the larger camp at Gythium. The provoking intelligence brought to him, made Nabis prosecute the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. Philopœmen hastened northwards, and, until the Achæans should, according to orders, advance in full force to Tegea, contented himself with ravaging Laconia, particularly the district Tripolis, on the Arcadian frontier. Having joined his army, by this time assembled at Tegea, he purposed to lead it immediately against Sparta, as the best expedient either for saving Gythium, or compensating its loss. In returning southward, he

War of stratagem between Nabis and Philopœmen. Olymp. cxlvii. 1. B. C. 192.

⁸ Plutarch in Philopœm. Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 26.

made

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made his first halt at Caryæ; and on the day of his arrival there, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of this event, he proceeded towards Sparta, his troops, on account of the narrow road, forming a train five miles long. In this condition he beheld an army in front, occupying a strong post called Pyrrhus' camp, well fitted to obstruct his progress; for Nabis, after securing possession of Gythium, had hastened to the defence of his ravaged territory and threatened capital. Under these circumstances Philopœmen, with a presence of mind the result of habitual reflection on all possible emergencies, seized a rocky eminence overhanging a small rivulet, from which, in their present situation, both armies must supply themselves with water. Night intervened to prevent an immediate battle. Philopœmen profited of the interval to post a select body of targeteers in a concealed hollow. Next morning, part of the enemy's light forces advanced, as had been foreseen, to dispute possession of the watering place. Philopœmen opposed them with the same description of troops, which engaging them in a desultory combat, drew them towards his ambush of targeteers, which surprised and almost entirely destroyed them. To avail himself of the apprehensions with which this disaster was likely to fill the tyrant, he sent a crafty and fearless Cretan, alike prepared to die or to deceive, who pretending to be a deserter, apprised Nabis, that the enemy purposed to intercept his return southward, by occupying the narrow defiles near the Eurotas, and that Philopœmen entertained hopes of stirring Sparta to rebellion. This intelligence made Nabis decamp; the Achæans so much harassed his retreat, that it became a disorderly flight: to gain more swiftness, the Lacedæmonians threw away their spears, which falling on their iron points, formed a sort of rampart across the road, and casually aided the escape of the routed army into the woods on either side for shelter. Nabis, with a few followers, reached Sparta; and Philopœmen doubted not but the other fugitives would also attempt to enter that city at the approach of darkness,

darkness, after skulking all day time in the woods. Accordingly he beset the roads leading to Sparta from Pharis and Barboſthenes. The Lacedæmonians thus fell into his hands, unarmed: scarcely a fourth part of them regained their capital. Philopœmen ravaged Laconia thirty days without seeing an enemy? CHAP.
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Meanwhile the Romans, apprised of the commotions excited by Thoas in Greece, sent thither the pretor Atilius with twenty-four gallies; Quintius Flaminius also appeared at the head of a Roman commission, that the force of arms might be supported by the weight of authority. Having found the Achæans disposed to his wish, Quintius proceeded to Athens, to Chalcis, to various cities in Theſſaly; he delayed to visit Etolia, but sent thither Athenian deputies, now most subservient slaves to the interests of Rome. Before this time, Thoas had been succeeded in the pretorship by Damocritus, a man, if possible, more insolent. Thoas himself had just returned from Antiochus, in company with the king's ambassador Menippus. This Minister boasted to the Etolians his master's greatness; his Macedonian phalanx, his Persian cavalry; above all, his immense treasures, sufficient at once to enrich his Greek friends, and to buy his Roman enemies. Against such pleasing language, the Athenians employed their eloquence in vain. All that could be obtained through their intercession, and that of a few dispassionate men in the assembly, was, that the Roman commissioners, if they came to Naupactus, its place of meeting, should be admitted to an audience. Upon hearing of this resolution, Quintius with his colleagues proceeded thither from Corinth, but it was only to witness the complete triumph of their enemies. Without adjourning the meeting, or allowing the commissioners time to depart, Damocritus procured a decree for inviting Antiochus into Greece, that he might decide all matters in dispute between the Etolians and the Romans. When Quintius asked for some explanations of the decree, and a copy of it in writ-

Antiochus
invited into
Greece, and
Roman
commission-
ers insulted.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

* Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28, & seq.

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Demetrias
taken by
stratagem.

ing, Damocritus fiercely answered, that the Etolians would fully fully explain themselves on the banks of the Tiber¹⁰.

The commissioners returned to Corinth; and the Etolians, by means of their secret council, concerted measures well calculated to justify their haughtiness. They aimed at nothing less than making themselves masters at once of Demetrias, of Chalcis, and of Sparta. The first of these enterprizes was completely successful, and its success originated in a transaction which had happened at Demetrias when Quintius recently visited that stronghold of Thessaly. The Magnetes, its inhabitants, whom the Romans had liberated from the yoke of Macedon, were alarmed by a report that the same people, who had been the authors of their liberty, were desirous of reducing them once more under their former master. The report had been raised by the Romans themselves, who, on account of the war that threatened them from Antiochus, had every reason to court Philip. When Eurylochus, therefore, the pretor of the Magnetes, acknowledged that he had heard such a rumour with equal resentment and sorrow, Quintius did not enter into any explicit justification: he only recalled the benefits conferred through his means on the Greeks in general, and particularly on the Magnetes; he desired them to compare the state in which he found, with that in which he left them: before his arrival in Thessaly, they had not only a Macedonian garrison but a royal palace in their capital: to what purpose had he compelled Philip to quit his proud princely abode, if it was once more, by the consent of the Magnetes themselves, to be occupied by a new and more despotic monarch? Eurylochus replied with vivacity, that it seemed to him of little importance whether his countrymen obeyed Antiochus or the Romans, since at present all their proceedings depended on the arbitrary will of the latter. Quintius, at this remark, raised his hands in a transport of indignation, calling heaven to witness the ingratitude and perfidy of the Magnetes. Here

¹⁰ Polybius, l. iii. c. 3. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 32. & seq.

Zeno, a man of great power in Demetrias, and highly acceptable to the Romans, interposed, imploring the commissioners not to impute to the community at large the rashness and madness of an individual. That his countrymen owed every thing most dear to them, to Quintius, and the Roman people; and, he was sure, would rather plunge daggers into their own breasts, than violate their fidelity to such illustrious benefactors. His sentiments re-echoed from all parts of the assembly, which testified such resentment against Eurylochus, that he secretly made his escape, and sought refuge among the Etolians".

This people, ever vigilant to profit by occurrences, founded on the flight of the chief magistrate of Demetrias their design for surprising that city. In consequence of applications from him by letters, his friends and relatives entered the assembly of their commonwealth in fordid habits, and with every badge of supplication, intreating the people at large, and many individuals in particular, to remit their anger against Eurylochus, and allow him to return from banishment. The people, in pity to a man who had recently borne such high authority among them, and who was now in exile, untried, unheard, and perhaps altogether innocent, readily gave ear to the suppliants; while the party adverse to the measures of the present magistracy, abetted their importunity with the eagerness of interest. It was determined by general consent to recal Eurylochus. During his residence in Etolia, he had been the guest of Diocles, now master of horse, the second dignity in that commonwealth. Diocles, to accompany him home, had all his cavalry in readiness, at the head of which he advanced uninterruptedly, day and night, within six miles of Demetrias. He then halted, and selecting three troops the fittest for his purpose, proceeded with them towards the city, causing them to dismount as they approached the gates, and lead their horses, that they might appear rather a friendly train at-

" Id. c. 31.

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More audacious enter-
prize against
Sparta.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

tending Eurylochus by way of honour, than a regular military escort. One of these troops halted to secure the gate; Diocles advanced to the forum, holding his friend Eurylochus by the hand, while persons of every description came forth to welcome his return from banishment. Meanwhile the great mass of cavalry entered, and took possession of the city; one division of the Etolians ran to occupy the commanding posts, another flew to destroy the magistrates, and all suspected of adhering to the Roman party¹².

The enterprize against Sparta, or rather its tyrant Nabis, was attended with circumstances far more memorable. The tyrant had pressed the Etolians for aid in his war with Achaia, in which, through their means chiefly, he had been involved. Philopœmen had shut him up within his capital, and ravaged his territories for a whole month with impunity. On pretence of enabling him once more to take the field, the Etolians sent to him Alexamenus, a youth distinguished for precipitate boldness even in Etolia, with a thousand infantry and thirty chosen horsemen. This detachment had orders in private from the secret council, not to think itself destined merely for the Achæan war, but to be ready for any exploit enjoined by Alexamenus, however rash, precipitate, and daring it might at first sight appear. Alexamenus, with men thus instructed, came in the most friendly manner to Nabis, and apologised to him for the paucity of his numbers, by saying, that as Antiochus, who had already passed into Europe, was shortly expected in Etolia, his countrymen wished to show themselves to the best advantage and in the utmost force to this great and generous ally. That the Romans, those restless and rapacious barbarians, would no longer have to do with the weakness of Macedon and the disunion of Greece, but with a mighty monarch, whose infantry and cavalry were innumerable, whose fleets covered the sea, whose armed elephants and chariots of war were of all things the most terrible. In concert with this powerful

¹² Ibid. c. 34.

confederate,

confederate, the Etolians would be soon ready to protect Nabis against all his enemies; but that, meanwhile, he ought not to keep his men cooped up within their walls, but anticipating future triumphs, lead them forth to daily exercise on the banks of the Eurotas. Agreeably to this advice, Nabis drew his Lacedæmonians and mercenaries from the city, and made them perform their evolutions in company with their Etolian auxiliaries. When this practice had been so often repeated as to dispel every shadow of distrust, Alexamenus, having suddenly communicated the design to his countrymen, by one stroke dismounted the tyrant at the head of his guards; and Nabis, though strongly covered with mail, was speedily dispatched by the Etolian horsemen¹¹. This deed of matchless audacity abashed both Spartans and strangers; for the extent of the conspiracy being unknown, all trembled at a man who had prostrated in the dust the recent object of their terrors.

But Alexamenus and his Etolians, though well qualified for executing such an enterprise, were men ill adapted for deriving from it any permanent advantage. Instead of summoning an assembly, confirming the Lacedæmonians in liberty, and inviting them to join in the Etolean league, Alexamenus wasted many irrecoverable hours in ransacking the tyrant's palace; and his rapacious Etolians behaved as in a city taken by storm. The Lacedæmonians were thus recalled to a sense of their own strength and the enemy's weakness; they attacked and overwhelmed the handful of plunderers, before Philopœmen, who had marched towards Sparta on the first news of the tyrant's death, came to avail himself of the distracted state of that city. About the same time that Philopœmen arrived there, it was discovered that the pretor Atilius had landed at Gythium with twenty-four Roman gallees. This circumstance highly favoured Philopœmen's welcome reception at Sparta, and facilitated his measures for regulating the Lacedæmonian affairs agreeably to the views

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A handful of Etolians affluently Nabis at the head of his guards.

Philopœmen's seasonable arrival—he unites Lacedæmon to the Achæan league. Olymp. cxlviii. 1. B. C. 192.

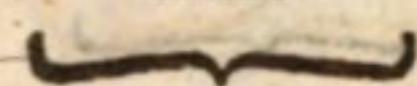
Ibid. c. 35.

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of

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XX.



The Etolians
fail in their
attempt on
Chalcis.

of his country. He called an assembly of the people, made to them such a speech as Alexamenus lost the opportunity of delivering on a still fitter occasion, congratulated them on being rescued from a cruel tyranny, and united them by their general consent as free co-ordinate members in the Achæan league¹⁴.

A third expedition of the Etolians, carried on at the same time with their successful enterprise against Demetrias, and their abortive attempt on Sparta, was directed against Chalcis in Eubœa, and committed to the conduct of Thoas, recently their ambassador with the king of Syria. For surprizing the Eubœan capital, Thoas had provided a detachment of two thousand infantry and two hundred horse, and trusted for success chiefly to the intrigues of Heradorus, a merchant of Cius, at the eastern extremity of the Propontis, whose unrivalled opulence gave him a powerful sway over the councils of Chalcis. The design, however, was defeated through the spirit of the Chalcians, assisted by their near neighbours the Eretrians and Carystians¹⁵; and Thoas having learned the taking of Demetrias, an object of still greater moment, was in haste to return to Ephesus, and to encourage Antiochus by such an auspicious event to sail immediately for Greece.

Opposite
councils
given by
Thoas and
Hannibal to
Antiochus.

The counsels of this rash Etolian had the greater weight with the king, his own ministers being shamefully ignorant of the affairs of Europe, and Hannibal, through his boldness and abilities, having exposed himself to the loss of royal favour. Besides the intrigues of courtiers, always eager to depreciate the firmer virtues as qualities no wise appertaining to them, Hannibal is said to have incurred suspicion by his frequent interviews with Villius, one of the Roman ambassadors¹⁶. The Roman is thought, with such an intent, to have artfully solicited these conferences; but whatever may be in this conjecture, for it is not likely that Hannibal should

¹⁴ Plutarch in Philopœmen, Tit. Liv. xxxv. c. 36.

¹⁵ Ibid. c. 37, 38.

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. xxxv. c. 19.

have

have been over-reached by so gross a stratagem, Antiochus, in his subsequent measures, certainly preferred the advice of the Etolian to that of the Carthaginian. Hannibal had proposed a plan of war bold and great like his own genius. While the king's land forces were assembling from remote countries of the East, he was to avail himself of the superiority of his fleet; to send one part to take possession of Byllis, a district in Illyricum, looking to, and, as it were, threatening Italy; at the same time to alarm the coasts of that peninsula opposite to Sardinia and Africa: above all, to employ an hundred transports to convey ten thousand foot and one thousand horse into Italy; in which last service Hannibal, from sixteen years experience in such warfare, presumed to offer himself for the commander".

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The opinion of Thoas was directly the reverse. By exaggerating the numbers and resources of the Etolians and their allies, he encouraged Antiochus, though it was winter, immediately to invade Greece; and as that country, from which they originally sprang, and the scene of their perpetual conflicts with each other, had an artificial magnitude, far exceeding its real importance, in the fancies of all Alexander's successors, the proposal for carrying his arms into Greece was most acceptable to Antiochus. He therefore left the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus to be prosecuted by his lieutenants, and sailed to the Pelasgic gulph with an hundred galleys, containing ten thousand infantry, five hundred horse, and six elephants. The king landed near the entrance of the gulph: Eurylochus, pretor of the Magnetes, came from Demetrias to meet him; and the Syrian fleet had orders to sail round into the harbour of that city. The Etolians, who had advanced to Lamia in Thessaly, no sooner heard of his arrival, than they passed a decree for receiving him with every mark of cordiality and honour. Antiochus, being apprised of this decree, proceeded from Demetrias to Phalera on the Malian gulph,

That prince
sails to
Greece—his
demands
from the
allies.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

CHAP. XX. and thence onward to Lamia. In this place the vast crowds, that welcomed him with noisy acclamations, rendered it difficult for Thoas, and Phæneas now pretor of the Etolians, to procure for him undisturbed admission into their council. Antiochus testified no uneasiness at the tumultuary uproar occasioned only by excess of affection; and when silence had been obtained, addressed the Etolians in a speech filled with excuses, with promises, and with demands. He apologised for coming among them with so inconsiderable an armament by the season of the year, and his eagerness to obey their invitation. But, for this defect, he would make ample amends when his preparations were brought to maturity: his fleets would then cover the seas, and Greece would be filled, not only with armies, but with all kinds of supplies; determined, as he was, to spare neither expence nor labour, nor danger to render the Greeks really a free people, and the Etolians the first nation among them. In the meantime, it belonged to his allies to furnish him with corn in abundance, and to take measures for providing him with other essential accommodations at a reasonable rate¹⁸.

His fruitless expedition against Chalcis.

The king's speech was received with unbounded applause: he was saluted general of the Etolians; and thirty of their principal men were assigned him for his military council. The multitude then returned to their respective cities. Next day, Antiochus deliberated with his council in what quarter he should commence the war. It was resolved to try the fidelity of Chalcis in Eubœa, against which the Etolians had recently failed; but which, it was hoped, would open its gates to so great a king. But, as in this presumption, Antiochus crossed the Euripus with a small fleet and a still smaller army, the Chalcians rejected his proposal, observing, that they were untaxed, ungarrisoned, and independent: that, to the best of their knowledge, all other cities of Greece had been left in the same enviable condition by the Romans, without whose express consent, they

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 44.

thought

thought themselves bound in gratitude not to contract any new alliance¹⁹.

Upon this answer, the king, rather than commence his great undertakings by a tedious siege, returned to Demetrias, and from thence dispatched embassies to Athens, Thebes, and most of the northern states. The Bœotians, smarting under the punishments inflicted on their outrages, and impoverished by their extreme profligacy, showed a willingness to abet every scheme of innovation: even the Athenians, hitherto distinguished by zeal in the cause of Rome, were thrown into discord, by needy and noisy men, who hoped to share the largesses of Antiochus. The ambassadors of that prince next appeared in the Achæan council at Ægium. They were accompanied by some leading men among the Etolians. Quintius also came to the council to counteract their machinations. The king's ambassador had the first hearing. Not contenting himself with the boasts hitherto made generally, concerning his master's greatness and resources, he expatiated with parading verbosity on the distinctive excellencies of his naval squadrons and military brigades, prolixly descanting on the Tyrians, Sidonians, Aradians, and Pamphylians; the Dahæ, Carduchians, Elymeans, and Medes. He exhorted the Achæans not to reject the friendship, now tendered them, of so powerful a monarch; which they might accept without infringing any prior treaty, since, all required of them was, that, in case of war, they should agree to the observance of a strict neutrality. The Etolians spoke to the same purpose; but, before concluding their discourse, indulged in their usual intemperance of invective against the Romans, arraigning their ingratitude and perfidy to allies, whose bravery, not their own, had procured them all their success on that side the Hadriatic. Quintius said in reply, "the speech of the Etolians is calculated not for the Achæans, who know its extravagance, but for the king's ambassadors whom they hope to deceive.

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His negotiations successful with the Athenians and Bœotians, baffled at Ægium by Quintius.

¹⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 46.

By

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By this commerce of falsehood, the treaty has been cemented between them, while the Etolians magnified their prowess, and Antiochus as vainly exaggerated his own resources. The enumeration, indeed, of warlike nations now made by his minister, reminds me of a facetious host with whom I once lived at Chalcis. His guests admired the variety of game that abounded at his table in the midst of summer. But he removed their wonder, by telling them, with an arch smile, that his cook was his only huntsman; *his* art alone had created all the profusion of delicacies before them, from the flesh merely of domestic swine. Such are the various names, now so pompously detailed, all of them summed up in the vile and contemptible *Syrians*, fitter for slaves than soldiers²⁰." Quintius found no difficulty in confirming the fidelity of the Achæans. At his desire they sent five hundred men to Athens, and as many to Chalcis. Eumenes also sent a small body of Pergamenians to the latter city. These succours arrived before Antiochus, who had deferred, but not relinquished, his design against the place, thought proper to cross the Euripus, and invade the Chalcian territory²¹.

Antiochus
conquers
Eubœa.
Olymp.
xlvii. 1.
B. C. 192.

He had now made the proper dispositions for this undertaking, having beset, with his fleet and army, all the nearest crossing-places, from Bœotia to Eubœa. It happened at the same time that five hundred Romans, belonging to two legions which the pretor Bæbius had transported to Illyricum in consequence of the commotions in Greece, sailed round, at the request of the Chalcians, to reinforce their garrison. These Romans, finding the ordinary passage from Aulis to Chalcis already occupied, proceeded southward to Delium, a sea-port taking its name from a famous temple of Apollo, and about four miles distant from the opposite coast of Eubœa. As war had not yet been declared, nor a drop of blood shed on either side, many of the Romans amused their curiosity by viewing the grove and temple, while others strolled idly about the shore unarmed. In this

²⁰ Plutarch in Flamin. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 49.

²¹ Ibid. c. 50.

scattered condition, they were suddenly attacked by Antiochus' troops: several of them were slain, and about fifty made prisoners: the few, who escaped, threw themselves into a castle on the Euripus. Antiochus, meanwhile reinforced by the Etolians, advanced with his whole armament against Chalcis; and as his dreadful menaces were justified by the superiority of his strength, the troops belonging to Eumenes and the Achæans thought proper to capitulate. Chalcis then opened its gates: the castle, occupied by a handful of Romans, surrendered; and the conquest of the Eubœan capital soon put the king in possession of the whole island²².

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Meanwhile the attention of all orders at Rome had been engrossed by accounts received concerning the vast projects of Antiochus. From the last reports of their ambassadors, war with that prince appeared inevitable; and hostilities, as they understood, were likely to be carried on, not only in Greece, but in Sicily and Italy itself. Sulpicius and Villius, the first generals who had been employed against Philip, long continued in Lesser Asia negotiating with the king of Syria and his ministers: and their departure took place only in consequence of declarations from the latter, which might be considered as decisive. The king's younger son, Seleucus, was employed, as we have already seen, at Lyfimachia in Thrace: the elder, of the same name with his father, had been left at Antioch entrusted with the government of Syria. Antiochus himself in Lesser Asia was prepared to give a final hearing to Sulpicius and Villius, when news arrived of the sudden death of his viceroy in Syria, and the heir to his throne; a young prince of many virtues²³, whom all men regarded as likely to sustain the character of a just and great king. Not only the court but the country was filled with lamentations:

Negotiations
in Asia im-
mediately
preceding
Antiochus'
voyage into
Greece.

²² Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 51.

²³ Livy mentions the report, that young Antiochus had been poisoned by eunuchs, in consequence of orders from a father jealous of his virtues: but the ground of the suspi-

cion is contemptible in the extreme. "Antiochus had given Lyfimachia to his younger son Seleucus, but had no other such place to which his jealousy could remove the elder," l. xxxv. c. 15.

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the king shut himself up in his palace at Ephesus, and abstained for several days from all public business. During his mourning, Minio, the principal of his friends, held a conference in his name with the Roman ambassadors. He told them, that their professions about the liberty of Greek cities were specious indeed and honourable, but completely belied by facts. That they made one rule for themselves, and had the presumption to prescribe to others a rule altogether different: For, in what respect was Smyrna or Lampsacus, of which they required the sieges to be raised, better entitled to freedom, than Naples, Rhegium, Tarentum, Greek cities in Italy; than Syracuse and other Greek cities in Sicily, all of which were degraded to the state of tributary subjects? That the law of conquest was not more valid on the side of Rome, than on that of Antiochus, whose ancestors, having subdued the Ionian and Eolian Greeks, had transmitted to him a just right to chastise their rebellion, and reunite them to his empire. Sulpicius replied, "that since the cause of Antiochus could not be supported by better arguments, the king, in withholding his person from the conference, had well consulted his dignity. What resemblance is there in the circumstances of Magna Græcia, which, from the period of its submission to the Romans, has been governed by one uniform, uninterrupted, undisputed tenor of jurisdiction, and the unceasing fluctuations of the Ionian and Eolian cities, some of which have been reduced by the kings of Macedon, others by those of Egypt, while several, through a length of ages, have asserted complete independence? If, because the ancestors of Antiochus once held them in reluctant subjection, when they were obliged to submit to the miserable condition of the times, that prince thus acquired a right, after the lapse of centuries, again to claim their allegiance, what should hinder some future king of Macedon from usurping Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, and thereby rendering useless all that the Romans have effected in Greece with so great glory? But it is unnecessary for me to plead the cause of the Asiatic cities, since

since their own ambassadors are here present to speak for themselves." The ambassadors being called and heard, their intemperate language only widened the breach. Soon afterwards, Sulpicius and his colleague brought home an account of their fruitless negociation²⁴.

In consequence of their report, the Romans began to prepare for war with more than ordinary vigour. To defend Italy, a great army of observation was stationed at Tarentum: the districts suspected of disaffection were occupied by proper garrisons: two numerous squadrons guarded respectively the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and the regular military force in the island was strengthened by a powerful body of militia²⁵. The consul Cornelius, also, issued an edict, that no magistrate, no senator, nor any of those dignified persons entitled to give their advice in the senate²⁶, should travel above a day's journey from Rome; and that more than four senators should not absent themselves from the city at once. Having taken these precautions for defence, they next provided the means of aggression. An army was ordered to assemble before the middle of March at Brandusium, to be transported, when necessary, to Illyricum. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants; and was commanded by the consul Acilius Glabrio. For securing necessary supplies to the forces at home and abroad, the usual tithes of corn were ordered from Sardinia, and double tithes from Sicily: commissaries were likewise sent to purchase that article from Carthage, and from Masinissa king of Numidia. On this occasion a contest of generosity happened between the Romans and these African allies, who, both of them, offered gratuitously a greater supply than had been demanded; while the Romans refused to receive any thing more than they had at first required,

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Multifarious
preparations
of the Ro-
mans for the
war with
Antiochus.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

²⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xxxv.

²⁵ Tumultuarii milites.

²⁶ All who had borne curule magistracies had a right to be enrolled in the senate the year immediately following that in which they

had held their respective offices. But, previously to this enrollment, they were entitled to enter the senate-house, and to deliver their sentiments in debate. A. Gell. l. iii. c. 18.

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and would agree to take even this quantity, only on condition of paying for it a fair price. An altercation of the same amicable nature took place with the ambassadors of Philip and of Ptolemy Epiphanes. These princes offered assistance against Antiochus, in men, money, and provisions. The Romans voted them thanks, but refused their presents: Ptolemy was kindly excused from interposing at all in the quarrel; but Philip had intimation that his services would be highly acceptable in co-operating with the consul Acilius: in this manner the Romans prepared for one of the most important wars which they ever waged, but which a combination of fortunate circumstances rendered one of the least obstinate²⁷.

How the
king of
Athamania
was gained
to Antio-
chus.

After the conquest of Eubœa, Antiochus employed part of the winter in frivolous negotiations with petty states, always ready to side with the present and prevailing power. He thus procured an alliance with the Elians, Bœotians, with some cities of Thessaly, and with the contiguous district of Athamania. Amynder, king of the Athamanians, had, as we have before seen, zealously assisted the Romans in their war against Philip. But, since the conclusion of that war, he had married Apamea, daughter to a certain Alexander of Megalopolis, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great. Besides his fair daughter Apamea, the citizen of Megalopolis had two sons, to whom, conformably to his high pretensions, he gave the royal names of Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder, followed his sister to Athamania, and, through her means, gained a powerful ascendancy over the mind of her husband. To this Philip, Antiochus and the Etolians addressed themselves, promising him the kingdom of Macedon, provided he could engage his brother-in-law Amynder in their interest. Philip fulfilled his part of the agreement, and thereby ruined himself, and subjected Amynder to a temporary loss of his kingdom²⁸.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 1. et seq.

²⁸ Id. ibid.

Assisted

Assisted by such allies, Antiochus proceeded to lay siege to several cities of Thessaly, and gained Pheræ, Pellinæum, Cronon, and Scotussa; near the last of which, Philip of Macedon had lost the decisive battle of Kynoscephalæ. This circumstance afforded Antiochus an opportunity of shewing how little he was guided by the able counsels of Hannibal. That great general had spared no pains to destroy the suspicions of his fidelity, and to regain his former credit. The vile calumnies concerning his supposed conspiracy with the Romans were done away before Antiochus, by the following recital, equally simple and impressive: "My father Hamilcar, at his departure from Carthage for Spain, performed a sacrifice to Jupiter. I was present at the ceremony, then a child in my ninth year. Hamilcar asked me whether I would accompany him to the Spanish war. I assented with the utmost alacrity. He promised to take me provided, on the present occasion, I shewed my ready compliance with his will. Then desiring all present to withdraw, he led me to the altar, on which he had just sacrificed; and, bidding me approach and touch it with my hand, commanded me to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. I swore the solemn oath, and my subsequent life of thirty-six years has been an unvaried act of performance. In the war with Rome, you may therefore safely trust Hannibal: but should you ever think of peace with that state, it will be time to have recourse to other advisers²⁹." In consequence of this interview, which had reconciled him with Antiochus, Hannibal was called to a military council in Thessaly. He declared his opinion against all the measures which had hitherto been pursued, and once more proposed the extensive, yet solid plan of war, which he had originally recommended. But as Antiochus, contrary to his advice, had come into Greece with very inadequate preparations, he exhorted him by all means to court the friendship of Macedon, a kingdom of real importance, rather than waste time in gaining petty states, always

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Antiochus
provokes
Philip, in
opposition to
the advice of
Hannibal.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

²⁹ Conf. Polyb. l. iii. c. 11. Cornelius Nepos in Hannibal. & Tit. Liv. l. xxv. c. 19.

ready

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ready to change sides upon the slightest reverse of fortune. Instead of following this sound advice, and of endeavouring to procure the assistance of king Philip, Antiochus listened to Philip the Megalopolitan; and was persuaded by him to adopt a measure that rendered the king of Macedon his bitterest enemy. We have seen how this prince had left unburied the Macedonians slain at Kynoscephalæ. Philip the Megalopolitan was allowed the assistance of two thousand men to collect their bones, and to honour them with the rites of funeral. This office, performed at the request of a man who laid claim to the crown of Macedon, could appear in no other light to the wearer of that crown, than as an excitement of his subjects to rebellion, by contrasting the piety of the rightful king, with the impiety of the king in possession. When apprised of a proceeding thus personally hostile in Antiochus, Philip immediately dispatched ambassadors to the pretor Bæbius, saying, that Thessaly had been invaded; and, should the pretor think fit to move from his winter quarters, that he would hasten to meet him, in order to concert what measures should be pursued on such an emergency. In consequence of their deliberation, Appius Claudius immediately marched with a powerful detachment through Macedon, and occupied the hills above Gonni, fifteen miles distant from Larissa. Antiochus was employed in besieging the latter place; but suddenly raised the siege, when he heard of a vast encampment, and saw widely extended fires, (for Appius thus heightened his alarm), blazing near Gonni, as if they would have consumed the whole contiguous vale of Tempé. Upon leaving Larissa, the Syrians retreated forty miles eastward to Demetrias, not doubting that the whole Roman army, reinforced by the Macedonians, had advanced into Thessaly, in order to give them battle³⁰.

Antiochus' changed mode of

Without tarrying at Demetrias, the king sailed to Chalcis; and in this, the principal and most secure of his conquests, commenced a

³⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

course

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course of life little compatible with those pursuits of war and ambition, which had hitherto wholly occupied him. The fair daughter of Cleoptolemus, his host at Chalcis, occasioned this alteration. Unmindful of his queen Laodice, who had given to him five sons and four daughters, a woman of a noble mind and daughter to Mithridates IV. of Pontus, Antiochus, in advanced life, and deformed in his face by a wound received in combating the Bactrians, sighed for degrading nuptials with this Chalcian beauty: and when he had overcome her own and her father's reluctance, (for both preferred the safe middle state to royalty with danger), he gave way to such rejoicings and carousals, or indulged in such voluptuous indolence, as totally unnerved his own mind, and destroyed all regular discipline, not only among the troops who had followed him to Chalcis, but among those left in garrison on the opposite continent³¹. Accordingly, though he resumed arms in the spring, his operations were confined to the low purpose of gaining by bribery some inconsiderable places in Acarnania. While he was thus employed on the western side of Greece, Philip and Bæbius began their operations in Thessaly. Pellinæum, a city on the Peneus, was garrisoned by a large body of Athamanians and Syrians, entrusted by Antiochus to Philip the Megalopolitan. The allies summoned him to surrender: he answered, in terms of defiance against the Romans, and of reproach against the usurper of his throne. Shortly afterwards, the consul Acilius arrived in the Ambracian gulph: Antiochus retired at his approach, relinquishing his recent acquisitions in Acarnania. The consul then proceeded into Thessaly, his forces amounting, as above stated, to 20,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 15 elephants. Threatened by such an army, Pellinæum surrendered. The Athamanians and Syrians were left by the consul to the sole disposal of the king of Macedon. The Athamanians he treated kindly, and sent back, unransomed, to their country. The captured

life.—Its
bad effects
on his affairs.

Capture of
Pellinæum.

³¹ Conf. Polybius, l. xx. c. 18. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 11.

troops

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The Atha-
manians sub-
mit to Phi-
lip.

Preparations
for the
battle of
Thermo-
pylæ.

troops of Antiochus experienced the ordinary fate of war, and patiently submitted to slavery. Philip the Megalopolitan, who had recently commanded both, passed through the gate of Pellinæum unarmed; and was met in this humble plight by Philip of Macedon. The king treated this vain man in a manner more disgraceful to himself, than to his unfortunate prisoner; calling him ironically his brother, and causing him to be mocked with royal honours. He was then sent to the consul, by him consigned to rigorous confinement, and finally transported to Rome in irons. Having thus trampled on a rival, Philip hastened to punish an enemy. From Pellinæum, he marched into Athamania, the inhabitants of which district, moved by his clemency to their countrymen, received him as their master; while Amynder, divested of his little valley, unfitly dignified with the name of kingdom, and dreading alike Philip, whom he had long obstinately opposed, and the Romans, whom he had recently deserted, fled with his wife and children to Ambracia in Epirus³², now forming a republic apart, in which, as will appear hereafter, this dispossessed king of Athamania had much interest.

Meanwhile, Acilius pursued his conquests in Thessaly to the shore of the Malian gulph, where Antiochus, who had hitherto fled before him, determined to make a stand. Some reinforcements had been received from Asia. The Etolians had sent a body of 4,000 men. But these selfish allies refused to join forces with the Syrians, who occupied the straits of Thermopylæ; and threw themselves into the city Heraclæa, near the northern entrance of that famous pass. In case of victory on the side of Antiochus, they would be conveniently situate at Heraclæa for pursuing and plundering the Roman fugitives, and, in case Antiochus were defeated, they would be ready themselves to fly, unobstructed, to the strongholds of their own country. Without their capricious aid, Antiochus resolved to maintain the straits with about 10,000 infantry and 500 horse. He had been

³² Id. ibid.

miserably disappointed, not only as to the powerful and zealous co-operation of the Etolians, but as to the celerity with which his eastern forces might be assembled in the maritime provinces, and from thence transported into Greece. But he thought it disgraceful to leave that country without a battle; and, therefore, while Polyxenidas, his admiral, had orders to accelerate the embarkations from Asia, he fortified himself with much art and industry, strengthening, where necessary, the rocky labyrinth in which he had taken post, with trenches, pallisades, and even stone walls. On the side of Heraclæa, where the Romans prepared to make their attack, the entrance was guarded by a firm division of the phalanx: a squadron of stout gallies defended the Malian gulph; and numerous victuallers from Lesser Asia rendered provisions plenty in the camp.

One circumstance, chiefly, disquieted Antiochus. He was not ignorant that the Persians under Xerxes, and the Gauls under Brennus, had poured down on the Greeks at Thermopylæ. He therefore requested the Etolians that they would occupy and defend the narrow passes across the mountain, only three in number, Rhoduntia, Tichius, and Callidromus. Nearly 2000 Etolians were prevailed on to undertake this indispensable service; the greater part remained obstinately at Heraclæa. Meanwhile, the consul proceeded southward from the Sperchius to storm the enemy's camp. He had animated his men with alacrity for this hard duty; but their ardour cooled on beholding the entrance to the straits bristling with Macedonian spears. They marched reluctantly to the assault, and were more than once repelled. Strong detachments, however, had been sent to descend by the sides of the defile, and to co-operate in flank, with the attack in front. One of these detachments was commanded by Cato, who, four years before this period, had signalised his military skill as consul in Spain, and who, seven years afterwards, gained more appropriate glory at Rome by the integrity and dignity of his censorship.

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ship³³. He was now in his 43d year, in the highest vigour of mind and body. Flaccus, his coadjutor on the present occasion, failed in the attempt to dislodge the Etolians from Tichius, but Cato prevailed at Callidromus, from which he rushed with resistless impetuosity on the enemy. This movement converted the battle into a mere rout; Antiochus fled towards the southern³⁴ issue of the defile, and escaped with a handful of men to Elatia, and thence to Chalcis; his army was cut in pieces; his squadron in the Malian gulph dispersed itself towards those harbours in the neighbourhood, at which it seemed most likely that the king might arrive. The gallies, that sailed for Chalcis, escorted him safely to Ephesus; while Atilius, who commanded the Roman fleet, captured a large convoy of victuallers bound for the ruined camp of Thermopylæ³⁵.

The Etolians
persist in
hostility.

The flight of Antiochus afforded the Romans an opportunity for exercising clemency towards his allies. Neither the Bœotians, nor Phocians, nor any other people abetting his cause, were punished for their defection. A pacific message was sent even to the Etolians: but they fiercely persisted in hostility, and defended their post at Heraclea twenty-four days. It was taken after repeated assaults, and in it the arrogant Damocritus, who, as mentioned above, had insulted the Roman commissioners, and boasted that he would answer their demands of justice on the banks of the Tiber.³⁶

Quintius
saves their
capital, and
prevails on
them to send
ambassadors
to Rome.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

While the affairs of the Romans advanced on a prosperous tide of fortune, their ally Philip lay sick in the neighbourhood of Lamia. Upon his recovery, he immediately undertook the siege of that place, and was the more strenuous in his operations against it, because, when the consul should overcome the obstinacy of Heraclæa, he feared that the conqueror of Antiochus would require Lamia also to be surrendered to him. His conjecture was well founded: for

³³ Conf. Plutarch in Caton. Major. & Tit. Liv. l. xxx. c. 8. & seq. l. xxxix. c. 42. & seq.

³⁴ At Alpenus, see above, vol. i. p. 585.

³⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 15—21.

³⁶ Id. ibid. c. 24.

his

his intrigues in the place having failed, and his works being retarded by the necessity of mining through a hard rock, Acilius desired him to raise the siege; and Lamia, on the first summons, opened its gates to the Romans. The clemency shewn by these conquerors to the vanquished began to change the stubborn purposes of the Etolians. In a council held at their frontier city Hypata on the Sperchius, within twenty miles of Heraclea, their deputies consented to submit themselves to the good faith of Rome; but, being taught the full import of this expression, flew into the utmost rage, and returning to Naupactus encouraged their countrymen rather wholly to perish, than to acknowledge a master³⁷. Accordingly, when Acilius assailed Naupactus, the desperate valour of the Etolians baffled all his efforts, and while he persevered fruitlessly in the siege, Philip enjoyed a fair field for conquest, and made himself master, with other neighbouring cities, of the important stronghold of Demetrias. The place capitulated, on condition that the garrison belonging to Antiochus should be allowed a free passage to Lyfimachia in Thrace. Eurylochus, through whose means, as we have seen, Demetrias had fallen into the hands of that prince, refused to become a party to the treaty: a voluntary death saved him from the disgrace of submitting to Philip whom he had injured, in presence of his fellow-citizens whom he had betrayed³⁸. In this state of affairs, while Philip was continually making new conquests, and the consul uselessly besieged Naupactus, Quintius Flamininus, who still remained at the head of the Roman commission in Greece, thought it his duty to interpose. He had just settled a difference between the Achæans and Messenians, and united the latter people to the Achæan league. With equal address he had prevailed on the Achæans to cede the island Zacynthus to Rome, telling them, among other arguments, that Achaia, like a tortoise, must confine itself for safety within its shell of Peloponnesus³⁹. From Ægium, in Achaia, he crossed over the Corinthian

³⁷ Polybius, l. xx. c. 9. & seq.³⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 22.³⁹ Plutarch in Flamin.

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golph to the Roman camp before Naupactus. Having appeared at the foot of the walls, he was recognised by the besieged, who, though of all nations in Greece the most adverse to his public views, yet retained much personal regard for a man whose valour was coupled with humanity, and whose harshest proceedings were seasoned with pleasantry. The Etolians called to him from their walls to intercede in their behalf, and save a whole people from destruction. He made a sign to them, that the consul only could help them; then repairing to this commander, said, I am doubtful, Acilius, whether you are unacquainted with the transactions now passing in Greece, or knowing, disregard them. After repelling Antiochus, you have been wasting the time of your consulship, just ready to expire, first in assaulting Heraclea, and now in besieging Naupactus, while Philip has been reaping all the best fruits of your victory over the king of Syria, in which he had no share. Yet the interest of Rome is less concerned in taking Naupactus, than in curbing the ambition of Philip, who has acquired Perrhæbia, Aperantia, and Athamania; and subdued more nations in Greece than the Romans have gained cities. The consul, with some reluctance, yielded to the authority of Quintius, and committed the Etolians to his management. In a conference with their magistrates, he prevailed on them to send ambassadors to Rome, and to trust to the clemency of the senate⁴⁰. The legions then retired into winter quarters in Phocis. Quintius, accompanied by the consul, returned from Naupactus to Ægium, where their attention was occupied in hearing embassies from the Epirots and from Philip, and in adjusting petty quarrels in Peloponnesus, which, as they revived with greater heat hereafter, will then be more fitly explained.

Antiochus' measures for defence. Olymp. cxlvii. 2. B. C. 191.

When Antiochus returned to Ephesus, Hannibal, his only counsellor, who had either sagacity to foresee future events, or boldness to announce them, assured the trembling monarch that he would be soon called to fight the Romans *in Asia* and *for Asia*⁴¹. In spite of

⁴⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 34, & seq.

⁴¹ Ibid. c. 41.

the

the perfidious flattery of his Greek courtiers, who would have lulled him to a fatal security, the bold remonstrances of the Carthaginian awakened his sense of danger, and made him prepare for defence by arms and alliances. With such vessels as were ready at Ephesus, he sailed to the Chersonesus of Thrace, and reinforced his garrisons there: Polyxenidas had orders to equip the remainder of the fleet with all possible expedition; numerous ships of observation and advice boats were diffused over the coasts of Greece and the islands; so that whether the Romans approached on the side of Thrace, or transported their armies across the Ægean sea, he might be apprised of their movements, and enabled to oppose them efficaciously and quickly. In Lesser Asia, his rich central provinces of Lydia and Phrygia would furnish convenient quarters for the great reinforcements which were assembling from the East; and though Lampascus and Smyrna still refused to open their gates, all the neighbouring sea ports were conquered, and even those obstinate cities were sinking under the hardships of a rigorous blockade.

With regard to allies, his prospects were not unfavourable. Six independent powers, indeed, had arisen in the peninsula of Asia, at the expence of the Syrian monarchy; and the most considerable of these powers, namely Pergamus and the Rhodians, were unalterably hostile to Antiochus. But this prince had espoused the sister of Pharnaces I. of Pontus; he had given his daughter in marriage to Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia; he had entered into treaty with the Gauls, or Galatians, who, though fallen from their ancient predominancy, were still a warlike people; and he had reason to hope, that he should gain Prusias I. of Bithynia, a prince of considerable vigour, who had carried on wars against the Greek cities on the Euxine, and is called Prusias the Lamè, from a wound which he received by the fall of a scaling ladder in the siege of Heraclæa⁴.

His allies.

⁴ Memnon apud Phot. p. 727. Conf. Appian de Reb. Syriac. & Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9.

Meanwhile,

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The Roman
fleet sails to
Delos.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 2.
B. C. 191.

Meanwhile, the Romans had been diligent in assembling the maritime strength of Magna Græcia and Sicily. It was entrusted to the pretor Livius, who, while his countrymen still besieged Naupactus, crossed over from Brundisium to Corcyra, and thence sailing to the Peloponnesus, doubled the promontory of Malea, and made for the Piræus. In this harbour Atilius, whom Livius superseded in command, resigned to him in good condition twenty-five decked ships. A small squadron sent by the Carthaginians had joined him on the coast of Italy, and another under Eumenes of Pergamus had met him near the promontory of Scyllæum, in Argolis; so that his whole fleet amounted to eighty-one decked gallies, besides innumerable open vessels also equipped for war, and many other without beaks, which answered the purpose of tenders and advice boats. With this fleet, he sailed towards Delos, and was long delayed among the dangerous friths of the stormy Cyclades. Antiochus' spy boats had observed the motions of the enemy, and given intimation of them to Polyxenidas the Syrian commander at Ephesus. Polyxenidas communicated the news to his master, who returned with expedition to that harbour, in order to deliberate what was fittest to be done on such an important emergency⁴².

Polyxenidas
the Syrian
admiral
waits for it
in the strait
of Chios.

Polyxenidas strongly recommended a battle. He said that no Rhodian ships, and but few Pergamenians, had yet joined the Romans; that the vessels of the last mentioned people were at best heavy sailers, and being employed at a distance from home, were encumbered with baggage and provisions; that his master's ships were of a far nimbler construction, carried nothing but what was necessary in time of action, and would not fail to derive great advantage in these seas from their superior acquaintance with the currents, winds, and coasts. The opinion of Polyxenidas had the greater weight, because the same man who advised fighting, also pledged himself to conquer. He put to sea with an hundred ships,

⁴² Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 42.

of which seventy were decked, but none of them exceeding the ordinary rate of trireme gallies, for the dreadful storm that overtook Antiochus in his unfortunate expedition against Egypt, had destroyed, as we have already seen, all his larger and more unmanageable vessels. Polyxenidas sailed first to Phocæa, and then to Cyssus, on the same Ionian coast, and in the strait about eight miles broad, separating the territory of Cyssus from the isle of Chios, determined to wait the enemy's arrival on the Asian shore, and to seize the first fair occasion of encountering him in battle.

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The Romans, as soon as the winds permitted, disengaged themselves from the intricate windings of the Archipelago, and sailed northward to Chios; from thence they crossed over to Phocæa, which the Syrians had recently quitted, and easily gained possession of that harbour, for the Ionian cities had sided with Antiochus only through the present terror of his arms, and were ready to welcome any power that promised to deliver them from his yoke. At Phocæa, the Romans were again joined by Eumenes, who had proceeded northward to the harbours of Pergamus to collect the remainder of his strength. He brought with him a reinforcement, which augmented the combined fleet to an hundred and fifty-five ships of war. With this armament the Romans sailed round from Phocæa, and made for Corycus and the promontory Argennum, near the southern issue of the strait in which the enemy, under Polyxenidas, lay at anchor; for Antiochus had gone in person to join his great army at the foot of mount Sipylus, about fifty miles inland in Lydia. As soon as Livius' squadron was seen sailing towards Corycus, Polyxenidas quitted the straits to meet him, in a regular line of battle a-head. The Romans then furled their sails, lowered their masts, and adjusted their rigging for combat. Two Carthaginian vessels, eager to shew their zeal, as new allies, to ancient and relentless enemies, preceded the Roman van. They were encountered by three Syrians, two of whom surrounded the foremost Carthaginian,

Sea fight
near Cory-
cus.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 2.
B. C. 191.

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The fleets
laid up du-
ring winter.

The consul
Acilius
blockades
Amphissa.
Olymp.
exlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

nian, swept off her oars on both sides, boarded and took her; her companion made a speedy retreat. Livius, indignant at this inauspicious prelude, bore down in his admiral galley on the two victorious Syrians. His rowers were ordered to plunge their oars to the greatest depth possible, that the vessel might be kept steady: grappling irons were then thrown into the enemy's ships; the sea fight being thus reduced to the likeness of a pitched battle, Livius exhorted his men to be mindful of their own virtue, and maintain their natural superiority over the slaves of a despot. The contest was but short, for the single Roman ship captured the two Syrians, more easily than the two Syrians had mastered the single Carthaginian. The squadrons on both sides now began a general engagement, in which Eumenes gained great honour. Polyxenidas, after the loss of thirteen ships taken and ten sunk, made all sail for Ephesus, and gained shelter there, through the superior swiftness of his ships. In pursuing him thither, the Romans were overtaken at sea by twenty-five Rhodian galleys, which had come under Pausistratus to their assistance. With this reinforcement they followed the enemy to Ephesus, and bid him defiance before that harbour. The Rhodians and Eumenes then returned home; the Romans first landed to refresh their rowers at Chios; they afterwards proceeded to Phocæa, and leaving four quinqueremes to guard that conquest, sailed with the remainder of their fleet to the friendly port of Canæ, belonging to king Eumenes, distant only five miles from Elæa, his principal harbour. At the approach of winter, the Roman ships were drawn on shore at Canæ, and defended, according to custom, by ditches and ramparts⁴³.

During these proceedings on the coast of Asia, the consul Acilius had been employed in alternately fighting and negotiating with the Etolians. That people, we have seen, had been permitted to send ambassadors to Rome, with the hopes of obtaining moderate terms of

⁴³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 44, 45.

peace.

peace. But the senate regarded them as a nation lawless, unfociable, and irreclaimable; and would hear of no treaty short of unconditional submission, and the payment of the enormous fine of a thousand talents. The Etolians therefore flew to arms; and as they doubted not that the siege of Naupactus would be resumed, exerted their utmost skill and labour to render the place impregnable. In this they succeeded so completely, that Acilius, instead of renewing his attacks on Naupactus, laid siege to Amphissa, a city in Locris, bridled with a strong Etolian garrison⁴⁴.

During the blockade of Amphissa, the consul received news of the appointment of his successor, and of the vast preparations at Rome for prosecuting the war. As Antiochus was assisted by the abilities of Hannibal, the Romans had judiciously opposed to him Lucius Scipio, the brother of Publius Scipio Africanus, because, on condition that the former should be named consul, with Asia for his province, the latter offered to accompany him as second in command. In addition to the forces to be received in Greece from Acilius, Lucius carried with him a consular army, reinforced by five thousand veterans, who, though their stipulated services were long at an end, flocked eagerly to his standard, in hopes of reaping as much glory under the younger brother in Asia, as they had already acquired under the elder in Africa. The fleet, under Livius, was to be reinforced by twenty trireme gallies; and thirty ships of a larger size were getting ready in the harbours of Magna Græcia and Sicily. A friendly embassy had been received from Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, (for that princess had frustrated the hopes of her father, and entered into all the views of her husband), promising their most zealous co-operation with the Romans, if instead of being contented with Lesser Asia, they pursued the common enemy even into Syria. Little advantage was expected from their military aid; but money abounded in Egypt, and corn might be obtained there in any quan-

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The Scipios
sent into
Greece—
their prepa-
rations.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

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Cause the
siege of Am-
phissa to be
raised.

tity, to augment the ample stores already provided of this article in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia; and which were ready to be transported wherever the service against Antiochus required⁴⁵.

When these previous arrangements had been made, the Scipios crossed the Hadriatic from Brundisium to Apollonia, marched through Epirus and Thessaly, and encamped in Locris, about six miles from the besieged city Amphissa. They were visited there by many congratulatory embassies of the Greeks, particularly of the Athenians, who, probably in consequence of bribes distributed among their orators and leading men, interceded in behalf of the deluded Etolians, now threatened with total ruin. At the interposition of the Athenians, the most ancient allies of Rome in those parts, Lucius granted the Etolians a truce of six months, yielding, it is said, to his brother Africanus, who always inclined to the side of clemency. But affairs now occupied his own mind far more inviting than a war among the barren rocks and intricate dens of Etolia. The siege of Amphissa was raised; and Acilius delivered the army, which had been employed in it, to the consul⁴⁶.

Tiberius
Gracchus
sent to sound
the inten-
tions of
Philip.
Olymp.
exlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

For marching safely to the Hellespont, a free passage through Macedon was essentially requisite. The consul, therefore, by the advice of Africanus, determined to penetrate the real intentions of Philip; and for this purpose suddenly dispatched to him Tiberius Gracchus, father to the unfortunate patriot of that name, then in the fervour of youth, but sagacious, penetrating, endowed with daring enterprize and indefatigable activity. From Amphissa, Gracchus, on the third day, reached Pella, a rough journey with many circuitous windings, and stretching a hundred and fifty miles in direct distance. His arrival was immediately notified to Philip, then merry at table with his friends. Serious business could not be immediately entered on, but young Gracchus was invited to take his seat in the festive circle, and had an opportunity of seeing the king

⁴⁵ Ibid. c. 2 & 3.

⁴⁶ Ibid. c. 7.

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without ceremony, and his courtiers without disguise. The following days Philip rode out with his guest, shewed him that the roads through his kingdom were in high order, that the rivers had every where good bridges, and that his magazines were well stored with all necessary accommodations for a great army. He then dismissed him with assurances, that every conveniency which Macedon afforded should be at the consul's orders. Gracchus made haste back to communicate this agreeable intelligence; and met the Scipios thirty miles short of Amphissa, at the place named Thaumaci, where a traveller first emerges from the mountainous defiles of Phthiotis into the extensive plains of Thessaly. Thenceforward, the army pursued its march of nearly four hundred miles in a direct distance to the Hellespont, having received on the way all imaginable assistance from Philip, who highly recommended himself to the Scipios, not only by this essential service, but by his social good humour, his urbanity and pleasantry⁴⁷.

Philip aids
the Romans
on their
march to-
wards the
Hellespont.

While the Roman army performed its long and laborious journey, events happened in Asia calculated deeply to affect the result of this expedition. Antiochus was in Phrygia, mustering the troops in that province: Polyxenidas commanded the Syrian fleet at Ephesus, and was kept in check by the Rhodians, who had come with thirty-six sail to Samos: Hannibal was employed in collecting naval reinforcements from the coasts of Syria and Phœnicia; and Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, lay with a great army in Lydia, watching the motions of Eumenes and the Romans, who had not remained idle in their fortified harbours of Elæa and Canæ, but, at the head of about ten thousand men, had spread devastation from the frontiers of Pergamus to the foot of the mountains that overhang Lydian Theatira. But these incursions were intended chiefly to create alarm; for when Livius, who commanded the Roman fleet at Canæ, heard of the consul's march towards the Hellespont, he sailed for the nar-

Disposition
of Antio-
chus' forces.

⁴⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 7.

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The Syrian
admiral
takes the
Rhodian
fleet by
treachery.
Olymp.
c. lvi. 3.
B. C. 190.

row seas with thirty triremes of his own, and seven quadriremes belonging to Eumenes, to possess himself of the harbours on either side, and to facilitate the transportation of his countrymen⁴⁸.

In this state of affairs Polyxenidas, Antiochus' admiral, being himself a Rhodian exile, entered into a secret correspondence with his fellow citizen Pausistratus, who commanded in opposition to him the Rhodian fleet at Samos. Polyxenidas expressed his longing anxiety to return once more into the bosom of his beloved country; "having lived the subject of equal laws and regular government, he reluctantly obeyed the arbitrary caprices of a foreign despot:" in a word, he promised to Pausistratus that, as the price of his services in helping him to recover the citizenship of Rhodes, he would readily betray into his hands Antiochus' fleet. After measures had been concerted for executing this scheme with much precaution as it seemed, on both sides, and the too confiding mind of Pausistratus had been lulled into perfect security, Polyxenidas sailed in full force to Samos, and instead of the surrender expected from him, attacked the Rhodians unprepared, and made himself master of their whole armament, except seven vessels, which escaped by the dangerous expedient of projecting blazing fires from their prows, and thereby obliging the assailants to give them free passage. Pausistratus was slain fighting bravely to repair the unhappy effects of his credulity. The success of Polyxenidas' stratagem, more worthy of a Cretan than a Rhodian, restored Phocæa, Cymè, and several places of less note, to the dominion of Antiochus⁴⁹.

The Romans
deliberate
with their
allies about
blocking up
the harbour
of Ephesus.

Upon the news of these events Livius, who had begun to attack Abydus, raised the siege of that place, and returned with the squadron employed in the Hellespont to join his ships under repair at Canæ. The Rhodians, indignant at the fraud practised on them by their exiled citizen, exerted the utmost diligence in their dock yards, and having equipped twenty sail, dispatched them under Eudamus

⁴⁸ Ibid. c. 10. ⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 8, 9.

to the same Pergamenian harbour. The Romans, thus reinforced, ventured to brave the lately victorious Polyxenidas before Ephesus; and when they could not provoke him to battle even by insulting devastations on the coast, returned triumphant to the opposite shore of Samos, which afforded the fittest station for watching the Syrian fleet, and hindering it from leaving Ephesus without an engagement. In this state of affairs Emilius Regillus arrived from Rome, appointed to succeed Livius. He had no sooner assumed the naval command than he summoned to a council of war Livius, king Eumenes, and the commanders of the Rhodians. The question was, how to tie up the enemy's hands at Ephesus, while they should themselves acquire full scope for action? Livius, who was first asked his opinion, proposed, he said, no other measure, than that which, had he retained the command, he should be now employed in executing. This was, to reduce the ships of burthen to hulks, and after loading them heavily with ballast, thus sink them at the mouth of the Ephesian harbour. But when this expedient was rejected as inefficacious, because the hulks, it was thought, might be easily weighed up, and the enemy left at liberty either to pursue the voyage to the narrow seas, or to harass the territory of Eumenes, it was advised by Euerates, second in command among the Rhodians, that while the main fleet continued to block up Ephesus, a squadron should sail to Lycia, a country of great maritime resources, from which Antiochus expected immediate and powerful reinforcements.

The expedition against the Lycians, who might be gained, it was hoped, chiefly through negociation, was entrusted to Livius, assisted by four Rhodian quadriremes and some open gallies belonging to Smyrna. In sailing along the Carian coast, Livius easily obtained the submission, or the alliance as it was then called, of Miletus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cös. But when he turned his arms against Patara, the principal sea port of Lycia, this city made such a stout resistance, that he thought proper to relinquish an enterprize which

Unsuccessful
expedition
against
Lycia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

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had proved fatal to many of his bravest men, and speedily to quit the Lycian coast. The Rhodians who had accompanied him proceeded to their own island; and Livius, instead of returning to the Roman fleet, passed hastily by the shores of Asia and made for Thessaly, in order to meet the Scipios, then on their march through that country⁵⁰. Regillus, justly offended at these proceedings, sailed for Patara with the greater part of his fleet. On his way thither, he attempted to reduce Jassus in Caria, which contained a strong garrison belonging to Antiochus. The place was not to be taken without destroying the peaceful inhabitants with their dwellings; and as several Jassian exiles served on board the besieging fleet, their petitions in favour of their countrymen, who, they said, were better inclined to the Romans than to Antiochus, backed by the intercession of Eumenes and the Rhodians, made Regillus desist from an undertaking that must have proved alike fatal to his friends and to his enemies. During these transactions, murmurs arose among the military tribunes, that Regillus, through his resentment against Livius, and his eagerness to accomplish a design in which that commander had disgracefully failed, had been carried from the main object of the war, and had left the territories of the Roman allies at the mercy of Antiochus' forces by sea and land. Regillus was conscious of having exposed himself to this reproach. To obtain an honourable excuse for abandoning the design on which he had failed, the Rhodians, whose commerce made them acquainted with every neighbouring harbour, were interrogated as to the conveniencies that might be found at Patara; and when they affirmed that it was unable to afford shelter to the whole fleet, Regillus gave orders for returning with all haste to Samos⁵¹.

Antiochus
invades the
territory of
Pergamus.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 196.

But before he arrived there, the evils, which had been foreseen from his absence, had happened. Though the Syrian fleet remained quiet at Ephesus, Seleucus had invaded the dominions of Eumenes

⁵⁰ Ibid. c. 14, 16.

⁵¹ Ibid. c. 17.

by

by land, and after a bold attempt for surprising, on that side, the harbour of Elæa, laid siege to Pergamus. To co-operate in this enterprize, Antiochus had moved with a great army from Phrygia, and encamped near to his son on the river Caicus, which flows from mount Sipylus in Lydia into the bay of Elæa. Apprised of these events by his brother and vicegerent Attalus, Eumenes hastened from Samos to Elæa; and, under an escort of cavalry and light infantry, which had been provided there for the occasion, threw himself into his besieged capital. The Roman and Rhodian fleet soon after followed him to the harbour of Elæa, eager to afford their utmost assistance to so meritorious an ally. About the same time Antiochus was informed that the Scipios were marching in great force through Macedon. This news, and the junction of so many of his enemies in one harbour, determined him again to have recourse to embassies. But Eumenes, who knew that if the Romans suspended their warfare in Asia, he must be left at the mercy of an exasperated adversary, used every means to defeat the negociation; and at his instances chiefly, Regillus cut off all amicable intercourse, by declaring that no accommodation could take place before the consul's arrival. Upon this absolute refusal to treat upon any terms, Antiochus committed merciless ravages on the Pergamenian territory; and leaving his son Seleucus to prosecute the siege of its chief city, marched northwards to assault Adramyttium, and the rich contiguous plain, famed in the heroic ages for Thebé, the sacred city of Aëtion. Eumenes, after concerting proper measures for the defence of Pergamus, hastened to save Adramyttium and the beautiful district in its neighbourhood, the garden and the pride of his little kingdom. He arrived in time for that purpose, accompanied by his own and part of the Roman fleet; the siege of Adramyttium was raised, and Antiochus, tired with desolating its territory, returned to muster his forces at Sardes. The measures taken for the defence of Pergamus were, meanwhile, crowned with success, in consequence of a reinforcement of

Which is defended by Eumenes and his allies.

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XX.

Who retort
Antiochus',
depredations
by plunder-
ing the isle of
Bacchium.

The Romans
and Rhodi-
ans intercept
the enemy's
succours
from Syria,
under Han-
nibal and
Apollonius.

of a thousand infantry and a hundred horse from Achaia, which Diophanes, the pupil of Philopoemen, had contrived to throw into the besieged city. By the example of this handful of men, all veterans, and actuated by the warmest zeal in defence of their Pergamenian allies, such successful sallies were made, that Seleucus thought proper to remove his camp to the sea coast, and remained there until more forces should be collected⁵².

After affording seasonable relief to Adramyttium, Eumenes and the Romans sailed to Elæa; and from thence, to retort the injuries recently done by the enemy, undertook an expedition against Phocæa, now garrisoned by three thousand Syrians. But, since the recovery of the place, Antiochus had rendered it so strong, that it was not to be taken without more powerful engines than the assailants were provided with, or the waste of more time than they could conveniently spare. They contented themselves therefore with making a descent on the small island Bacchium, considered as the suburb or appendage to Phocæa: and in resentment of the enemy's merciless depredations in the plain of Thebè, plundered even the temples of Bacchium, and carried off the exquisite statues in which they singularly abounded⁵³.

After this expedition, which was attended with more disgrace on one side than detriment on the other, Eumenes sailed northward to the Hellespont, to assist the Scipios in their passage; the Romans proceeded in a contrary direction to Samos, to watch the motions of Polyxenidas, who still kept his station at Ephesus. The fleets of the Romans and Rhodians had hardly joined at Samos, when they learned that a great naval reinforcement was sailing to Polyxenidas from Syria, under the command of Apollonius and Hannibal. Eudamus and the Rhodians determined immediately to put to sea in order to intercept it. On their way eastward, they touched at Rhodes, and found that the magistrates of their island had already fitted out a

⁵² Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 19—21.

⁵³ Ibid. c. 21.

squadron on the same errand on which they were sailing. They overtook this squadron at sea, and proceeded in company with it to Phaselis in Lycia, from which city, or rather the lofty promontory in its neighbourhood, they were likely best to descry the enemy's approach. Under the shelter of this lofty foreland, the Rhodians took their station, amounting to thirty-two quadriremes and four triremes. But they had not continued long there, when the sultry air, for it was midsummer, corrupted by marshy exhalations, bred diseases in the fleet, and obliged them to cross the Pamphylian gulph to the mouth of the Eurymedon. There, they learned that the Syrians, commanded by Apollonius and Hannibal, were at Sida; and after they had doubled the cape that projects before that Pamphylian city, they immediately got sight of the enemy and were distinctly perceived by them. The royal fleet consisted of ten trireme gallees, and thirty-seven vessels of a far larger size, either built recently in Phoenicia, or repaired after the disaster which had befallen Antiochus at sea, in his design against Egypt. The great inequality of force did not deter the Rhodians. The Syrians were not unwilling to encounter them; and, had they been otherwise disposed, would not, on account of the swiftness of the enemy's ships, have been able to avoid an engagement. For this, both parties prepared; but the Rhodians with such superiority of skill and activity as tended much to dishearten their adversaries. Their pre-eminence was still more conspicuous when the action commenced. Dexterously eluding the assaults of the enemy's prows, they swept off their oars on either side; and often breaking through their line, wounded their sterns. In this manner a Syrian vessel of seven banks of oars was assailed by a small Rhodian trireme, and sunk by a single stroke. Such decided superiority in seamanship, occasioned dismay in the whole right wing; and Hannibal, who had stretched out to sea, and begun to fight bravely on the left, was recalled by signal from Apollonius' admiral galley. He returned in time only to behold the total dis-

Sea-fight
near the
mouth of the
Eurymedon.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

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comfiture of his friends, and was compelled to join in their flight. The Rhodians, who had exerted themselves beyond their natural strength in the action, especially as they were still labouring under the effects of the malady contracted at Phaselis, had neither power nor inclination to follow up their victory: On pretence that they were in danger of being wind-bound on a hostile coast, they relaxed their pursuit, and began to have recourse to their refreshments. Eudamus, their commander, whose ship had been crippled in the battle, called to them in this situation to behold a glorious sight; the Syrians flying in scattered disorder, many sinking under the wounds which they had received, others drawn with difficulty by row-boats, and little more than twenty of the whole number in a condition to reach by their own efforts the friendly coast of Pamphylia. By this action, the present measures of Antiochus were entirely disconcerted; and to render them equally abortive in future, twenty Rhodian gallies, under Charicletus, took their station near Patara in Lycia; the remainder, commanded by Eudamus, returned to the Romans⁵⁴ at Samos.

Negotiations
with Prusias
king of
Bithynia.

During these transactions, Antiochus had been employed in a fruitless negociation with Prusias of Bithynia. The Syrian laboured to persuade Prusias that the Romans were relentless enemies to kings, and that good policy, nay, necessity, required that he should immediately declare against them. The Scipios counteracted this application by friendly letters to Prusias, and by sending Livius, who had recently commanded the Roman fleet, as ambassador to Nicomedia. Livius had little difficulty in persuading the Bithynian to maintain a strict neutrality. He vindicated his countrymen from the reproach made to them, by shewing that they were hostile to those kings only, whose immoderate lust of power had first rendered them enemies to the best interests of their people: that Philip, after his defeat, had been treated with the utmost lenity; and that Nabis, tyrant as he

⁵⁴ Ibid. c. 23, 24.

was, and traitor to his Roman allies, might have still continued king of Sparta, had he not been destroyed by his own fury, and the fraud of the Etolians⁵⁵.

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Antiochus, baffled in his hopes of gaining Prusias, moved from Sardes to Ephesus, where the high order in which Polyxenidas had put his fleet, served to make compensation for many disappointments. He determined, once more, to try the fortune of a sea-fight, and to bring the Romans to the same resolution, laid siege to Colophon, a city on friendly terms with his enemies, and which, being only ten miles from Ephesus, gave them timely intimation of whatever passed in that harbour. The Romans, as had been expected, sailed from Samos with an intention to assist their Colophonian allies; but had occasion first to touch at Chios, their principal storehouse in those parts. There, Regillus learned, that great magazines of corn had been indeed collected, but that his round-ships bearing wine, had been delayed by adverse winds; whereas a large quantity of that article belonging to the enemy, had been deposited at Teios, an Ionian city, on the coast between Samos and Chios. To gain possession of this prize, amounting to five thousand skins of wine, Regillus made for Teios, and in approaching land discovered fifteen vessels which he supposed to make part of Antiochus' fleet. He immediately gave them chase, and was surprized to find that they shaped their course towards the craggy promontory of Myonnesus, six miles south-east of Teios. They were in fact swift sailing pirates, so flat in their construction that they could easily run into any creek. Before the Romans could overtake them, they had landed under some projecting rocks, whose foundations, eat away by the rolling waves, canopied the adjacent sea, and threatened to overwhelm every vessel that approached them. There the fearless pirates had moored their fleet, at the same time that they occupied the shelving heights above, and prepared to ply with missile weapons

Regillus the Roman admiral fails to seize the enemy's wine in Teios. Olymp. cxlvii. 3. B. C. 190.

His encounter with pirates.

⁵⁵ Polybius, l. xxi. c. 9. & Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 25.

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Sea-fight of
Myonnesus
near Teios.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

The Syrians
defeated.

any enemy by whom their ships might be assailed. The Romans and Rhodians retired with some degree of terror from yawning caverns and nodding precipices, defended by actors as desperate as the scene was frightful; and, according to their original destination, directed their course to Teios⁵⁶.

The wine, which formed the object of their voyage, was demanded and refused. The sailors landed to enforce compliance; and when the Teians persevered in obstinacy, scattered themselves over the territory, which they subjected to military execution. In this state of affairs, it became known that a great fleet was putting to sea, from the small and obscure island of Aspis about ten miles from Teios in the way to Colophon. This was the armament of Polyxenidas, who had sailed from the last named place, in hopes that he had gained the long wished opportunity of surprizing the enemy. News of his appearance occasioned much trepidation; the disembarked sailors ran to their ships; Regillus hastened to the admiral galley, and formed his line with such ships as could successively be got ready. Eudamus remained on shore to direct the embarkation. When the combined fleets had proceeded to sea, they descried the Syrians approaching, at first with two ships only in front, then gradually forming the line abreast, until the Syrian left extended considerably beyond their own right. But Eudamus, who was in the rear, perceiving this manœuvre which threatened to surround his allies and throw them in confusion, darted to the right with that celerity in which the Rhodians were pre-eminent; and, having restored the equality in front, boldly opposed his own ship to that bearing the ensign of Polyxenidas. His example inspired alacrity; the whole ships of either party engaged; forty-eight on the side of the Romans, and eighty-eight on that of the Syrians. Notwithstanding their inferiority in number, the seamanship of the Rhodians and the dauntless bravery of the Romans obtained a complete victory.

⁵⁶ Ibid. c. 27.

Thirteen Syrian ships were taken, and twenty-nine sunk or burned; for the Rhodians, as on former occasions, carried blazing fires on their prows, which contrivance chiefly contributed to their signal success. The enemy's line was also repeatedly broke through, so that they were overpowered in many places between a double attack. Scarcely half their number escaped to Ephesus under favour of a western gale⁵⁷.

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The battle of Myonnesus confirmed the superiority of the Romans at sea; and Antiochus was no longer able to dispute their passage into Asia. He saw this consequence with a degree of concern and trepidation, which seemed to deprive him of his understanding. His garrisons in Lysimachia, and other places in the Chersonesus, which he had provided so amply with every thing necessary for defence, that they might have long detained the Scipios before their walls, were hastily and pusillanimously withdrawn from posts deemed no longer tenable⁵⁸. The siege of Colophon was raised, and Antiochus retired fifty miles inland to Sardes, to review some reinforcements just arrived there from his son-in-law Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. The victorious fleet refitted at Chios; and Regillus sent thirty of his own ships to assist in transporting the army across the Hellespont, expecting that the Rhodians, decorated with naval trophies, would have been in haste to return to their own island. But the generous zeal of the Rhodians made them accompany their allies northward; nor did they think of sailing to Rhodes, until the Romans had made good their landing in Asia. Meanwhile Regillus, after braving the enemy before Ephesus, recovered possession of Phocæa; a harbour recommended by its conveniency and safety, and of which the acquisition seemed the more desirable as winter was fast approaching⁵⁹.

Consternation and weak measures of Antiochus.

⁵⁷ Ibid. c. 29, & 30.

⁵⁸ Appian de Reb. Syr. c. 28. *Θω βλαπ-*

τεντος ηδη της λογισμης.

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 32.

The

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XX.

The Ro-
mans land
in Asia.

Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

Delayed by
two circum-
stances from
marching
against An-
tiochus.

Their visit
to Troy.

The Scipios were on their march through Maronea and Ænos in Thrace, when they heard of the battle of Myonnesus and of the evacuation of Lyfimachia. The latter event filled them with no less pleasure than wonder, since Lyfimachia would afford them an agreeable halting-place at their journey's end, with all necessary accommodations provided at the expence of the enemy. On the other side of the water, Eumenes, faithful to his promise, had exerted great and successful diligence in preparing every thing needful for their reception. The consul, at the head of his army, landed in Asia with as much safety as he could have done in Italy: but two circumstances prevented him from marching immediately against Antiochus. Before his arrival at the Hellespont, the time appropriate to the Salian festival had come round, in which the priests of Mars carried in procession the Ancilia, or sacred shields, those venerated pledges of the resistless triumph of the republic. This ceremony detained only a few days the army and its general; but compelled Africanus, himself a Salian priest, under the most religious obligation, to remain during the whole period assigned for the festival, in the same place where the beginning of it had overtaken him. He did not therefore land in Asia, until a considerable time after his brother⁶⁰. The second circumstance that retarded the march, was a visit which the duty of filial reverence made the Romans pay to Troy, the mother country from which they gloried to have sprung, because ennobled by the exploits of men worthy to be their progenitors. From this immortal district, the cities of Dardanus and Rhetium sent deputations to meet the Romans on the Trojan plain. The natives and strangers then ascended in friendly bands to Ilium and its citadel, that they might there sacrifice to Minerva; the Romans delighting in the cordial hospitality of those whom they revered as their parents; the Trojans rejoicing in the lofty destinies of their offspring, who, hav-

⁶⁰ Ibid. c. 33.

ing subdued Europe and Africa, now came to recover their more ancient dominion in Asia⁶¹. C H A P.
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During the delay occasioned by the first of these halts, Antiochus, who, in the midst of his anxieties, was ready to lay hold of every circumstance however trifling, that could be favourably construed, sent his ambassador Heraclides of Byzantium to the Romans, as if they had stopped short in order to leave room for negociation. His firmer hopes were founded on the disposition of Africanus, who, already satiated with glory, would the more naturally incline to peace; and even on the gratitude of that general, because his son having fallen into the hands of Antiochus in the beginning of the war, (captured, it is most likely, on the coast of Eubœa,) was then a prisoner with the king, but had been treated by him with every indulgence that could sooth his confinement. Heraclides first addressed himself publicly to the consul in the assembly of his lieutenants and military tribunes. He observed that, to obtain peace, Antiochus had already evacuated Lyfimachia, and was ready to desist from all pretensions to Lampfacus and Smyrna: that, having thus yielded the points for which the war had been undertaken, he was farther willing to defray one-half of the expence which the Romans had incurred in the prosecution of it. He was answered that, as the Romans had taken arms to emancipate the Greek cities in Asia, their object could not be secured unless Antiochus relinquished all the territory on this side mount Taurus; and that, as the king's ambition only was to blame, not one-half, but the whole expence of the war, must be defrayed by him. To obtain abatement in these demands, Heraclides had recourse privately to Africanus, endeavouring to tempt him with bribes, and giving him assurances that his son should speedily be restored to him: a youth whose personal fame is obscured by his interposition between the two greatest of the Scipios, Africanus his father, and Emilianus his adopted son.

Antiochus
endeavours
to obtain
peace.

Terms pro-
posed by his
ambassador.

⁶¹ Ibid. c. 37.

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Rejected.

The former thus answered the ambassador, "I am less surprized that you should not know the Romans, than that you should be ignorant of the condition of your own master. After relinquishing the defences of Lyfimachia and the Hellespont, and having allowed the Romans to pass quietly into Asia, Antiochus may be compared to a horse that has not only admitted the rein, but patiently received a rider. I shall accept my son, from his hands, as the highest personal favour; and shall be ready to repay him by every personal service in my power. But, as to public affairs, I can do nothing for his interest, except by giving him this one advice, that he accept any terms of peace, however unreasonable they may appear to him⁶²."

Antiochus
takes post at
Magneſia
near mount
Sipylos.

Shortly after this transaction, the Romans proceeded to Troy, and from thence, in six marches, to the river Caicus which flows on the southern frontier of Pergamus. Eumenes, in order to join them, had purposed returning by sea from the Hellespont to Elæa; but as contrary winds hindered him from doubling the promontory of Lectum, he quitted his fleet, and proceeded by land through the nearest route to his allies, that he might afford them his utmost assistance in the decisive conflict that now seemed inevitable. About the same time that Eumenes arrived in the camp, Scipio Africanus was obliged, by indisposition, to leave it. He was conveyed to Elæa; and continued in a languishing state, until an event most pleasing to his mind, produced effects highly salutary to his body. This was an embassy from Antiochus, restoring to him his long captive son. Africanus expressed much gratitude to the Syrian ambassadors, which he enjoined them to convey in the warmest terms to their master, with an advice, the only remuneration in his power, that Antiochus should not fight the Romans, until the man, whom he had so highly obliged, had rejoined their camp. Upon receiving this message, Antiochus, with his army of seventy thousand foot and above twelve thousand horse, fell back from the neighbourhood of

⁶² Polyb. l. xxi. c. 11, 12. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 36.

Theatira where he then lay, and having passed the river Phrygius or Hyllus, encamped at Magnesia, an Ionian city about forty miles inland from the harbour of Phocæa, and situate at no great distance from mount Sipylus, and still nearer to the confluence of the rivers Hyllus and Hermus. This convenient post he carefully fortified with a double rampart, flanked with towers, purposing to keep on the defensive until Africanus rejoined his brother⁶³.

The Romans, eager for battle, advanced from the left bank of the Caicus, first in the direction of Theatira; but when they heard of Antiochus' removal from that place, they proceeded southward to the Hyllus, and encamped on its right bank, only four miles from the enemy. They had scarcely occupied this ground, when the Dahæ, a Scythian tribe from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes, intermixed with Gauls or Galatians, men equally fierce and still more presumptuous, ventured to cross the Hyllus, and made furious assaults on the Roman outposts. These irregulars were repelled with considerable loss, and both armies remained quiet for two days. On the third, the Romans passed in close ranks the Hyllus, and encamped, notwithstanding much molestation from chosen bodies of the enemy, at the distance of two miles from his lines. During the four succeeding days, both armies maintained a threatening posture before their respective entrenchments; but, when the fifth morning arose, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain; without exciting, however, any corresponding ardour on the side of the Syrians. The consul, perceiving their great unwillingness to come to a general engagement, called a council of war, or rather an assembly of his soldiers. He told them, that, if the battle was deferred, they must either, as winter was at hand, be cooped up within their leathern tents, or, by going into winter quarters, postpone to a future season the triumph of their arms. They exclaimed unanimously, "Lead us to the hostile camp; the ramparts of the Syrians

Decisive
battle of
Magnesia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

⁶³ Ibid. c. 37.

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XX.

The phalanx
defeated,—
why.

will not resist our valour." After Cneius Domitius, who, in the absence of Africanus, acted as second in command, had carefully examined the intermediate ground, the Romans advanced their standards; and at the same time Antiochus, whose resolutions were all taken precipitately, and never consistently executed, also proceeded from his camp. The Romans speedily arrayed themselves in their well known triple order; their main body consisting of four legions, amounted to twenty-one thousand and six hundred men; their allies, intermixed with a few squadrons of cavalry on the flanks, were nearly half that number; among whom three thousand had been supplied by Eumenes, and a large body of Thracians and Macedonians by Philip. Antiochus' vast army presented to a military eye a spectacle more gorgeous than terrible. His phalanx of sixteen thousand pikemen, drawn up thirty-two⁶⁴ in depth, formed its main strength; but this efficient body was clogged by an unwieldy mass of auxiliaries. Its sections were divided by tower-bearing elephants; a line of chariots, armed with scythes, encumbered its front; instead of rapid cavalry and nimble *bypaspists*, the only serviceable aids to the phalanx, Antiochus had flanked it by heavy cataphracts, while his auxiliary foot consisted of an ill-armed and motley rabble. The king was at the head of his right wing; the left was entrusted to his son Seleucus; Zeuxis and Minio, men not unknown to the reader, commanded the centre. By means of the select body of horse, the *Agema*, still trained in the exercises which the great Alexander had taught, Antiochus broke the cavalry which opposed him, and pursued it with some auxiliary infantry towards the Roman camp. There, the tribune Emilius commanded a reserve of two thousand men, whom he led to meet and cut down the fugitives, unless they returned instantly to the charge. At the same time, Attalus came seasonably to reinforce them with a body of Pergamenian horse. Antiochus was repelled in his turn, but regained the field of battle to

⁶⁴ Appian de Reb. Syr. c. 32.

behold the route or rather the total destruction of his army. This, in general, was all that he had time to learn, for the danger that threatened him of death or captivity, made him continue his full speed in company with a few horsemen, and advance fifty miles without halting, until he arrived, about midnight, at Sardes. The victory had been gained chiefly through the abilities of Eumenes. By empty sounds, and desultory or feigned assaults, he frightened the horses drawing the scythed chariots, and thereby gave new efficacy to the obstacles which the Syrians themselves had opposed to the shock of their phalanx. That body, which was alone fitted to cope with and defeat the Romans, did not once charge in its ranks: it was disordered, and therefore easily overpowered. About fifty thousand Syrians were slain in the battle, in the pursuit, or in their fortified camp into which they had thrown themselves. Few prisoners were taken; the loss on the side of the victors is reduced by the usual misrepresentations of partiality and vanity, below the number of four hundred. From the wide variety of nations engaged, the field of battle presented a singularly chequered scene of carnage: Grecian phalangites confounded in heaps with Gallic swordsmen; Scythians with hatchets, and Persian archers strowing promiscuously the ground; Medes weltering in blood, with their proud Nisæan horses, and elephants with their Indian conductors; Parthian cataphracts clad, or rather shrowded, in complete steel; Arabs, near their dying camels, still grasping long and light scymetars⁶⁵.

When Antiochus reached Sardes, he found, that rapid as his own flight had been, his son Seleucus had yet outstripped his speed, and was then on his way to Apamea in Phrygia. The king hastened thither in the morning; traversed Phrygia, crossed mount Taurus, descended into the plain of Cilicia, penetrated the Syrian gates at Issus, and arrived with sad marks of discomfiture at his capital Antioch. Ephesus, Sardes, with all the inferior cities of Ionia and

CHAP.
XX.

Eumenes
had the prin-
cipal share
in the vic-
tory.

Peace grant-
ed to Antio-
chus.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 3.
B. C. 190.

⁶⁵ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 30—39.

C H A P. XX. Lydia, sent offers of submission to the victors. The fleet under Polyxenidas, having learned the ruin of the army with which it had long co-operated, left the Ionian coast, and sailed to Patara in Lycia. Here Polyxenidas disembarked; and, lest he should be intercepted at sea by the Rhodians, pursued the remainder of his way to Syria by land, in company with a few of his officers. After a short deliberation at Antioch, the king sent his nephew Antipater, and Zeuxis, who had long been his viceroy in Lydia, to beg, rather than negotiate, a peace. The consul had advanced to Sardes; Eumenes accompanied him; they were joined by Africanus from Elæa, only just recovered from his indisposition. In the ancient capital of Lydia, and in a council of their officers and allies, the Scipios gave audience to the two Syrians, who debased their humiliating commission by their abject manner of executing it. Zeuxis, who spoke in the name of both, said that they had come, not to make any proposition on the part of Antiochus, their master, but to learn from the Romans by what means that prince might atone for past errors. The battle of Magnesia, they acknowledged, was altogether decisive. On many former occasions, the Romans had signalized their clemency to conquered kings; but the exercise of the same virtue now became them more peculiarly, when the success of their arms had made them gods on earth, and required of them an imitation of those celestial beings in pardoning the frailties of men, and showering on them unmerited benefits⁶⁶.

Its conditions.

Africanus made answer, according to previous concert in the council. "With regard to power and territory, and all external advantages, the Romans possessed what the bounty of providence had conferred on them; but as to what depended merely on themselves, the temper of their own minds, it remained the same under every vicissitude of fortune. The conditions of peace, therefore, should not be materially different from those offered to Antio-

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 44, 45.

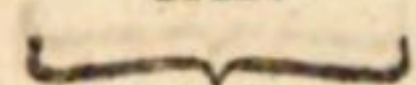
chus before his defeat. He must desist from every design of re-establishing his settlements on the eastern coast of Europe; after withdrawing his garrisons, he must relinquish all pretensions to Asia on this side mount Taurus; he must pay fifteen thousand Eubœic talents to defray the expence of the war: five hundred on demand; two thousand five hundred at the ratification of peace by the senate; and the remainder by twelve annual payments of a thousand talents each, in the course of twelve years. For the performance of these articles, the Romans required twenty hostages, among whom they named the king's son, bearing also the name of Antiochus. They demanded, likewise, that Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Etolian, should be put into their hands. By his past delays, Antiochus treated less honourably now, than he might have done formerly; let him therefore hesitate no longer, but remember that it is easier to reduce kings from mediocrity to the lowest adversity, than to degrade them into a middle place from the pinnacle of fortune." These conditions of peace, oppressive enough in themselves, were afterwards aggravated by the senate. Antiochus was required to surrender his elephants, and all his ships of war except ten only, which were not to advance westward beyond the river Calycadmus in Cilicia, unless for the purpose of conveying ambassadors, hostages, or tribute. The mention of the Calycadmus on this occasion serves to define the doubtful expression of *Asia on this side mount Taurus*. For the Calycadmus, as well as the Halys, rises among the mountains of Cilicia, but flows southward into the Mediterranean⁶⁷, while the Halys flows northward into the Euxine. The opposite courses of the two rivers thus naturally divide the peninsula; and the territory to the west of them was to be left at the disposition of the Romans and their allies. In computing the tribute, the Eubœan talent had been named, because that of the greatest weight; but the senate further added, that the silver should be of the Attic standard,

⁶⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 670.

because

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because this was the finest. It required also that Antiochus should pay about five hundred talents to king Eumenes, and embrace every measure necessary for living on good terms with that prince and the Rhodians. All persons belonging to the ceded territory serving in Antiochus' armies or garrisons, were to be immediately discharged by him; but such subjects of the king as had taken part with the Romans and their allies, or had by any means fallen into their hands, were either to remain or depart at pleasure⁶⁸.

Death of
Hannibal.
Olymp.
cxlix. 2.
B. C. 283.

The whole of these conditions were accepted, and faithfully executed in as far as they depended on the Syrian king. But it was not in his power to surrender Thoas and Hannibal, the former of whom had been the furious instigator of the war, and the latter an *unfortunate* encourager of it, only because his counsels had been rejected. Hannibal, as we have seen, had been intercepted by the Rhodians on the coast of Lycia, and thereby prevented from assisting in the battle of Magnesia. Upon the intelligence of Antiochus' defeat, not doubting but, through the persecution of the Romans, he would be proscribed in Syria as he had formerly been banished from Carthage, he betook himself to a timely flight, and appears to have successively sought protection in Crete, Armenia, and Bythynia. Among the perfidious and greedy Cretans, a fugitive, whose head was of value, could not long be safe. Hannibal escaped to Armenia, where Artaxias, viceroy of that country, had availed himself of favourable circumstances to erect his satrapy into a kingdom. The discernment of the Carthaginian is said to have pointed out to him the fittest situation for his new capital Artaxata⁶⁹, in a beautiful plain almost surrounded by the Araxes. The misfortunes which, as we shall see afterwards, befel Artaxias, obliged Hannibal to repair to Bithynia; where, in the same year that Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, Prusias, surnamed the Hunter, succeeded to Prusias the Lamé. This new king of Bythynia, who is described as a vile

⁶⁸ Plutarch in Flamin. Conf. Polybius, l. xxi. c. 14. l. xxii. c. 7 & 26.

⁶⁹ Plutarch in Lucull.

compound of levity and effeminacy, was persuaded by Hannibal to make war on his neighbour Eumenes of Pergamus. The Romans sent Quintus Flamininus, the conqueror of Philip at Kynoscephalæ, together with Scipio, surnamed Asiaticus, from his victory at Magnesia, to mediate a peace between them. Hannibal became the victim of this embassy, either through the implacable resentment of the Romans, or the natural vileness of Prusias, who was eager to destroy a guest so obnoxious to them. Hannibal's retreat, the small fortresses of Libyssa, on the coast of Bithynia, was beset by armed men; the subterranean passages which his caution had drawn from it to the sea shore were at the same time obstructed. Perceiving that he could only escape his enemies by death, he is said to have drunk bull's blood like Themistocles⁷⁰, a man whom he much resembled, both in the energy of his character, and the malignancy of his fortune.

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Thoas the Etolian escaped indeed the immediate vengeance of the Romans, after the defeat of Antiochus. But at the distance of several years, we know not clearly by what means, he fell into their power. At the intercession of two of his countrymen, Pantaleon and Nicander, he was released however from captivity, and again resumed the same turbulent part that he had formerly acted in the councils of his country. The just reproaches of those by whom he had recently recovered freedom, exposed him to summary justice from the enraged multitude⁷¹. He was stoned in the Etolian assembly, probably to death; since from this period, twelve years after the battle of Magnesia, he disappears from history.

And of
Thoas.

Shortly after dictating the terms of peace at Sardes, the Scipios cantoned their troops into the neighbouring cities. They, as well as Regillus, who commanded the fleet, delayed, until successors were appointed for them, to return home to their respective triumphs. Much work still remained to be done in Asia; for though

Causes
which de-
tained the
Scipios in
Asia.

⁷⁰ Conf. Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 9. Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51.

⁷¹ Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 4.

the

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the Romans purposed not to retain a foot of ground in that continent, they had to superintend the faithful execution of the treaty on the part of Antiochus; to chastise the Gauls and Cappadocians, auxiliaries to that prince; and to divide his spoils on this side mount Taurus, between their own zealous allies Eumenes and the Rhodians. The Syrian garrisons which might prove refractory to the will of their disgraced master, were to be expelled from Ænos, Maronæa, and other distant strongholds; and Roman captives, of whom many thousands had been reduced to slavery in the course of the late and preceding wars, were to be recovered from the coasts and islands to which they had been transported. For effecting these important purposes, the consul Manlius Vulso, and the pretor Fabius Labeo, were respectively appointed to command the forces by land and sea in Asia; the other consul Fulvius Nobilior conducted reinforcements into Greece, to extinguish the embers of Antiochus' party in that country, which were still ready to be inflamed by the restless Etolians.

Effrontery
of the Eto-
lians.

That people, equally perfidious and fierce, negotiated at Rome, while their arms infested the territories of the Roman allies. To obtain impunity for their depredations, their ambassadors gave out, during the dependence of the war with Antiochus, that the Scipios had been decoyed into a conference with a view to recover the son of Africanus; and that the generals being treacherously made captive, their camp had been surprised and taken, and their whole forces destroyed. Upon the confidence of this report, which the Romans should seem to have credited, the Etolians rose in their demands, and behaved with so much insolence, that they were ordered to quit Rome in twenty-four hours, and to leave Italy in fifteen days. They were scarcely gone, when the wild rumour which they had raised was dispelled by Aurelius Cotta. He arrived from the camp of the Scipios to announce their decided victory, accompanied by king Eumenes

Eumenes in person, and by deputies from Antiochus, the Rhodians, and all the principal free cities in Lesser Asia⁷². C H A P.
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On the day appointed for hearing the strangers in the senate, Eumenes had the first audience, in compliment rather to his merit as an ally, than to his royal dignity. He thanked the Romans for delivering his kingdom from invasion, and his capital from a siege; and congratulated them on their complete and illustrious success by sea and land; adding, that as to what he himself had done against the common enemy, he wished that the senators should rather learn it from the report of their commanders than hear it from his own mouth. The senate desired that he would mention his expectations; "important and strenuous as his exertions had been, the generosity of the Romans would equal, and, if possible, surpass them." Eumenes replied, that if he stood in a similar relation to any other power, he would consult the wisdom of the senate, to know what requests he should make, and to what rewards he was entitled. This resolution was still more natural, when his remuneration was to proceed from the Romans themselves. He therefore submitted the affair wholly to their own discretion. The conscript fathers acknowledged the compliment, but still urged him to speak out. The king's modesty was unalterable, and rather than yield in this contest of complaisance, he abruptly left the senate house. When surprise at his departure had subsided, some senators observed, that it was strange in Eumenes to have come to Rome without knowing his own errand; that he was better acquainted, than they were, with Asia; and could better tell what new acquisitions there, would suit the convenience of his kingdom. He was accordingly brought back to the senate house, and kindly constrained to make his demands. "My resolution," he said, "to keep silence would be invincible, did I not know, conscript fathers! that you are soon to give audience to the Rhodians. They will tell you, that your dignity and con-

Eumenes' demands made in the senate. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

⁷² Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 48, & seq.

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sistency are concerned in giving freedom to the Greek cities of Asia; and this proposition will be the more likely to meet with a favourable reception, because it will not appear at first sight to contain any thing injurious to me, or peculiarly advantageous to them; yet the contrary of this will be found true. The emancipation of the Greek cities, recently tributaries to Antiochus, will encourage my own subjects to rebel; I shall lose my authority, and they will not recover liberty; for the Rhodians, through the specious merit of delivering them from a foreign yoke, will subject them, under the name of allies, to a jurisdiction severer than mine. Do not then listen in this matter to the Rhodians; nor exalt them too highly by my undeserved depression. In mere questions of interest, I am not of a disposition obstinately to contend; but I will struggle to the utmost for your friendship, and the marks by which it is attested. These are hereditary possessions delivered down to me from my father, your first ally in Asia; who having co-operated with you uniformly through a long life, at last died in your service. His zeal I could not exceed; and, if I have surpassed his actions, my superiority in this respect is due to fortune, the times, and your war with Antiochus. That prince, master of so many kingdoms, offered me his daughter in marriage, and other splendid advantages. I boast not of rejecting his gifts, which, consistently with my devotion to you, I could not possibly have accepted; but in maintaining fidelity to Rome, which of your allies have either equalled my exertions or incurred my sufferings? My territories were ravaged, my capital was besieged; my expences in military and naval stores are without example; I have fought in every battle by sea and land; my brother and my subjects seconded my ardour; and wherever we were posted our valour was successful. You still ask, senators! what are my demands? I will make a fair but reluctant answer. If, when you drove Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, you intended to occupy for yourselves the conquered territory, I should rejoice in having the

the Romans for my neighbours. Nothing, I know, could more effectually contribute to my happiness and security. But if you mean to withdraw your armies from Asia, I venture to affirm that none of your allies is better entitled than I am to reap the fruits of your illustrious victory." The senate marked approbation, and Eumenes retired⁷³.

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The ambassadors of Rhodes, who as allies stood next in merit, would have been heard immediately after the king of Pergamus; but it happened, unaccountably, that some persons essential to the deputation were absent; and the envoys from Smyrna being eager for admission, were therefore introduced before the Rhodians, and met with great praises from the senate, for their firmness in resisting a long siege, rather than submit to Antiochus. The Rhodians, who had been missing, by this time joined their companions. They began, by deploring the necessity of obstructing any of the views of Eumenes, whom of all kings they most respected. "But our opposition," they said, "originates not in personal considerations, but in the unalterable nature of things. Kings love power, and are perpetually ambitious to extend it. Republics cherish liberty, and knowing how sweet it is, are eager to diffuse its benefits around them. But the conquests, Romans! which you have made, equally rich and extensive, will enable you, without offence to the sacred name of freedom, to reward Eumenes even to the full extent of his deserts. The countries wrested from Antiochus; Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, Pisidia and the Chersonesus, these, or part of these possessions, will swell the dominions of Pergamus to a great kingdom. In order to gratify your royal ally, it is not necessary that you should abandon the maxims which first carried your arms into Greece, and to which you adhered with so much honour to yourselves after the defeat of Philip. You gave freedom to the Greeks in Europe; bestow the same boon on those in Asia, even to the boundary of

Those of the
Rhodians.

⁷³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 52 & seq.

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Mount Taurus. The Greek colonies in Asia have rivalled their European ancestors in laws and arts, and every laudable pursuit. They long maintained independence by domestic strength; their minds and tempers are the same under an altered state of external fortune; they pray that the power of the sword may remain perpetually with whom it now is, and with whom it is least likely to be abused. Embrace them, therefore, with your protection; and you will acquire a real and peculiar glory in peace, surpassing that of all warlike achievements²⁴. The speech seemed suitable to the magnanimity then felt, or affected, by those to whom it was addressed. The ambassadors of Antiochus were then admitted, and procured the ratification of the peace which had been formerly dictated to them at Sardes. The various deputies from the Greek cities of Asia had also their respective audiences, to all of whom the senate gave one and the same answer; namely, that ten commissioners, according to custom, would be sent speedily to examine and regulate their affairs. The outline of the new arrangement was however immediately signified to them: that the cities, which had been subject to Attalus, should continue tributary to Eumenes; and that those which had paid tribute to Antiochus should thenceforward be exempted from that burthen. In this decision, the Romans held a middle course between the two opposite roads proposed respectively by the Rhodians and Eumenes. Instead of emancipating, as the former had recommended, the Greek cities universally, they not only exempted, by their present resolution, those belonging to Eumenes, but their commissioners, soon after they had arrived in Asia, assigned to that prince such other cities as had most distinguished their zeal and services in the cause of Antiochus. While their decision was in this respect displeasing to the Rhodians, they gratified, on the other hand, that people, by securing freedom to all those commonwealths which either enjoyed independence at the commencement of the war, or in the

²⁴ Ibid. c. 54.

course of it had sided with themselves, or which, though subject to their adversary, had afforded him only a scanty and reluctant assistance. The dominions of Antiochus in Lycia and Caria, were at the same time decreed to the Rhodians⁷⁵. His royal forests, the territories which he held in Lydia and Mysia, the rich plains of Phrygia and Lycaonia, all these valuable countries in Asia, as well as the Thracian Chersonesus in Europe, were granted to Eumenes. The little principality of Pergamus thus rose to a great monarchy, whose master shewed himself worthy of his good fortune. His new acquisitions were governed with the same wisdom and equity that had so highly benefited and improved his patrimonial kingdom; and the Greek cities, subjected to his authority, had no reason to envy the happiness of free republics⁷⁶. The liberality of the Romans having made these splendid presents, the Rhodians were encouraged to intercede for the city of Soli in Cilicia. This was a Greek colony on the other side of mount Taurus, and according to that line of demarcation abandoned to Antiochus. The Rhodians said, that the inhabitants of Soli were of the same blood with themselves, since both were colonies from Argos. They entreated, therefore, that it might be exempted from the king's imposts and garrisons. The Romans conferred on the subject of this petition with the ambassadors, Antipater and Zeuxis, but found them totally averse to the resignation of Soli. Their reluctance was communicated to the Rhodians, who at the same time were told, that every effort would be made to remove it, should the emancipation of Soli be deemed essential to the interest and dignity of Rhodes. The Rhodians warmly thanked the senate for this last proof of its goodness: but observed, that they would rather submit to the obstinacy of the king's ambassadors, than be the means of disturbing the peace⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Polybius, l. iii. c. 3. l. xxii. c. 7.

⁷⁶ Id. *ibid.* l. xxxvii. c. 56.

⁷⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 5.

Meanwhile

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March of the
consul Man-
lius to Gala-
tia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

Meanwhile the consul Manlius had received from the Scipios the command of the legions in Asia. Having assembled them at Ephesus, he extolled with due praise their victory over Antiochus, but told them, "that their work was still incomplete, while the Gauls, zealous abettors of that prince, domineered over both sides the Halys; the Trocmi on the east, and the Tolistoboi and the Tectosages on the west of that river. This insolent nation, whose merciless ravages had so long deformed the peninsula, trusting to their distance of nearly three hundred miles from the Grecian sea, presumed to set the invasion of the Romans at defiance. Nothing therefore would be gained by the removal of Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, unless the arrogance of the Gauls were humbled, since a fiercer domination would succeed to that of the Syrians, and still more cruelly tyrannize over the Roman allies." The soldiers, who hoped for an easy victory, and a rich booty, shewed much eagerness to march against the enemy. King Eumenes had directed their motions on the coast; his brother Attalus, in the absence of that prince at Rome, was to conduct them through the inland country. Attalus joined the consul near the Meander, with a thousand infantry and two hundred horse: they crossed that river, fifty miles above its mouth, in boats, and landed on the southern bank at Hieracomè, a place famous for the oracle of Apollo, and governed in its internal concerns by priests, whose prerogatives had been long respected by every power bearing sway in Lesser Asia. The army proceeded in two marches to the river Harpasus, where it was joined by Athenæus, also brother to Eumenes, commanding a larger reinforcement than that recently brought by Attalus. To the consul, preparing for his departure, an embassy came from Alabanda, a Carian city dependent on the Rhodians, craving his assistance in the reduction of a neighbouring stronghold that had revolted. He detached a few cohorts to perform this service, and continued his progress

gress eastward to Antioch on the Meander. To this place, stipulated supplies of corn were brought to him by Seleucus the son of Antiochus. Some difficulty was made about victualling the forces under Attalus and Athenæus. Seleucus contended, that he was not bound in any treaty with them. But Manlius declared, that he would not accept the corn offered to him, until the Roman allies had been plentifully supplied with that article. This firmness ended the debate. In advancing from the banks of the Meander to those of the Chaus, the Romans were unexpectedly encountered by some cavalry belonging to Tabes, a city proud in its connection and consanguinity with the warlike Pisidians. The assailants were made to feel the inferiority of their weapons and discipline, and compelled to purchase pardon by the payment of twenty-five talents, and ten thousand bushels of wheat. From the Chaus the consul proceeded to the Indus, a small torrent on the southern frontier of Phrygia, which received that magnificent name from the disaster of an Indian, who had been drowned in passing it on his elephant ⁷⁸.

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Seleucus obliged to supply the Pergamenians with corn.

The Romans were now in the neighbourhood of Cibyra, which with some strongholds on the neighbouring mountains, obeyed Moagetes, a cruel and crafty tyrant. Not to leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, the consul sent against Cibyra his lieutenant Helvius with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. This detachment was met by ambassadors from the tyrant, bearing a present of fifteen talents of silver, and craving that his country might be spared. Helvius referred them to the consul, who answered their request by saying, that such was their master's infamy, that there was little room for friendship and great cause for punishment. The ambassadors only begged the consul to receive the money, and to allow Moagetes to appear personally before him, that he might make his own defence. Accordingly, next day, the tyrant came to the Roman camp, equipped and attended below the condition of a pri-

Contributions raised on Moagetes, tyrant of Cibyra.

⁷⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 12.—14.

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vate citizen. His speech was conformable to his appearance; low, plaintive, and faltering: he bewailed the poverty of his people, and gave rather a hope, than any positive assurance, that, by begging them and himself, he would endeavour to collect the sum of twenty-five talents. The consul told him, that such vile hypocrisy was not to be endured, "It was not enough, that yesterday you trifled with us by ambassadors. You must now repeat the mockery yourself. Twenty-five talents, you say, would beggar you and your country: but unless in the space of three days, you pay five hundred talents, your territory will be ravaged, and your capital in ruins." Moagetes persevered in affirming his inability to comply; and amidst tears, prayers, and cavils, prevailed on the consul to be contented with one hundred talents, and a thousand bushels of corn⁷⁹.

Manlius
proceeds to
the Tolisto-
bii.

In their march eastward, the Romans entered the confines of the Pisidian mountaineers, who defied foreign enemies, and made implacable wars with each other. The people of Isionda, after their town had been taken, were blocked up in their citadel by their neighbours of Termessus. The consul obliged the besiegers to retire, and exacted from them fifty talents. Similar contributions were raised on other cities on his way, which had not soothed him by voluntary presents or submissive embassies. Having in this manner traversed part of Pisidia and Pamphylia, he directed his course northward to the sources of the Meander, and the ancient city of Celænæ, then called Apamea from the wife of Seleucus Nicator. To this place, the namesake of that illustrious prince, and the fifth from him in descent, came by order of his father to meet the Roman conquerors, and to supply them with guides and other conveniences for the remainder of their march, to the confines of the Tolistobii, the nearest division of their Gallic enemies.

Preparations
of the Gauls.

The whole of this clan was not of one mind. Since their bloody defeat by Attalus, the father of Eumenes, many Gauls had betaken

⁷⁹ Ibid. c. 15.

themselves to a settled life; and, in imitation of the nations around them, were occupied in agriculture and the arts. To people, thus employed, it seemed better to make the submissions required of them, than to try the chance of war. They brought presents to the invaders, and acquainted them with the motions and views of their ill-advised brethren. The Tolistoboi, they said, had retired northward, and taken post among the fastnesses of Olympus, which formed their boundary with Bithynia. The Tectosages had occupied Magaba, a continuation eastward of the same mountain. The Trocmi having deposited their property and families with the Tectosages, had joined with all their warriors the forces of the Tolistoboi; hopeful that the Romans would either not follow them to their mountainous retreats, or would not long remain in those cold and rude regions. They had, however, transported with them provisions to hold out against an obstinate siege: of missile weapons they had not collected any supply, because the rocky country furnished them with exhaustless magazines of stones to be hurled against an approaching enemy⁸⁰.

Manlius, as the principles of war on such ground required, marched against them in divisions. His light troops were numerous, and provided amply with javelins, arrows, and leaden bullets. The Gauls, with their usual presumption, sallied from their camp. They began to ply their natural artillery of stones and rocks, in which, however, they found but little resource, while their own half-naked bodies were dreadfully galled by the well-directed weapons of the enemy. The balls, launched from slings, sunk deep into their flesh, and the barbed arrows and javelins could not be extracted. They were driven back in dismay to their camp, before the entrances to which they made a crowded stand, and were thereby exposed to a ruinous discharge of Roman pila. This was the last act of the battle, which was entirely decided by missile weapons. The Gauls fled on

Battle of
Olympus.

⁸⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16. & seq.

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Battle of
Magaba.—
Total defeat
of the Gauls.

all sides: about forty thousand of them were slain or taken; their camp, with their women and effects, fell a prey to the victors⁸¹.

After this success at Olympus, the consul descended to Ancyra and refreshed his soldiers in that industrious and peaceful city, with the design of speedily leading them against a second army of the enemy, posted at Magaba. The Tectosages, occupying this mountain, had received succours from the Cappadocians beyond the Halys, and had determined to make a vigorous resistance. They sent ambassadors, however, to the consul, and by vain professions of submission, decoyed him to a pretended conference with their chiefs, midway between the Gallic camp and Ancyra⁸². While Manlius, with a small escort, approached the place appointed, he was surprised by a body of Gallic cavalry, advancing with their horses in a foam; and would have been totally cut off, had not fortune defended the law of nations against this detestable perfidy. Some Romans, having gone in the morning in quest of wood and forage, happened to be at hand; seasonably rescued their general, and repelled the enemy. Next day, the consul breathing resentment, marched in full force against the camp of Magaba. Here a second battle was fought, scarcely distinguishable in any circumstance from the former. The Gauls lost nearly the whole of their warriors, and the rich spoils accumulated by a people represented as the cruellest and greediest of all antiquity. The remnant of the nation sent tokens of submission; Manlius ordered their ambassadors to meet him at Ephesus⁸³.

Bold exploit
of Chiomara,
wife to a
Gallic chief-
tain.

The same historians, who brand the ferocity and rapacity of the Gauls, celebrate the virtue, as well as beauty, of Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon, chief of the Tolistoboi. Being taken in the battle of Olympus, she had been carried to Ancyra. The centurion, to whom she was entrusted, did violence to her person, and then offered to release her from captivity, in case she could procure a ransom.

⁸¹ Ibid. c. 21.

asunder.

⁸² The camp and city were ten miles

⁸³ Ibid. c. 25. & seq.

The

The time, the place, and the sum of money were agreed on; as well as the number of those, two only, who should convey it. Through the intervention of a faithful slave, found among the centurion's prisoners, her friends were apprized of the condition of her liberation. Two of them, on the night appointed, brought in gold the value of a talent⁸⁴, and gave it to weigh to the centurion, who had anxiously waited for them with his captive. While his thoughts were occupied about the gold, she commanded her ransomers to stab him to the heart. They obeyed; his head was then severed from his body, and being wrapped up in her robe by Chiomara, was carried to her husband Ortiagon in the place of his retreat, and thrown on the ground before him, in proof of the punishment by which she had avenged her violated chastity⁸⁵.

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While Manlius conquered the Gauls, Fabius Labeo, who commanded the Roman fleet, accomplished the various objects committed to him by the senate; the expulsion of Antiochus' garrisons from the sea-coast, the destruction of his ships of war, and the recovery of Romans sold into slavery. These additions to his own more splendid success enabled the consul, on his return to Ephesus, to settle the affairs of the peninsula, to the complete satisfaction of the allies in that quarter. To answer finally the numerous embassies, which solicited his attention, he only waited for the return of Eumenes from Rome, whose absence from the Gallic war, had been ably supplied by his brother Attalus. In concert with these princes, Manlius announced the same terms of peace to the Syrians which had formerly been tendered to them: the Gauls were commanded to desist in future from their wandering and predatory life: Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who had assisted both them and Antiochus, purchased pardon at the price of two hundred talents. This was an inconsiderable atonement for such high provocations. But the Romans wished not yet to carry their arms beyond the Halys; and

Operations
of the fleet
under La-
beo.

Pacification
of Asia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

⁸⁴ That is, the value of a silver talent, 193l. 15s.

⁸⁵ Ibid. c. 24.

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The Romans
plundered
in their re-
turn home
by the Thra-
cians.

Ariarathes, having about this time betrothed his daughter to Eumenes, obtained, through the interest of that prince, a remission of half the amercement⁸⁶.

The pacification of the East being thus effected, and the friends of Rome thereby secured in the important advantages decreed to them, the army crossed the Hellespont; and passed through Thrace, Macedon, and Theffaly, to Apollonia in Illyrium, the ordinary place of embarkation for Italy. In penetrating through the defiles of Thrace, near the river Hebrus, part of the Syrian and Gallic spoils was surprized and seized by the Thracians. These robbers ventured even to combat with the legions; they were repelled with much bloodshed, though without losing their booty: a circumstance, of which the enemies of Manlius afterwards made use, and invidiously amplified in the vain hope of obstructing his triumph⁸⁷.

Transactions
in Greece.—
Amynder
recovers
Athamania.

The same summer that had proved disastrous to the Gauls, was marked by the complete humiliation of the Etolians; both nations zealous allies to Antiochus, and both highly obnoxious to Rome and to all well-regulated governments. While the Scipios were employed in Asia, the Etolians had again extended their jurisdiction over Athamania and Dolopia, districts in their own neighbourhood, and forming the common frontier of Epirus and Theffaly. Athamania, as we have seen, had been wrested from its king Amynder, and, together with Dolopia, subjected to Macedonian garrisons with the consent of the Romans, who wished to soothe Philip upon commencing their war against Antiochus. Amidst the first transient successes of their Syrian ally, the Etolians flew to arms, surprized and expelled the Macedonian garrisons in their neighbourhood, and manfully defended their usurpations against king Philip and his son Perseus⁸⁸. To Amynder, who had co-operated with them in this enterprize, they restored Athamania, whose inhabitants, having smarted under the Macedonian yoke, longed for the dominion of

⁸⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 39.

⁸⁷ Id. ibid. c. 46.

⁸⁸ Id. ibid. c. 49.

their hereditary chieftain⁸⁹; and in return for this favour on the part of the Etolians, Amynder enabled them to become masters of Ambracia, a city of great strength and splendour, once the capital of Pyrrhus, but now in the fallen and divided state of the Epirots, forming a small independent republic. Amynder, after his expulsion from Athamania, had resided in Ambracia; he had strengthened his hereditary friendship with its citizens; his influence rather than the arms of the Etolians, had gained for them possession of the place. But the neighbouring cities of Epirus dreaded the rapacity of that people, and, in despair of any effectual aid from Macedon, trusted chiefly to the arms of Rome for defence. Meanwhile Antiochus lost the decisive battle of Magnesia. Alarmed by the news of this event, the Etolians and Amynder sent ambassadors to the senate, to justify, at least, extenuate their late proceedings. The Etolian embassy was headed by Alexander the Isian, with whose character my readers are acquainted. In their way to Rome, the ambassadors, four in number, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Epirots. Lest they should be reclaimed by the Romans, to whom they had been sent in a public and sacred character, the Epirots were eager to release them for a high ransom. They asked five talents for each: this price was reduced to three talents, which the colleagues of Alexander agreed respectively to pay, and, finding securities among their friends in Epirus, were according set at liberty. But the Isian complained of three talents as an exorbitant demand. He was an old infirm man, possessed of more than two hundred talents; but such was the tyranny of his avarice, that it would not allow him to part with the smallest trifle for the freedom and safety of his person. He determined rather to die in a prison, than to become bound for the sum required of him; and as the Romans sent orders for his liberation, the miser exulted in the patient firmness by which he had saved his money⁹⁰.

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 1.⁹⁰ Polybius, l. xxii. c. 9.

When

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Siege of
Ambracia.

When the Etolians learned the detention of their first embassy, they thought of dispatching a second. But it was no longer time, for the consul Fulvius Nobilior had sailed with a great armament to Apollonia, and was on his march through Epirus, at the head of twelve thousand infantry and six hundred horse; one third of which consisted, according to custom, of Roman citizens, and two-thirds of Italian allies. In concert with the Epirots, he determined to lay siege to Ambracia, while the less important acquisitions, recently made by the Etolians, should be invaded and wrested from them by the king of Macedon. Ambracia was situate three miles north of the gulph to which it gives name, defended on the east by a mountain, with a lofty citadel; on the west by the river Arachtus, and by walls three miles in circuit. With a view both to exclude succours, and to make a safe as well as efficacious attack, the Romans, accustomed to carry on war with the spade and pick-axe not less than with the sword, drew lines of circumvallation around the place, and then proceeded to batter the walls in five different points. The besieged defended themselves with equal skill and spirit. The shocks of the battering rams were diverted by iron grapples; huge cranes let fall enormous masses of lead to crush the Roman works; wherever the wall gave way, a new and stronger wall rose behind it; and the assaults of the besiegers were repelled and retaliated by bold sallies in the day, and more especially in the night. When the Romans had recourse to mining, the Etolians dexterously countermined them. They first cut a deep trench in the ground, and having discovered, by applying to its sides thin brazen plates, some of which resounded in unison with the clink of the Roman tools, the direction which their own workmen ought to pursue, they speedily came to the caverns made by the enemy. A battle ensued under ground, first with the mining instruments, and afterwards with swords and spears; but when this was rendered indecisive through want of room, neither party being able to penetrate beyond the shields of the other, the

Etolians

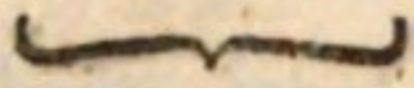
Etolians bethought them of a new expedient for dislodging the assailants. They provided a huge vessel covered with iron, and bristling with iron spikes. They filled it with small feathers; its end towards the Roman mine projected an iron tube; a smith's bellows was applied to the other; and the feathers being set on fire, the Romans were thus annoyed by so offensive a smoke, that it was impossible for them to persevere in their subterranean labours⁹. During this state of the siege, the Macedonians invaded and recovered Dolopia: and the coast of Etolia was ravaged by the Roman fleet, assisted by the Achæans, and by the Illyrian Pleuratus, a zealous ally of the Romans. Such a combination of enemies distracted the councils of the Etolians. They considered that the war had been undertaken through reliance on Antiochus; but now, that this prince had been defeated in a decisive battle, and banished to the extremities of the world beyond mount Taurus, all hope of resistance had vanished. Under this impression of despondency, they sent ambassadors to Fulvius, to implore his mercy on a people once in alliance with Rome: "that they had been sparingly rewarded as friends, and ought not therefore as enemies to be punished excessively." The consul ordered them to pay a thousand talents, to surrender their horses and arms, and to bind themselves, in war and peace, to yield implicit obedience to the senate. Before the negotiation was concluded, the Rhodians and Athenians interposed their friendly mediation. Amynder too, king of Athamania, requested a safe conduct to the Roman camp, and soothed the consul with promises of putting him, by peaceful means, in possession of Ambracia. This petty prince had performed essential service to the Romans in their Macedonian wars; by imprudently siding with Antiochus against them he had lost his kingdom: he had recently recovered it by his own activity and address: he feared, if a relentless war should be prosecuted against the Etolians, to be involved in their fate; he

Humiliation
of the Eto-
lians—Sur-
render of
Ambracia.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

⁹ Polybius, l. xxii. c. iv. 11, 12.

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feared also for the safety of Ambracia, a city where he had long resided, and over which he had an extraordinary degree of influence. Through the interference of Amynder, Ambracia surrendered on condition that the Etolians in the place should be allowed to depart in safety. The consul respected the liberties of the Ambracians and their property, public as well as private: the pictures and statues only, with which the palace of Pyrrhus had been adorned, were sent on board the fleet, to be transported to Rome. Shortly afterwards Fulvius moved his camp to Amphilocheian Argos, twenty-two miles distant from Ambracia, at the inmost extremity of the gulph; and prepared to march, if necessary, into the heart of Etolia. But a new embassy from that country, seconded by the Rhodians and Athenians, obtained conditions of peace more tolerable than those originally tendered; since the Etolians were allowed to retain their horses and arms; and instead of one thousand, required only to pay five hundred talents. They were compelled, however, to relinquish all their conquests, and to give hostages as a pledge of their entire submission in future to the power and majesty of Rome⁹². The consul then sailed to Cephallenia, long a dependance of Etolia, and, in a siege of four months, reduced the ill-advised but obstinate resistance of Samè, a sea port in that island. The city was plundered, its inhabitants were sold for slaves; and Cephallenia, thus completely subdued, became a very valuable acquisition, since by its proximity to the coast of Greece, it served as a convenient place of arms and observation for watching and seasonably controuling the course of public transactions in that country⁹³.

The Romans
possess them-
selves of Ce-
phallenia.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 189.

⁹² Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8. & seq.

⁹³ Id. l. xxxviii. c. 28, 29.

CHAPTER XXI.

Death of Antiochus the Great in Upper Asia.—Deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes.—The Decree for that Purpose.—Information contained in it illustrated by History.—Flourishing State of the Achaean League.—Changed Maxims of Rome.—War between the Rhodians and Lycians.—Philip greatly extends his Power.—Roman Commissioners at Tempè.—Messenian War and Death of Philopæmen.—Rivalship between Philip's Sons.—Murder of Demetrius.—Perseus defies his deceived Father.—Death of Philip.—Disasters of his Allies the Bastarnæ.

THE battle of Magnesia inflicted an incurable wound on the kingdom of the Greeks. Many eastern provinces had long been in rebellion; and in consequence of that battle, the western subjects of Syria were either intirely emancipated, or parcelled out between Eumenes II. of Pergamus and the maritime republic of Rhodes. Thus divested of just claim to his title of Great, Antiochus lost his life two years afterwards, in consequence of very unwarrantable measures which he pursued for raising the pecuniary contributions imposed on him by Rome. In this view, he bethought himself of rifling some of the richest of those temples which protected the money and merchandise belonging to individuals or communities. In the elevated region of Elymais, the southern appendage to mount Zagros, there was a staple or depository of this kind at the meeting of the caravan roads connecting Media with Persis and Susiana¹. This temple, which had been adorned² by the great Alexander, Antiochus determined to plunder. His assault was made in

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Antiochus
the Great
slain in Up-
per Asia—
Accession of
Seleucus
Philopator.
Olymp.
cxlvi. 2.
B. C. 187.

¹ Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1080. & Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

² Josephus, ibid.

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the night: the guards of the sacred inclosure defended their idols and treasures; they were assisted by hardy mountaineers, ever ready and armed, in its neighbourhood; a blind tumultuary engagement ensued, in which the king fell³, fighting at once against the religion, the commerce, and the arts of his country. Before this event, which happened in the 53d year of his age and 37th of his reign, he had long forfeited, as we have seen, the praise of his temperate youth, by engaging in a mad career of unbridled pleasure. His behaviour at different periods of life stamp him with two opposite characters: at the beginning, strenuous and dignified; towards the end, weak and disgraceful. His two sons reigned in succession. The elder, Seleucus Philopator, at this time viceroy in Antioch, immediately ascended the throne: the younger, Antiochus Epiphanes, (I anticipate these surnames of distinction,) was now an hostage in Italy, and remained twelve years longer in that country⁴.

Ptolemy
Epiphanes.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 2.
cxlix. 4.
B. C. 187—
181.

At the demise of his father-in-law, king of Syria, Ptolemy Epiphanes had reigned eighteen years in Egypt, though only in the 23d year of his age. He had espoused Antiochus' daughter Cleopatra before the disastrous war of that prince with the Romans; but Ptolemy Philometor, the first fruits of the marriage, was born nearly six years afterwards, about the æra of Antiochus' death⁵. According to a long previous treaty between Antiochus and those who, in the nonage of Ptolemy, administered the government of Egypt, Cleopatra, as we have seen, was to bring for her dower the restored allegiance of Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia. This treaty, however, was not exactly fulfilled. Its conditions as well as effects are very differently reported. Antiochus Epiphanes altogether denied its existence⁶: and according to the Greek historian of the times, the provinces in question remained uninterruptedly subject to Syria, from

³ Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. the throne. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. p. 575. Conf. Justin. xxxii. 2. 530.

⁴ Appian de Rebus Syriacis.

⁶ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 17.

⁵ Seleucus Philopator had just mounted

the battle of Panias, in the seventh year of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, to an æra posterior to the demise of that prince⁷. Yet Josephus relates that, upon the birth of Ptolemy Philometor of which we have just spoken, many principal men in Palæstine and the neighbouring districts hastened to Alexandria with their congratulations and presents⁸. Among these visitants, young Hyrcanus, the Jew, particularly distinguished himself, and gained as high favour with Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, as his father Joseph had procured, thirty-four years before this time, with Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenicé⁹. His alertness and pleasantry indeed were well calculated to succeed at the court of a young king, whose time should seem to have been spent between equestrian exercises and hunting on one hand¹⁰, and the merriment of feasting and buffoonery on the other¹¹.

Such are the inconsistent¹² notices which obscure the foreign transactions of this reign, while strong rays of light are thrown on Ptolemy's internal administration, by a monument distinguished among the trophies recently gained over France by British valour in Egypt. This is the priestly decree for the deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the ninth year of his reign, and when verging¹³ on the age of fourteen, his anacleleria¹⁴, or assumption of the government in his own person, was solemnly celebrated at Memphis. In a place, long the chief seat of the Egyptian hierarchy, the sacred per-

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Decree of
the Egyp-
tian priests
for his deifi-
cation—
informa-
tion con-
tained in it.

⁷ Polybius, xxviii. c. 1.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. p. 527 & seq.

⁹ See above, p. 35.

¹⁰ Polybius, l. xxiii. 1. He was famous as a bull-fighter, and could kill a bull with a spear thrown from a strap.

¹¹ Joseph. ibid. p. 529. At table, one of the king's jesters, filled Hyrcanus' plate with bones from the plates of those sitting near him. The king exclaimed at his voracity contrasted with the abstinence of his assessors. Hyrcanus replied, "I am a man; dogs eat bones." Bull-fighting and king's jesters!

How like scenes I remember 30 years ago

¹² The Jewish authorities, contradictory to the Greek, are not very reconcilable among themselves; since Palestine and the neighbouring provinces are represented as subject to Seleucus Philopator towards the end of his reign, without the mention of any war or treaty that brought about their recovery. Conf. 2 Maccab. c. 3. & Joseph. in Lib. de Maccab. c. 4.

¹³ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 36.

¹⁴ Literally the festival of his proclamation.

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sons of different denominations ¹⁵ assembled from surrounding nomes or districts, decree ¹⁶ a statue to be erected to the young king in each of the principal temples, and near the king's statue, that of the peculiar god of the temple, presenting him as defender of Egypt, with symbols of victory ¹⁷. The idol of Ptolemy was to be duly worshipped: his shrine of gold adorned with crowns, and protected by amulets, was to be carried with the shrines of other gods in sacred procession: his name was to be celebrated by games and festivals; and the decree establishing these ceremonies, to be inscribed on solid stone in sacred ¹⁸, in Egyptian ¹⁹, and in Greek, characters, to make known the benefits received, in return for which the Egyptians honour and magnify the gracious king, god Epiphanes ²⁰.

The benefits alluded to, bear reference either to particular classes of men, or to the whole inhabitants of the kingdom. Among those of the first kind are specified many acts of indulgence; enlargement to prisoners, release to debtors, acquittal to persons under accusation ²¹. To the priestly order ²², in particular, the king had greatly signalised his

¹⁵ Priests, prophets, scribes, &c. See above, vol. i. p. 47.

¹⁶ The Greek decree runs through 54 lines; but part of the last lines has perished with the bottom corner of the stone, on the left. The copy before me, perfectly correct as to form and size, was printed at the expence of the Society of Antiquaries, 1802. The inscription is greatly swelled by repetitions of the names and titles of the young king, its object; and those of his ancestors, male and female, and the priests and priestesses respectively ministering to them. The epithets of young Ptolemy are endless; "illustrious, munificent, ever living, the living image of Jupiter, beloved of Phtha," &c. See above, vol. i. p. 122. Without entering into the province of the antiquary, I may observe, that the title *αθλοφορες*, "prize-bearer," belonging to the priestesses of Berenicè, wife to Ptolemy Euergetes, seems to me to relate to

a passage of history recorded above, vol. ii. p. 604. and that the eagle of Alexander bears a reference to the penetrating views as well as lofty flight of that enlightened conqueror.

¹⁷ *Ὅπλον νικητικόν*. Inscription, line 39.

¹⁸ See above, vol. i. p. 48. Note.

¹⁹ *Εγχωριοις*, characters of the country, that is, Egypt. There are accordingly on the stone three inscriptions; the Sacred, Egyptian, and Greek.

²⁰ Line 40—53.

²¹ Line 13—14.

²² In line 17, "Those belonging to the *sacred families* (See above, vol. i. p. 72, &c.) are freed from the annual voyage to Alexandria; the king also commanded *την συλληψιν εις την ναυτιαν μη ποιεισθαι*. This I considered as a prohibition "that any one should be pressed for the navy among races of men peculiarly averse, as we have seen,

his bounty. According to his ordinances, the priesthood received its yearly revenues in money and corn, and its due proportion of produce from gardens and vineyards²³, at the same time that it was liberated from many imposts on its own lands payable to the royal treasury²⁴, and allowed an abatement of no less than two-thirds in the quantity of fine linen with which it was bound to furnish the palace²⁵. The king, also, had surpassed his predecessors in munificence to Apis and Mnevis, and the other sacred animals²⁶: the temple of Apis, in particular, he had adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones²⁷. He had re-established sanctuaries, shrines, and altars; and restored to pristine splendour all their costly appertinances²⁸. From his subjects at large, Ptolemy was entitled to the honours of divinity, by his defence of the kingdom against domestic insurrection and foreign invasion²⁹; his exact distribution of justice³⁰, the alleviation of public burdens³¹, the suppression of idleness and disorder³², and the general fitness of his measures for maintaining the fertility and salubrity of Egypt, and upholding national prosperity³³.

The nature and object of this decree make it liable to the suspicion of containing much adulation built on a slight groundwork of truth. Yet these priestly eulogies receive confirmation from history, which describes the wretchedness of Egypt during the profligate reign of Ptolemy Philopator, and the abominable regency which he

Confirmed
and illustrat-
ed by history.

to a seafaring life. In favour of this conjecture, my friend Mr. Weston cited to me, Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 513. & Isocrates συλλα-
βων αυτες αποκτεινε. Mr. Heyne, however, in the Gottingen Mem. vol. xv. translates the words "corrogatio in rem navalem." I think prehensio the more natural sense.

²³ Line 15.

²⁴ Line 15.

²⁵ Line 18.

²⁶ Line 31.

²⁷ Line 34.

²⁸ Line 35.

²⁹ Line 21—28.

³⁰ Line 19.

³¹ Line 12.

³² Line 19—20.

³³ Lines 11, 12, 13, εις ευδιαν αγωγην και τας ιερα κατασησασθαι. "Piety and propitious seasons were inseparable." This and all other particulars in the decree perfectly accord with what is above said concerning the political religion of Egypt; its gods, priests, and ceremonies, &c. See vol. i. p. 73, 94, 106, 500.

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left behind him. For removing such disorders, much was to be done, and much, we are told, was effected by Aristomenes³⁴ the Acarnanian and Polycrates the Argive, who, before the deification of Ptolemy Epiphanes, ably managed the affairs of this prince, the former in Egypt, the latter in Cyprus³⁵. Having recently suppressed the conspiracy of Scopas and his Greek mercenaries, of which we have before spoken, and an insurrection of native Egyptians, of which we shall speak presently, Aristomenes and Polycrates determined to crown the young king formally at Memphis, before he had yet attained the legitimate age of fourteen. Their motive for thus hastening his assumption of the government, was to strengthen³⁶ him against future rebels; and this politic view was well seconded by the priests when, amidst the ceremonies of his coronation, they enrolled him among the gods. In the decree for this purpose, Ptolemy (for to him the acts of his ministers and generals are ascribed,) is said, in the preceding year³⁷, to have besieged Lyconpolis³⁸, a strongly fortified city, in which a band of wicked persons then held out against him. The besiegers, it seems, were interrupted in their approaches by sudden inundations, in consequence of an unusual rise of the Nile, till Ptolemy caused the mouths of certain channels to be blocked up, and stationed horse and foot to guard them³⁹. His soldiers thus acquiring firm ground for their batteries, speedily gained Lyconpolis, and destroyed its rebellious defenders⁴⁰. Without relating the incidents or assigning the date of this siege, Polybius alludes to it, while speaking of another siege of the same place twelve

³⁴ Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 573.

³⁵ Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38.

³⁶ Polyb. ibid.

³⁷ Line 24.

³⁸ Lyconpolis, or Lycopolis, the city of wolves, or of the wolf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 802 - 812. There were two cities of this name, one in the Thebaid, another in the

Sebennytic nome. Stephanus Byzant. de Urbibus. The latter is the place meant, since it was near to Sais and Busiris. The inscription, line 22, places it in the nome of Busiris. For the nomes were differently enumerated and divided, as we have seen above, vol. i. p. 117.

³⁹ Line 25.

⁴⁰ Line 26. Conf. Polyb. l. xxiii. c. 16.

years

years afterwards, when it was occupied and defended by the same description of enemies. The proper names ⁴¹ of those enemies indicate that they were native Egyptians; the general appellation ⁴² bestowed on them attests that they were persons of much power; and from their repeated rebellions, it may be inferred that they were inveterately hostile to the government and religion then prevalent in their country ⁴³.

The second siege of Lyconpolis preceded by four years the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes: before which time, both the character of the king and the maxims of his domestic administration had undergone a most unfortunate change; for, as to foreign affairs, he continued, through life, the submissive pupil of Rome; while, in the treatment of his Egyptian subjects, he became equally cruel and rapacious. The faithful Aristomenes, supplanted by court intrigue ⁴⁴, gradually declined in credit; his honest remonstrances were no longer tolerable; and shortly before the latter siege of Lyconpolis, he fell the victim to a fally of the tyrant's fiery resentment ⁴⁵. Polycrates indeed remained; but Polycrates, whose behaviour had long reflected honour on his native Argos, afforded the memorable example of a man, just, temperate, and strenuous in youth, whose hoary age was deformed by all the basest and most abominable vices ⁴⁶. In the second warfare of Lyconpolis, Polycrates, through a mean jealousy, contrived to prevent his master, then in his 25th year, from sharing the glory of any military achievement: and when the rebellion was quelled, and many insurgents had surrendered on terms, and come

⁴¹ Pausanias, Chelousph, &c. Polyb. ibid.

⁴² Δυνασταί. Id. ibid.

⁴³ The wolf-worshippers of Lycopolis should seem at this time to have been a heretical and persecuted sect. Conf. Diodor. l. i. f. 88. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812, 813. Juvenal mentions a similar,

Vetus atque antiqua similtas.

Satyr. xv. v. 35. & seq.

Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra: summus utrimque

Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum, Odit uterque locus, &c.

This perfectly accords with what is above said of the contrariety and collision of Egyptian superstitions, vol. i. p. 106. things unattended to by those modern writers who talk of the universal toleration of paganism.

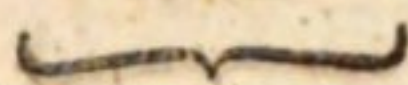
⁴⁴ Diodor. ibid. p. 593.

⁴⁵ Plutarch. de Discrim. Adulatoris et Amici, p. 71.

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. xiii. c. 38.

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to the king at Sais to renew their allegiance, Ptolemy, in concert with Polycrates, violated his faith, and trampled with ruthless vengeance on his prostrate adversaries, dragging them at his chariot wheels naked, and then subjecting them to death with every refinement of cruelty⁴⁷. Such horrid enormities excited public execration; and a general rebellion of his Egyptian subjects was likely to break out against the "god Epiphanes," when he perished through the treachery of his Grecian friends. Insecure at home, he purposed to carry his arms abroad against Seleucus Philopator; but declaring too freely that to defray the expence of his expedition, he must have recourse to the purses of his courtiers⁴⁸, he was taken off by poison; and his queen Cleopatra, sister to Seleucus, assumed the government as guardian to her son Ptolemy Philometor, then in his sixth year.

Seleucus
Philopator.
Olymp.
cl. i. — cli. i.
B. C. 180 —
176.

Seleucus Philopator reigned five years in Syria, after his sister became queen-regent in Egypt. He continued punctual in discharging the annual contributions due by him to Rome, and cautiously avoided any offence to that state by confining his arms and exactions to his own side of mount Taurus⁴⁹. Being apprised that much wealth was accumulated in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to rife that depository. Heliodorus, coming well escorted for this purpose, Onias, the high priest, represented to him that the money in the temple was a sacred and inviolable deposit, belonging, much of it, to widows and to orphans. In defiance of religion and humanity, Heliodorus persisted in the design of executing his commission; but when attended by his guards, he presumed to enter the holy precincts to the treasury, such terrors assailed him, that he fell speechless on the ground, and remained in that condition, until his spirits were restored by the kind offices of priests, then ministering in the temple. He returned empty-handed to Antioch, and protested to Seleucus, that he would do well to send any one

⁴⁷ Id. l. xxiii. c. 16.

⁴⁸ Hieronym. in Daniel xi.

⁴⁹ Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit.
p. 576.

whom he wished signally to punish on the same tremendous errand⁵⁰: a business fit to be committed to the *worst villain* in his kingdom. In the course of the same year, Heliodorus himself deserved this excess of reproach. The time had come, it seems, for sending as hostage to Rome the son of the Syrian king in exchange for his brother. When the son, Demetrius Soter, had departed, and before the brother, Antiochus Epiphanes, had arrived, Heliodorus, in the absence of these two persons the nearest to the throne, poisoned his master Seleucus in hopes of usurping his kingdom⁵¹. But the seasonable appearance of Antiochus with an army crushed, as will be shewn, the traitor. Such were the events in the East during the fifth generation of Alexander's successors; and thus, for the space of fifteen years from the decisive battle of Magnesia to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, the affairs of Egypt and Syria, little interesting in themselves, were altogether unconnected with the great scenes transacting during the same space of time in Greece and Macedon.

In Greece, the degradation of Etolia had made room for the ascendancy of Achaia. The Achæans now united under one government the seven states of Peloponnesus, while of the nine states beyond the Isthmus, eight formed republics apart, and Thessaly, the ninth, was divided into as many separate commonwealths as it contained cities. Achaia, also, at this time had a chief to manage its wars and counsels of indefatigable activity, and of zeal approaching to enthusiasm for the extension and fair renown of the Achæan league. Philopœmen had passed his sixty-third year; but this eventful climacterick had neither blunted the keenness of his exertions, nor cooled the ardour of his patriotism. His labours were equally unceasing in the council and the camp, for completing the great work which Aratus had begun, and combining the whole of Greece into one confederacy, cemented by a unity of institutions, and a perfect equality of freedom⁵². In pursuance of this liberal policy, shortly after the

C H A P.
XXI.

His death.
Olymp.
cli. 2.
B. C. 175.

Flourishing
state of the
Achæan
league.
Olymp.
cxlvii. 4.
B. C. 189.

⁵⁰ 2 Maccab. c. iii.

⁵¹ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 45.

VOL. II.

⁵² Plutarch in Philopœm. & Polybius, l. ii.

c. 40.

Z Z

Romans

CHAP.
XXI.

Romans had taken possession of Cephallenia, Philopœmen, as pretor of Achaia, summoned the deputies of its several states to Argos instead of Ægium, on the ground that the national assembly ought not to be invariably confined to any one place, but, in justice to those composing the league, should convene in all the allied cities by turns, without any undue preference. This equitable measure was opposed as an innovation by the magistrates called Demiurgi, who availed themselves of the neighbourhood of the consul Fulvius in Cephallenia to apply to him for advice and assistance on the present emergency. From the intimate connection that had long subsisted between the Romans and Achæans, and still more from the ambition of Fulvius in common with every other Roman, to extend the authority or influence of his country, he readily sailed to the Peloponnesus, but found that most members of the league had already obeyed the summons of Philopœmen, and assembled at Argos. He repaired, however, to this city, in order to abet the views of those who had solicited his interference. As the representative of a state in the most intimate alliance with Achaia, he was honourably received by the council, and partook in its deliberations: but soon perceived that Philopœmen's proposal for setting aside the undue prerogative of Ægium, a place situate at the extremity of the country, was so acceptable to most of the Achæan deputies, that it would be prudent to keep to himself the intention with which he had come of opposing that popular measure⁵³. He returned therefore to Cephallenia, not a little piqued at having undertaken a long and fruitless journey.

Perturbed
state of
Laconia.

But he was soon recalled to Peloponnesus by an affair of greater moment, which produced the last memorable struggles in Greece, and which finally terminated in the fixed and unalterable servitude of that country. We have seen how Philopœmen, after the destruction of the tyrant Nabis, joined Lacedæmon to the Achæan league,

⁵³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30.

without

without compelling it formally to relinquish the laws of Lycurgus, long an empty name in that turbulent city. The descendants of the kings of Sparta, with all their adherents among the higher orders in the community, had cantoned themselves along the sea coast in towns or villages, careless of returning to the capital, now occupied by a vile assemblage of low mechanics, unprincipled soldiers of fortune, and even emancipated slaves, calling themselves the republic of Sparta, and as such entitled to send deputies to the Achæan council. The more genuine representatives of that republic, inhabiting the southern shore of Peloponnesus, lived unmolested there, until a party of spurious Spartans, moved by the levity and rapacity natural to so worthless a people, surprised their habitations near Las, and wrested from them that sea port.

The sufferers complained to Philopœmen the Achæan pretor. He ordered restitution to be made, and the persons guilty of outrage to be consigned to punishment. Messengers were sent to Lacedæmon, bearing a decree to this effect of the Achæan council. The inhabitants of Lacedæmon, instead of giving the satisfaction required of them, immediately put to death about thirty persons within their walls, whom they suspected of secret hostility; and dreading vengeance for this new enormity, sent ambassadors to Fulvius in Cephalenia, beseeching him to come to their aid with a Roman legion. Before Fulvius' arrival, the Achæans were in arms; but the severity of winter hindered them from prosecuting the war with vigour. The consul enjoined a suspension of hostilities; and as an application had been made for the protection of Rome, exhorted all parties concerned, the inhabitants of Lacedæmon, the exiles, and the Achæans to send ambassadors to the senate⁵⁴.

The first of these descriptions of men eagerly obeyed his orders; the exiles committed their cause to the Achæans, who sent to Rome

The Romans invited thither from Cephalenia. Olymp. cxlvii. 4. B. C. 189.

Lycortas and Diophanes ambassadors at Rome

⁵⁴ Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 10. Tit. Liv. xxxviii. 31.

C H A P.

XXI.

—their opposite characters and contradictory speeches.

Lycortas, a citizen of abilities equal to his patriotism⁵⁵, and father to Polybius the historian, whose fragments throw more light on this last period of Greek history, than all other records collectively. Lycortas was accompanied by Diophanes, a man at variance with Philopœmen and his adherents, and of a disposition to crouch abjectly to the Romans, because he envied his fellow citizens. The speeches of ambassadors, discordant in views and sentiments, were altogether inconsistent: Diophanes expressed himself as if the Achæans committed their concerns unconditionally to the senate: Lycortas asserted the freedom and independence of Achaia, appealed to the faith of treaties, and maintained, that no power on earth had a right to restrain his commonwealth from punishing robbery and murder. The senate replied suitably to such contradictory applications from the same people: its sentence was so perplexed, and couched in such ambiguity of language, that the majority of the Achæans, guided chiefly by Philopœmen, thought themselves safe in prosecuting the war, although those of the opposite party, and still more the Lacedæmonians, gave to the senate's decree a quite contrary meaning⁵⁶.

Sparta taken and obliged to conform to the Achæan laws. Olymp. cxlviii. 4. B. C. 189.

Accordingly, when the severity of winter had abated, the Achæans marched against Lacedæmon, and threatened to assault the city, unless certain persons, whom they named, were surrendered to them. Upon compliance with this demand, the public defection, they said, should be pardoned; Lacedæmon might obtain peace; and those suspected of delinquency would not suffer punishment without having a fair trial. When the people at large, glad of being exempted from accusation, appeared to acquiesce in this proposal, the persons named made offer to resign themselves to trial, and repaired for this purpose to the Achæan camp at Compasium, accompanied by their friends and advocates. But it unfortunately happened that Philo-

⁵⁵ Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 9.

⁵⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 32.

poemen, in this expedition, had been followed by a crowd ⁵⁷ of Lacedæmonian exiles, who could not restrain their resentment at the sight of men formerly their retainers or slaves, who had driven them from their country, usurped their possessions, and robbed them of their wives and children. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of eighty, were either slain in the first tumult, or afterwards resigned to execution ⁵⁸; and as farther negociation was impossible after this breach of faith, Philopœmen assaulted and took Sparta; demolished its walls, which had been the work of tyrants; expelled the persons most obnoxious to him; and, according to a decree passed shortly afterwards by the Achæan deputies at Tegea, reinstated the exiles in their hereditary possessions, only requiring that, in the management of their domestic, as well as foreign concerns, they should conform to the laws and institutions universally prevalent among the other members of the league. By the same decree of his countrymen at Tegea, Philopœmen marched against a party of emancipated slaves, who had been the bloody instruments of Nabis and preceding usurpers, and having seized them in the fields, ordered them to be sold to the highest bidder. The money arising from the sale was employed by the Achæan council in restoring a portico in Megalopolis, the native city of Philopœmen. This portico had been demolished by the Lacedæmonians in the time of their tyrants ⁵⁹.

By thus purging Sparta from the corrupt humours with which it had been infected for nearly half a century, the Achæans expected to render that commonwealth a quiet and useful member of their league. They dispatched Nicodemus of Elis, at the head of an embassy to Rome, to explain the object of their proceedings, and to justify any severity that appeared in them, as necessary and wholesome. The senate, however, having previously received an account of the affair from some of those Lacedæmonians recently driven from their country, declared its disapprobation of the harsh

This measure intimated to the Romans.

⁵⁷ Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid. l. xxii. c. 23.

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 34.

CHAP.
XXI.

Change of
manners at
Rome.

measures pursued by Philopœmen; particularly in the blood spilt at Compasium, in the demolition of the walls of Sparta, and in the abrogation of the venerable laws of Lycurgus, which, as they were assured by the exiles, had subsisted in that city for seven hundred years. Notwithstanding this expression of dislike to their conduct, the Achæans were not required to revoke any of their decrees; and the Romans shewed so little inclination to break with them, that they employed their good offices in attempting to restore to Bœotia several expatriated Thebans, ancient partisans of Rome in the Macedonian war.

In this uncertain state, matters remained for the space of three years, during which interval Rome was disordered by those evils which too naturally follow in the train of prosperity⁶⁰. The Scipios were accused of peculation by those who envied them their supposed acquisitions of fortune. Triumphs were long withheld, on very unfair pretences, from Manlius and Fulvius. The virulent and endless debates on these subjects were accompanied by the discovery of the horrid abuses recently introduced into the rites of Bacchus; abuses which had spread widely, and which threatened to abolish every law of humanity and modesty. Such complicated and infectious mischiefs were however repressed by the virtue and good sense of the public at large. Manlius and Fulvius triumphed; the Bacchanalian seminaries were extirpated; and the evinced innocence of the Scipios made the animosity conceived against them recoil on their accusers. Yet the great Africanus, disgusted with the innovations at Rome, retired to his villa at Liternum, a hundred miles distant, and died there in obscurity⁶¹, having just cause to lament the altered maxims of his country; its degeneracy from the virtues of domestic life, and its departure from the generosity and dignity that had hitherto characterised Roman policy both at home and abroad. The

⁶⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 42—54, & l. xxxix. c. 14—19. ⁶¹ Silentium deinde de Africano. Id. l. xxxviii. c. 42.

victorious expedition into Asia may be assigned for the æra of this fatal change, since the return of the legions from the East first imported a pernicious luxury into Rome; expensive furniture, high seasoned dishes, and other pestilent allurements. Then, it is said, were first displayed the soft refinements of effeminacy and vanity; apartments were adorned with the delicate labours of Babylonian looms, with brass-framed triclinia, or couches, with claw-footed tables and elegant buffets; entertainments were enlivened and prolonged by the performances of dancers and musicians, harping women and buffoons; and cooks, till then classed with the lowest of slaves, both in estimation and use, rose to the dignity of artists, whose skill was highly prized and amply rewarded⁶². Prodigality was accompanied by rapacity; and the progress of this history will shew, what the partiality of Roman writers did not allow them to perceive, or at least to express, the sudden and extraordinary alteration that took place from the same æra in the proceedings of the commonwealth with regard to its allies as well as its enemies⁶³.

For three years after the peace granted to the Etolians, the Romans, agitated at home by the dissensions above mentioned, were chiefly occupied abroad with their ordinary and obscure wars in Spain and Liguria. They maintained scarcely any connection with their confederates in the East; Philip, Eumenes, and Ptolemy, the Achæans and Rhodians. They neglected even to interfere in a matter which deeply concerned their honour, the procuring for the Rhodians possession of those territories on the continent, which had been awarded to them for their zealous and essential co-operation towards the re-

War between the Rhodians and Lycians. Olymp. cxlviii. 1. cl. 3. B. C. 188—178.

⁶² Livy, l. xxxix. c. 6. Conf. Plin. N. H. c. 8. Less than five years after the battle of Magnesia, Posthumus Albinus, and other Roman magistrates, began to tyrannise over the allies of the republic, and to treat them with the cruellest indignity. Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 1; from which time it could no longer be pretended that the Romans promoted the happiness of conquered nations.

⁶³ Till the defeat of Antiochus and the return of the Roman armies from Asia, the words of Cicero are not inapplicable to the dominion of his country. Itaque illius, patrociniū orbis terrarum verius quam imperium poterat nominari. De Offic. l. ii.

CHAP.
XXI.

Philip extends his power; the Achæans — their authority. Olymp. cxlviii. 3. B. C. 186.

moval of Antiochus beyond mount Taurus. According to the treaty of peace dictated to that prince, the Rhodians were to obtain Caria and Lycia. But the natives of Troas, who gloried in the Romans for sons, and whom the Romans acknowledged for fathers, interceded in behalf of the Lycians as their ancient and hereditary friends; and the Lycians themselves, a high-minded people, disdained to be bound by the humiliating concessions of the king of Syria. A war ensued; the Rhodians indeed prevailed⁶⁴; but without experiencing assistance, or even good will, on the part of the great western republic, to whose triumphs in Asia they had strenuously and signally contributed.

On the side of Europe, Philip and the Achæans had obtained the advantages which they had a right to derive from the discomfiture of Antiochus and the Etolians. By consenting to the resignation of all their conquests, Antiochus those in Thrace, and the Etolians those in Greece, several valuable districts and rich cities had suddenly changed masters. In co-operating with the Romans, Philip had driven the Etolians from a few places in Thessaly; he drove them from many more after the Roman armies had returned to Italy. He had also conquered the mountainous district of Athamania, between Thessaly and Epirus; and, being invited by domestic factions into Ænos and Maronæa, Greek cities on the coast of Thrace, had entered them with an armed force, terminated their internal dissensions, bridled them with garrisons, and adorned them with palaces⁶⁵. The Achæans, on their part, had not been less busy in availing themselves of the favourable juncture to extend the influence of their league, both by arms and negotiations. The recent compulsion of Sparta to compliance with the Achæan laws, had completed their jurisdiction over Peloponnesus. Common animosity to the Etolians had again reconciled them with Macedon, their ancient and once useful ally. They maintained a most friendly

⁶⁴ Polybius, l. xxii. c. 7. l. xxxiii. c. 3. l. xxvi. c. 7.

⁶⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 23, 24.

intercourse

intercourse with all the Greek kings of the east ⁶⁶; Eumenes of Pergamus, Prusias of Bythynia, Ptolemy Epiphanes, who then reigned in Egypt, and Seleucus Philopator, who had recently succeeded in Syria to his father Antiochus the Great.

C H A P.
XXI.

At the same time that Nicodemus of Elis returned from his mission to Rome, and reported to the Achæans, assembled in council at Megalopolis, the displeasure of the senate with their late proceedings at Sparta, ambassadors arrived from three eastern princes, and had their respective audiences in the diet. The report of Nicodemus was first heard; which produced no remark either from the patriotic adherents to Philopœmen, or from their profligate opponents. Lycortas then introduced the Egyptians who had accompanied him from Alexandria. He said that, as ambassador of Achaia, he had renewed the league with Ptolemy, and that the Egyptians had come to perform the same office on the part of their master; and also to present the Achæans with six thousand stand of armour and two hundred talents. The king's gifts were accepted; but upon the proposal of renewing the treaty, Aristænus, now pretor, observed, that many treaties subsisting with the Ptolemies, it was necessary to learn explicitly which of them, and what clauses were to be renewed. Neither Lycortas nor the Alexandrian ambassadors had foreseen this opposition; they wanted presence of mind to make an extemporary reply; and while they retired to confer among themselves, Aristænus had the mischievous address to darken and perplex the question, and thereby to prevent any immediate decision of it. He was assisted in effecting this perfidious purpose by the extreme jealousy which many among the Achæans entertained of kings, and which the partisans of Rome were industrious thenceforward to foment. Upon this principle, the ambassadors of Seleucus and Eumenes, though they renewed their respective alliances, had the mortification to see their presents rejected. Seleucus offered to defray the expence necessary for equip-

Embassies
from the
Greek kings
to the Achæ-
ans.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 185.

How defeat-
ed by the
partisans of
Rome.

And by re-
publican
jealousy.

⁶⁶ Polyb. l. xxiii. c. 4. l. xxv. c. 7.

C H A P.

XXI.

ping ten ships of war; and we are not informed of the reasons given to him for refusing that munificent proof of his friendship. But Eumenes, having offered a hundred and twenty talents, the annual interest of which should be consumed in the convivial meetings of the Achæan deputies, Apollonidas of Sicyon spoke as follows:—

“The sum of money that Eumenes would bestow on you, is not, Achæans! an unworthy present; but the motive of the giver, and the use to which his gift is destined, are repugnant to your laws, and unsuitable to your character. Shall those who are forbidden, even individually, to accept money from kings, render themselves collectively their stipendiaries? Retainers at their tables, shall we swallow the bait intended to catch our patriotism and honesty? Eumenes is the dispenser of largesses to-day; his neighbour and enemy Prusias may dispense still larger to-morrow. Will such donations have no tendency to distract our councils, and to divert us from pursuing the true interests of our country? As the views of kings and democratical republics are essentially and altogether different, it is plain that we must either sacrifice, on many important occasions, the good of the commonwealth for that of Eumenes, or incur the censure of ingratitude for counteracting so liberal a benefactor. It is my opinion, therefore, that we reject his bribes with marked expressions of scorn and hatred.”

The speech of Apollonidas was succeeded by that of Cassander, a native of Ægina, who had been sold into slavery, but had again recovered his freedom, and acquired by adoption into some hospitable city the rank of an Achæan deputy. “Cassander reminded the council how his island, once so respectable, had fallen into the hands of the Etolians in the Macedonian war, and how it had been sold by the Etolians to Attalus, the father of Eumenes. If the latter prince wishes to deserve real affection from the Achæans, he needs only to withdraw his garrison from Ægina, and reunite that island to the free confe-

⁶⁷ Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 7 & 8.

deracy of which it was a member. The Achæans will consider the independence of Ægina as the most valuable present that can be made to them. They will accept of no other from Eumenes, which would only weaken the hopes which the Æginates yet entertain of safety and liberty." This speech was received with such general acclamation, as left no room for urging any thing further in the king's favour; and his proffered bounty, large and tempting as it seemed, was angrily rejected⁶⁸.

C H A P.
XXI.

The Romans had signified their dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Achæans, and the abolition of the pretended laws of Lycurgus. But when they received accounts of the transactions of Philip in Thrace and Theffaly, they no longer contented themselves with simple expressions of displeasure. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was sent at the head of a commission into Greece, to hear all complaints against the two powers, which had disturbed the arrangements recently established in that country. Cæcilius crossed the Hadriatic to Apollonia, traversed Epirus, and met Philip, with his accusers, at Tempè in Theffaly. The deputies from that province complained that Philip had possessed himself of Tricca, Phaloria, and other cities in their neighbourhood: that he had transported into Macedon five hundred Theffalian youths, and employed them in menial offices, disgraceful to their education and quality; that many towns which he had usurped were completely drained of their wealth and populousness; that Phthian Thebes, once the busiest sea-port in Theffaly, had been reduced to beggary and desolation, with a view to bring all commerce into Philip's favourite harbour Demetrias; that even the sacred rights of ambassadors had been violated; and that the whole body of Theffalians, trembling in silence under a stern master, ventured at length to utter their grievances, only because they were emboldened by the Romans, in whose presence

Roman
commission-
ers at Tempè
—accusa-
tions brought
to them
against
Philip.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 185.

⁶⁸ Id. *ibid.*

C H A P.

XXI.

His spirited
reply.

they spoke⁶⁹. Philip, that he might not sustain merely the character of a defendant, began by recriminating. The Theſſalians, he ſaid, had uſurped cities and diſtricts belonging of right to himſelf, ſince he had gained them in fair war from the Etolians. They had even invaded his hereditary kingdom, and ſeized Petra in Pieria, and Menelais in Dolopia. That as to the towns which he poſſeſſed in Theſſaly, they had been occupied with the conſent of the Romans themſelves, becauſe their ill-adviſed inhabitants had ſided with the Etolians, not reluctantly, but voluntarily. On the ſame ground he had taken and gariſoned the ſtrongholds in Athamania. The other charges againſt him were not worthy of a ſerious answer. Was it in his power to fix the fluctuating nature of commerce? Or could it be expected that he ſhould come prepared to explain why different harbours were preferred at different times by the intereſt or caprice of merchants and mariners? He had been accuſed of violating the rights due to ambaffadors, the ſacred miniſters of peace. He deſired to know what had happened to thoſe ambaffadors; what injury had ever been done to them; or wherein he had infringed their privileges? All theſe were frivolous and falſe allegations of men who had no real grievances to complain of; and who, with the petulance of ſlaves newly emancipated, proved themſelves unworthy of liberty, by injuriouſly reviling their ancient and indulgent maſters. In uttering this ſentiment, which reminded him of the dominion of his anceſtors over Theſſaly, and other parts of Greece, Philip gave way to his natural warmth of temper, concluding indignantlly, “that the ſun of all his fortunes had not yet ſet:” an expreſſion regarded as a threat both by the Theſſalians and the Romans. The latter, accordingly, pronounced ſentence, that the king’s gariſons ſhould be immediately withdrawn from all the cities in queſtion; and that, as to other matters in diſpute, they would be ſettled

⁶⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 25 & ſeq.

afterwards

afterwards in a court of inquiry, duly constituted for that purpose⁷⁰. C H A P.
XXI.

From Tempè the Romans proceeded northwards to Thessalonica. There, they were met by ambassadors from king Eumenes. Philip also repaired to the same place at the time agreed on. The point to be discussed was, the right of dominion over the Thracian cities Ænos and Maronæa. Eumenes' ambassadors observed, that if the intention of the Romans, after wresting those cities from Antiochus, had been to declare them thenceforth free, the disinterestedness of their master, and his well-known modesty, would not allow him to add one word farther on the subject, than barely to apprise the Romans that the gift of freedom, which they had so liberally bestowed, had been most injuriously intercepted. But if the senate, not caring to retain these conquests, meant to transfer them to their allies, a doubt, they hoped, could not be entertained but the pretensions of Eumenes were preferable to those of Philip. Since the Thracian Chersonesus had already been awarded to the former, Ænos and Maronæa ought, as natural appendages, to be included in the same grant. These representations on the part of Eumenes were reinforced by some deputies of Maronæa, who exaggerated the injustice and cruelty with which Philip had taken possession of their city. From the reception which their speeches met with, the king perceived that he had no longer any justice to expect. He replied, therefore, in a different tone from that hitherto assumed: "I perceive, Romans! that my differences are with yourselves, not with the ambassadors of Eumenes, or the deputies of Maronæa. A few days ago, you stripped me of my fair conquests in Thessaly; you are now going to divest me of those places which I hold no less justly in Thrace; and Eumenes, at your instigation, sends hither to dismember and rob my dominions, as if I were your enemy Antiochus! I who strenuously assisted you in the war against that prince, although

At Thessa-
lonica Philip
vindicates
his rights
against the
claims of
Eumenes.

⁷⁰ Ibid. c. 26.

C H A P.
XXI.

my interests were not, like those of Eumenes, implicated in the contest. Had Antiochus prevailed, his neighbour Eumenes must thereby have been ruined. But my distant kingdom had nothing to fear on the part of Syria. Antiochus courted my friendship, desired even to purchase it at the price of three thousand talents, fifty ships of war, and the recovery of all those cities in Greece, which once acknowledged my authority. But respect for my subsisting treaty of friendship with you, Romans! made me reject all such offers; and now, you envy me the possession of a few cities, which I have fairly gained, and which, though inconsiderable in point of intrinsic value, are essential, by their situation, to the tranquillity of my kingdom. The ambassadors of Eumenes appeal to your decree, for justifying his claim to Enos and Maronæa. But the words of that decree are clear, positive, and expressly against him. "The Chersonesus of Thrace and Lyfimachia shall belong to Eumenes." Is there in this clause the smallest mention of Enos and Maronæa? But the main point, decisive of all lesser matters, is, in what light I am to be regarded. If you look on me as an enemy, continue to persecute and plunder me: but if I am considered as a king in your alliance, I deprecate, in future, such unworthy proceedings." The commissioners were moved by this speech; but their line of conduct had been prescribed by the senate. They pronounced accordingly, that if Eumenes' claim to Enos and Maronæa were not substantiated by proper documents, Philip should be allowed to hold these places by right of conquest: that the Romans would inquire into this subject; and also into the fair pretensions of the two Greek cities, to the exclusive management of their own concerns, and absolute independance on either king. Meanwhile, Philip's garrisons must be withdrawn from them, that the business, without anticipation on either side, might be brought clear and intire before the senate".

" Ibid. c. 27, 28.

Cæcilius, and his colleagues Bæbius and Sempronius, having thus terminated their transactions with Philip, proceeded southwards to Peloponnesus, to execute their commission to the Achæan league. The principal magistrates belonging to that confederacy, were employed in celebrating the Nemean games, in the neighbourhood of Argos. Aristænus, pretor of Achaia, and through rivalry with Philopœmen, a ready accomplice, as we have seen, in the abasement of their common country, assembled at Argos his colleagues in office, to receive and answer the Roman commissioners. Cæcilius expatiated on the wrongs done to the Spartans, and strongly exhorted the Achæan council to procure their redress as speedily as possible. Aristænus made no reply, indicating, by his silence, that he approved what Cæcilius had said. Diophanes, another Achæan, leagued in the same profligate faction, acknowledged the cruel proceedings of his countrymen towards Sparta, and accused Philopœmen as the author and instrument of these pretended enormities. The same man, he added, had maintained a conduct highly reprehensible with regard to the Messenians. Philopœmen, seconded by his friends Lycortas and Archon, victoriously repelled the calumny; and the majority of the Demiurgi, or chief counsellors, warmly espoused their cause. Cæcilius therefore demanded that, as the Achæan magistrates were divided among themselves, they should convene the deputies of the people, from whom the sense of the public at large might be more fairly collected. But the Demiurgi refused compliance in this point, unless he could produce a letter from the senate, desiring such an assembly, and stating precisely the topics which it was required to discuss. Without a written communication from Rome, they told him that the laws of Achaia forbade any extraordinary meetings of their deputies. Cæcilius took offence at this opposition to his will, and angrily left Argos without even demanding an answer on the subject of his application⁷².

C H A P.
XXI.

Nemean
games.—
Transactions
of the Ro-
man com-
missioners
with the
Achæan ma-
gistrates.
Olymp.
cxlviii. 4.
B. C. 185.

⁷² Polybius, l. xxiii. c. 12.

C H A P.

XXI.

Plausible
equity of the
Romans.
Olymp.
cxlix. 1.
B. C. 184.

Early in the following year the Roman commissioners made report of their proceedings to the senate. They were accompanied or followed to Italy by ambassadors from Philip and the Achæans. The same topics that had been agitated at Tempè, underwent a new discussion; and the Achæans were enjoined to grant an assembly of their deputies in future, upon the simple requisition of a minister from Rome. The senate, in return, promised that its doors should be always open to the ambassadors of Achaia⁷³. The condition had a seeming equality, but the real difference was great; for the senate formed a standing council immoveably fixed in one city, whereas the Achæan meetings were summoned occasionally, and circulated through all the principal cities in their league.

Philip's
enormities
with regard
to the Ma-
ronites and
Cassander.

While Philip had recourse to negotiation at Rome, his arms were employed in chastising what he considered as the revolt of the Maronites. Their calumnies against him were retaliated by the blood of their citizens: the agents in this stern vengeance were Onomastus and Cassander; the former his confidant, the latter merely a courtier and general; its instruments were Thracians, the fiercest and most relentless of his mercenaries. Philip entered Maronæa, still reeking with carnage, and only peaceful because desolated. He had not remained long in that neighbourhood, when Appius Claudius, at the head of a new commission from Rome, arrived to examine whether the commands of the senate had been complied with. He reproached Philip with the butchery of men whom the Romans had deemed worthy of freedom. Philip disclaimed all share in the transaction. The calamities of the Maronites originated, he said, in themselves: "they had been the victims of internal discord; while one party espoused the interests of Eumenes, and another fought for himself; that Appius might learn the truth by interrogating the survivors among that unhappy people." Such testimony, he thought, might be safely offered, because, under the impression of his late dreadful ven-

⁷³ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

geance,

geance, none of the Maronites would venture to speak out, or even to raise a whisper against him. Appius affirmed that, in matters of public notoriety, no room for inquiry was left: if Philip wished to remove the blame from himself, he must abandon Onomastus and Cassander, the well-known perpetrators of those deeds of horror. Philip replied, that as to Cassander, who indeed inhabited Maronæa during the sedition, he was ready to send him to Rome, that he might submit to the interrogatories of the senate. But Onomastus had no concern in the matter: he had been employed at a great distance from Maronæa, at the time when its misfortunes happened. By this distinction Philip saved Onomastus, who had been his accomplice in other unwarrantable transactions. He provided, also, against any information that might be given to his own prejudice by Cassander. Proper persons were sent after him, on his way through Epirus to the sea coast, by whom the unwary Cassander was poisoned⁷⁴.

C H A P.

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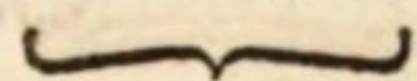
From the altered policy of Rome with regard to foreign states, which began to take place after the defeat of Antiochus, Philip perceived that a new war was inevitable with the great western commonwealth. The period of fourteen years peace from the battle of Kynoscephalæ, had given him an opportunity, as we have seen, of extending his frontiers on the sides of Thrace and Thessaly, and had been far more usefully employed in improving the internal strength of his hereditary kingdom. He encouraged agriculture and commerce; greatly augmented his revenues by port-duties; increased by judicious labour the productiveness of the old Macedonian mines, and successfully opened several new ones. Rewards or immunities were proposed for marriage and the rearing of children; and many robust Thracians were conducted into Macedon, to add to the stock of its industry in peace, and of its exertion, when necessary, in an obstinate war. As the Romans rose in the haughtiness of their demands, and shewed too plainly an intention to rob him of his kingdom, all

Improve-
ments in the
resources of
Macedon.
Olymp.
cxlix. 1.
B. C. 184.

⁷⁴ Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 13.

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these preparations for defence were carried on more vigorously : Philip, by well conducted expeditions to the north, extended his renown to the nations beyond the Danube ; and entered into treaty with the bravest of the Scythian or Gothic tribes, for invading Italy by the way of the Carnian and Rhetian Alps, if the Romans should persevere in what seemed to be their purpose, of renewing hostilities against him in Greece and Macedon. But, as he knew by fatal experience the dangers of such a warfare, he was willing to procrastinate it to the latest period possible ; and accordingly dispatched to Rome his younger son Demetrius, whose merit, while a hostage there, had made many personal friends, and who had gained the affections of all by his modest yet dignified behaviour⁷⁵.

Appius
Claudius at
Cleitor.
Affecting
speech of
Lycortas the
Achæan
pretor.
Olymp.
cxlix. 1.
B. C. 184.

Meanwhile, Appius Claudius, at the head of the Roman commission, proceeded from Macedon to Achaia. The Achæan magistrates had been informed of their coming, and at the same time had learned, with surprise and indignation, that the jealousies of the Romans against themselves had been envenomed by Areus and Alcibiades, two Lacedæmonian exiles, whom the Achæans had reinstated in their rank, their property, and their country. Lycortas, now pretor, summoned the Achæan diet to Cleitor in Arcadia. When the deputies heard, that the resentment of the Romans had been exasperated against them by the calumnies of men who owed everything to their bounty, of fugitives to whom they had again restored their homes, and whose wickedness, at the moment when they received so high a favour, had excited the massacre at Compasium, and all the evils consequent on that enormity, the maxims of policy as well as justice gave way to unbridled anger, and the Achæans, with one voice, condemned Areus and Alcibiades to death. A few days after this sentence had passed, Appius arrived at Cleitor, carrying the persons recently condemned, in his train. At his desire a council was assembled next day. He repeated the absurd complaints concern-

⁷⁵ Tit. Liv. xxxix. 34.

ing the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, and the destruction of the walls of Sparta; laws of equal liberty, that had long been abolished, and walls that had been built by a succession of sanguinary usurpers, to rivet the chains of their country. Appius demanded, however, that these grievances should be removed, and the affairs of Lacedæmon placed on their ancient footing. Lycortas answered him in a speech worthy of the best ages of Greece. He shewed, that when Lacedæmon was deformed by the complicated evils of faction and tyranny, the Achæans had joined that unfortunate city to their league; and that, after its repeated revolts, the Achæans had imposed on it, when conquered, no other laws than those which the conquerors obeyed. Having discussed these points perspicuously and convincingly, the orator, as if ashamed to plead the rights of an independent commonwealth before unfair and self-constituted judges, assumed a bolder tone: "I feel, Appius, that this discourse of mine is fitter for slaves in the presence of masters, than for allies before their equal confederates. If the liberties of Greece are not an empty name, why should I render to you an account of the proceedings of Achaia after the conquest of Sparta, rather than require you to justify, before this tribunal, the cruelties committed by the Romans upon the taking of Capua? We flew, I shall suppose the fact, some Lacedæmonian exiles: Did not you behead the whole body of Capuan senators? The walls of Sparta have been levelled with the ground: Were you contented with merely dismantling Capua? Did you not drive its inhabitants from their houses and their fields? The alliance, you say, between the Romans and Achæans, is equal only in appearance; for the Romans have the power of the sword. I know it, Appius, and since I must, *will* suppress my indignation. But whatever difference fortune has made between us, I entreat you not to prefer our and your enemies, to ancient and faithful allies; nor, for the sake of the pretended liberty of Sparta, to undermine that league, which we have sworn to uphold. We respect you, Romans! nay, fear you, if you

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will so have it ; but we fear and venerate still more the immortal gods⁷⁶." This discourse was received with such general applause, that Appius despaired of success by gentle means. He therefore intimated, that force would be used, if persuasion were found ineffectual. He was answered by a groan of despair. The Achæans then implored him not to extort from them a decree, by which they would violate their oaths : they rescinded their condemnation of Areus and Alcibiades ; but as to the changes to be made in the laws and government of Sparta, desired that the Romans only might be their authors⁷⁷.

Philip's son,
Demetrius,
at Rome.
His confusion
in the senate.
Olymp.
cxlix. 2.
B. C. 183.

In the year following, there was a greater concourse of foreign ambassadors at Rome, than had ever before assembled in that city ; for when it came to be understood that the senate heard with complacence the accusers of Philip, there was not a kingdom, nor a commonwealth, scarcely a city in his neighbourhood, that did not carry to that tribunal many grievous complaints against him. Upon an occasion when the young Demetrius had to reply on the part of his father, and seemed perplexed at once with the intricate variety of charges and the multitude of accusers, the magistrate, presiding in the senate, asked him whether he had not received his instructions in writing ? He answered in the affirmative, and produced a small book containing the heads of every business that was likely to occur, with the grounds of Philip's proceedings concisely and clearly stated. To relieve from embarrassment a youth for whom the senate felt, or affected such strong partiality, but still more with a view to penetrate the real designs of Philip, Demetrius was desired to answer the charges, as successively made, from the book in his hand. In pursuance of this method, the inexperienced negotiator read many clauses which he ought in prudence to have suppressed. " In this point the Romans shewed no inclination to do me justice : " and again, " on this occa-

⁷⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 35, 36, 37.

⁷⁷ Id. c. 37.

sion, Cæcilius or Appius, treated me with indignity." The senate carefully treasured up these marks of a hostile mind in the king, but answered Demetrius, who would have excused them, with all the tranquillising mildness of the most insidious policy. "That Philip, whatever may have been his conduct, had highly gratified the Romans in sending Demetrius at the head of his embassy. From affection to this young prince, whose heart had remained a hostage at Rome, after his person had been restored to Macedon, they were willing to dissemble their wrongs; to forget, to forgive, and to endure many injuries. That, out of honour to Demetrius, a new commission should be sent into Macedon, to effect amicably what yet might be done, without any vindictive retrospect to preceding omissions. They wished, however, Philip to understand, that he owed to Demetrius, solely, this favourable disposition towards him⁷⁸." In this manner the Romans began to flatter the sons of kings, that they might more surely ruin their fathers!

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XXI.

Partiality
shewn to him
with a view
to injure his
father.

The policy of Rome, with regard to Achaia, was marked by the same mischievous artifices. To weaken that confederacy, the Spartan rebels were to be reinstated in the benefits, of which Philopœmen was said to have deprived them: the incendiaries, whom he had banished, were to return home; and Lacedæmon was again to enjoy the pretended laws of Lycurgus, though in other respects it remained a member of the Achæan league. A decree of the senate passed to this effect; and Quintius Martius, who was sent as ambassador to Philip, had orders to proceed also to Peloponnesus, in order to make sure that the will of the Romans should be obeyed. Next to Lacedæmon, her ancient rival Messenê, gave most trouble to the confederacy, of which all the seven states of Peloponnesus had become members. The mutinous temper of the Messenians was fomented by their general Deinocrates, a man of insinuation and address, alike fitted

Deinocrates
the Messeni-
an—his sub-
serviency to
the ambition
of Rome.

⁷⁸ Tit. Liv. id. c. 47, & Polyb. xxiv. 2.

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for the court and the camp, but profligate in private life, and altogether regardless of the true interests of his country. In the hope of promoting his views, he had gone to Rome, where the accusers of the Achæans, as well as of Philip, were well assured of meeting with a favourable reception. He found that the celebrated Quintius Flaminius, who first broke the power of Macedon in the battle of Kynoscephalæ, was commissioned by the senate to proceed to Lesser Asia, that he might settle some differences between Eumenes and Prusias. To that general, whom he had formerly known and courted in Greece, Deinocrates applied as to the man most able to serve him, and who was likely to be well disposed with regard to the main point of separating Messenia from the Achæan league, on account of some disgust which he was said to have taken, not so much at the personal pride, as at the haughty patriotism of Philopœmen. Amidst intrigues, in pursuance of his favourite object, Deinocrates continued, even at Rome, his careless and dissolute mode of life: drinking and revelry formed his delights; musicians and buffoons were his companions: in the presence of Flaminius himself, he blushed not to dance, at a festive supper, dressed in female attire. The Roman allowed his levity to pass unnoticed for the moment; but told him, next day, that such airy and ludicrous motions ill became a man busy in stirring up the most serious commotions in Greece⁷⁹. In his way through that country to Pergamus and Bithynia, Flaminius, accompanied by Deinocrates, wrote to the Achæans from Naupactus, desiring that they would speedily summon a council, and give him a hearing. But the Achæan magistrates, who knew that he had been sent on a commission not relating to their affairs, refused to comply, unless he would state distinctly the demands which he meant to make. Flaminius rejected this condition as inconsistent with the dignity of Rome, and the decrees of

Flaminius
takes offence
at the Achæ-
ans.

⁷⁹ Polybius, l. xxiv, c. 5. The wit of Flaminius did not despise a pun.

the

the senate ; and proceeding on his journey to Lesser Asia, reconciled Eumenes and Prusias with each other, and the latter of those princes with the Romans : the death of Hannibal, as we have before seen, concluded and sealed this disgraceful negotiation⁸⁰.

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XXI.

The historian Livy, who has embellished with consummate art the trophies of his country, declines to enter into the causes and events of the Messenian war, on the ground, that they would lead him too wide of his subject. It may be suspected, however, that he did not deem the perfidious policy of Rome a fit subject for a Roman pen ; and was unwilling to relate, how the countenance shewn by the senate to Deinocrates, and the interest which even Flamininus appeared to take in his concerns, enabled him to prevail in the councils of Messenia, and to separate that important member from the Achæan confederacy. At the time of this separation, Philopœmen lay ill of a fever at Argos, in his eighth pretorship, and the seventieth year of his age. But when he learned that the Messenians were in arms, he roused from his sick-bed, and endeavoured to anticipate them at Coroné, one of their principal harbours, which had refused to join in the rebellion. The small body of cavalry, commanded by himself and Lycortas, was encountered by Deinocrates. The enemy far surpassed in number, and the ground was unfavourable. Philopœmen might have saved his person, had he not been more anxious to secure the retreat of his horsemen through some dangerous defiles which they had to pass. For this purpose, he closed the rear, and made face to the enemy, sustaining their assault, until his horse fell under him. Being stunned by the fall, he was raised up by the Messenians, who treated him with all the respect which they could have shewn to their own general. Crowds came to behold him as he entered Messené ; and the greater part of the inhabitants of that place expected that, through the possession of so invaluable a pledge, they would be able to conclude an advantageous peace. But Deinocrates

Messenian
war. Death
of Philopœ-
men.
Olymp.
c. xlix. 2.
B. C. 183.

⁸⁰ See above. 326.

and

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XXI.

Wound
thereby
given to the
Achæan
league.

and his adherents, who were the ruling party, fearing an insurrection in his favour, caused him to be withdrawn from public view, on pretence of putting to him certain interrogatories, essential to the common interest. He was confined, during the night, in a place that had once served for a treasury; a dark subterranean vault, the entrance to which was shut by a large stone, raised and let down by machinery. Next day, a cup of poison was sent to him: he asked the messengers of death whether Lycortas, and his other companions in arms, had made a successful retreat. It was answered, "they are safe:" then, drinking the poison, he said, "all is well⁹¹." During forty years he had acted the chief part in Achaia, at a period when that state aspired to unite Greece under a federal and representative government, founded on principles highly liberal and equitable; a design which, could it have been fully effected there, might afterwards have been extended to the Greek colonies of Asia and Africa; and thereby have placed the civilization of the ancient world on a firm and stable basis. But this undertaking was unhappily frustrated by a very unfortunate conjuncture; I mean, that of the wisest policy of Greece, with the highest energy and most intense ambition of Rome. It must also be acknowledged, that the contest between the two nations might have terminated differently, had the Achæans remained true to themselves. Many of their leading men, as we have seen, recommended on all occasions an implicit submission to the Romans. To Aristænus, who first held this language in the Achæan council, Philopœmen said, "why do you desire to see the last day of Greece?" Philopœmen himself did not see it: he has been called, indeed, the last of the Greeks, but improperly; for Lycortas lived to avenge his death, a man animated with patriotism as pure as his own.

Lycortas
defeats the
Messenians.

When the disaster that had befallen their admired general, was divulged through the Achæan states, they made preparation with

⁹¹ Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 12. & Plutarch in Philopœmen.

more than usual celerity for invading Messenia. Lycortas was chosen pretor; and ambassadors were sent to Rome to explain the just grounds of the war, and to avert the opposition to it apprehended from that quarter. Without being told the incidents of the expedition, we are only informed that it was completely successful⁸². The Messenians submitted, and gave up the authors and principal abettors of the revolt, except Deinocrates and a few others, who, in despair of mercy, had become their own executioners. Those of the rebels, who were convicted of being accomplices by word or deed in the murder of Philopœmen, were reserved for punishment at his tomb: when his ashes were conveyed with every circumstance of funeral pomp to his native city Megalopolis. The sepulchral urn, crowned with garlands, was borne by Polybius son to Lycortas, then a youth in his nineteenth year, and long afterwards destined to raise in his writings a perpetual monument to his own fame and that of his most illustrious countryman. Deputations from all the states of Achaia attended the procession; crowds flocked from all quarters to meet it: the citizens of Megalopolis received it with melancholy exultation. Philopœmen was honoured with statues, inscriptions, and altars; and future historians marked the year which proved fatal to him, as chiefly memorable for the death of great men; Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio⁸³: about the same time Quintus Flamininus, their equal rather in merit than renown, disappears from history.

Before the commencement of their Messenian expedition, the Achæans had sent an embassy to Rome craving assistance as allies, to cloak their fear of being attacked as enemies. The senate answered haughtily, that the Romans took no concern in the affairs of the Achæan league, and cared not, should Argos or even Corinth forsake it. But when Lycortas' expedition had been crowned with signal success, the senate assumed much merit from forbearance to

CHAP.
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—Honours
to the me-
mory of
Philopœ-
men.
Olymp.
cxlix. 2.
B. C. 183.

Rome pre-
pares for the
Macedonian
war.
Olymp.
cxlix. 3.
B. C. 182.

⁸² Polybius, l. xxiv. c. 12. l. xxv. c. 1.

⁸³ Ibid. c. xxiv. c. 9.

C H A P.

XXI.

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The partiality of the Romans for Demetrius excites Philip's jealousy.

Rivalship between Demetrius and Perseus. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 182.

thwart his measures. The views of Rome were now entirely turned towards Macedon; for the Achæans, by complying with the senate's decree as to Lacedæmon, and by re-admitting the Messenians as free and equal members of their league, had removed every specious ground of quarrel⁸⁴.

The conduct of the king of Macedon had been altogether different. His son Demetrius, indeed, had returned with a conditional peace; but, as even this boon was explicitly granted to favour for the young prince, independently of any good will towards the king his father, it had a tendency rather to widen the breach, and to envenom hostility by jealousy. Philip, whose conscious turpitude naturally rendered him suspicious, began to regard Demetrius in the light of a dangerous rival, whose influence with Rome had deprived him of the affections of the Macedonians strongly inclined to peace, and who, through the same influence, might one day rob him of his kingdom. These unworthy suggestions, of his own perturbed fancy, were aggravated by the arts of Perseus, his eldest son, and as such destined for the inheritance of his crown, conformably with the rule of royal succession long acknowledged in Macedon.

But a cloud of mystery hung over the birth of Perseus. Many believed him a supposititious child, whom his royal mother had introduced into Philip's bed, in order to conceal her barrenness. They even named the real mother, from whom he had been purchased; a certain Gnathænia of Argos, who disgraced the humble trade of a sempstress by one incomparably more degrading. Yet, the cheat, if it was one, long past unchallenged; Perseus was now in his 30th year; Demetrius was five years younger; both had hitherto been treated with all the honours due to royal descent: Perseus, in early youth, had been named to command armies in the Roman war; and Demetrius, at the termination of that war, had been sent at the head of the Macedonian hostages to Rome, in the same manner that

⁸⁴ Polybius & Livy.

the second son of Antiochus the Great afterwards passed thither at the conclusion of peace between the Romans and Syrians. The competition between the sons of Philip divided the court and army; the advantage on the side of the elder being balanced by the assured legitimacy of the younger; and Philip's predilection for Perseus, by the partiality of Rome to Demetrius⁸⁵. When the latter returned to Macedon with flattering prospects of peace, the number of his partizans greatly increased among the inhabitants of the sea-coast, who dreaded the renewal of war as the destruction of their commerce, and among all men of penetration, who deprecated it still more earnestly as big with ruin to the kingdom.

But this disposition in his people exasperated the angry passions of the king, and augmented his activity in providing means to gratify them. In compliance with the decrees of the senate, he withdrew, indeed, his garrisons from some maritime cities in Thrace and Thesfaly. These reluctant cessions, however, were balanced by more important conquests. By arms or negociation he gained an ascendancy over the Thracian tribes. The fiercest of that nation were enlisted in his service, and transported to the shores of Macedon, on which they acquired lands by the removal of old proprietors with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Philip carried into the heart of his kingdom, the Greeks and Macedonians on his coast suspected of disaffection to his person, because they had shewn themselves averse to his measures. Many of them joined his army to avoid the punishment of rebels, which they had seen unsparingly and indiscriminately inflicted; for, in prosecuting the work of death, the tyrant united with those actually accused of bad designs, the descendants of his ancient enemies; a proceeding which he justified by the tragedian's authority,

Philip extends his territories and his alliances. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 182.

Fool! who the father slays, yet spares the son!

⁸⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 53.

C H A P.

XXI.

His friendship with the Bastarnæ a German nation.

His activity was indefatigable. He was in all parts present, and every where dreadfully successful, illustrating Plato's remark, that the restless energies of men wax strong with their wickedness⁸⁶. In Thrace, he planted a garrison at Philippopolis, a city watered by the Hebrus; on the side of Illyricum, he formed a new stronghold near the ancient Stobi, on the western bank of the Erigonus, and called it Perseis in honour of his elder son, who participated in all his councils, to the total exclusion of the younger⁸⁷.

Beyond the Danube Philip's renown reached the warlike nation of the Bastarnæ, whom historians variously ascribe to the German or Sarmatian name. The Bastarnæ, indeed, dwelt east of the Vistula, which is said, on the one hand, to have separated the Germans from the Sarmatians, as the Rhine, on the other, separated them from the Gauls. But Germany, long a warlike country, pushed its colonies on either side beyond these boundaries. Many nations of German extraction dwelt westward of the Rhine; and the Bastarnæ, though they inhabited the country east of the Vistula, agreed with the Germans in language, manners, and dress; above all, in cultivating the soil and living in fixed huts, instead of wandering like the Sarmatians with their herds and tents⁸⁸. The Bastarnæ listened with pleasure to a victorious prince, who flattered them with the prospect of easy conquests in Illyricum and Italy, countries more fruitful than their own. Some of their princes accompanied the return of Philip's embassy, one of whom offered his sister in marriage to Perseus the king's son. The father was pleased with the proposal, and much elated at the success of his negotiation with a brave and powerful nation.

Intrigues for the ruin of Demetrius.

But Perseus, of a temper less sanguine, could taste no joy, while his brother Demetrius lived. The courtiers of Philip, who had

⁸⁶ Plato in *Repub.* passim.

⁸⁸ Tacitus de *Mor. German.* c. 46. &

⁸⁷ Polyb. l. xxiv. c. 8. Tit. Liv. l. xl. Strabo, l. vii. p. 306.

fluctuated between the rival princes until the war with Rome seemed inevitable, now generally espoused the cause of the elder, and assisted him in his endeavours to ensnare and betray the younger. For this purpose, they spoke disdainfully of the Romans; vilified even their victories, as due solely to their allies; above all, derided such particulars in their manners and institutions as were the easiest to be placed in a contemptible point of view⁸⁹. The naked meanness of their capital itself, sparingly adorned with works of architecture, formed the subject of a degrading contrast with the magnificence of Greece and Macedon. Instead of enjoying the accommodation of splendid furniture and pompous edifices, many Romans still lodged in cottages, and slept on straw⁹⁰. Some of their leading men, who had exercised the highest offices of state, partook in the labour of their own slaves or servants, and used to eat with them at the same table, and even from the same dish⁹¹. Yet the haughtiness of such vile Barbarians, it was said, knew no bounds!

These reproaches were continually re-echoed in the ears of Demetrius, merely to provoke his anger. Warm, frank, and generous, he defended the Romans with an indignant zeal, which made him totally forget that they had ever been the enemies of his country. His expressions, on such occasions, were industriously carried to his father, exaggerated by lying courtiers, and envenomed by the malignant Perseus. When Philip was boasting with his usual levity of his recent alliance with the Bastarnæ, Perseus gravely observed, "that foreign allies could little avail against dangerous domestic enemies. In his own family there was, he would not say a traitor, but certainly a spy, whose heart and affections, as the Romans themselves ac-

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 5.

⁹⁰ Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 3. Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 3. & Cicero pro Roscio.

⁹¹ Plutarch in Caton. Major. The sarcasms of the Macedonian courtiers would have been more applicable before the Romans made war in Asia, from which time their

simplicity and frugality began to decline. But the change of manners in nations is liable to be overlooked by their neighbours; and, even when this change is remarked, they are often to serve a purpose, described as they were, not as they are.

known,

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known, still remained hostages in Italy⁹², though he had personally returned into Macedon. That the views of all men were directed towards Demetrius, thinking that they must shortly obey the king, whom the Romans wished to set over them⁹³." Philip was stung with the remark: yet his pain was rather felt than expressed; the remains of paternal tenderness still pleaded for an open, affectionate, and long dutiful son; and pride, mingling with shame, reminded him, that the house of Antigonos, his great ancestor, had remained invariably united in itself, throughout ages of profligacy and blood; under the sad accumulation of public and private crimes, concord had prevailed uninterruptedly in the royal family; fathers had been uniformly kind, and sons as uniformly grateful. Amidst all the reproaches which his tyranny had incurred, Philip was unwilling to forfeit an old hereditary virtue.

Open rupture between him and Perseus. Olymp. cxlix. 3. B. C. 182.

Meanwhile, the enmity between his sons grew every day more apparent; and was no longer to be mitigated by the natural good humour of Demetrius, nor disguised by the cowardly cunning of Perseus. At a lustration⁹⁴ of the army, which, according to custom, concluded with a mock battle, the two princes engaged so warmly at the head of their respective partisans, that fit weapons only were wanting to convert this military pastime into a field of blood. Armed, as they were, with staves and foils, instead of spears and swords, the contending parties inflicted many severe wounds on each other. Perseus and his friends were at length put to rout: they rallied, however, in good order; and, as well as their opponents, repaired to an entertainment which their leaders had provided for them. The remainder of the day was to be spent in convivial merriment; in which Demetrius invited his brother to partake with him. This, Perseus declined; but sent in his stead, several of his adherents as spies, one of whom behaved so incautiously and insolently, that he was driven from the hall in disgrace, after receiving

⁹² See above, p. 373.

⁹³ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 5.

⁹⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 218.

due chastisement from four youths, friends to Demetrius. That prince who, in the tumult of the drunken carousal, had not taken notice of this incident, exclaimed, as the wine began to animate his natural generosity of temper, and to make him forget his wrongs, "Why do we not go to Perseus? Let us hasten to him instantly, and remove any grudge that he may have conceived on account of his defeat." The proposal was approved by all, except the four youths who had just beaten the spy. Demetrius, still ignorant of this transaction, desired them also to attend him: they prepared to obey, but first armed themselves with concealed weapons. Intelligence of all that passed was quickly conveyed by a more cautious spy to Perseus. He instantly made fast his doors; and from the upper windows, which looked towards the street, reproached Demetrius on his arrival, for coming to him with armed men in order to take away his life. Demetrius answered not the accusation, nor even understood its meaning. Having made a fruitless uproar in order to obtain admission, he returned to the place from whence he came, to renew the debauch with his companions⁹⁵.

Next day, Perseus equally surprised and grieved his father with an account of this new enormity. Philip, with two of his oldest ministers Lyfimachus and Onomastus, sat in judgement on one of his sons, charged with the design of fratricide by the other. Each of the parties was allowed to introduce into the judgment-chamber three unarmed friends: two of Philip's body guards also attended. Thirteen persons being thus present, it is possible that a very accurate account of the whole proceeding was preserved, and that the speeches ascribed to Philip and his sons were really pronounced by them. Some embellishments they have, doubtless, received from a Roman pen, but the general purport of them flowed so naturally from the occasion, that the mind of every reader would anticipate their contents. Demetrius clearly exculpated himself from the crime

Accusation
of Deme-
trius.—
means em-
ployed to
convict him.

⁹⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 6. & seq.

with

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Philip's ascent to mount Hæmus. Olymp. cxlix. 4. B. C. 181.

with which he was charged. He was not equally successful in removing all suspicion of his unwarrantable correspondence with the Romans. To obtain certainty on this subject, Philip sent to Rome two of his courtiers, Apelles and Philocles, on pretence of an embassy to the senate; determining, meanwhile, that the accused prince should be carefully observed in all his actions, and excited by every artifice to reveal his inmost purposes⁹⁶.

It happened that Philip, accompanied by both his sons, made a progress from Pella through the northern parts of his dominions. From Stobi in Pæonia, he travelled to Mædica on the frontiers of Thrace. As his imagination was filled with his great design of leading the Barbarians beyond the Danube into Italy, an inclination seized him of ascending to the top of mount Hæmus, seven marches distant, from which it was reported that the traveller could survey at one view the Euxine and Hadriatic seas, the river Danube, and the Alps. In this mountain expedition, the king carried with him his elder son, whose eagerness for the invasion of Italy corresponded with his own. He left Demetrius behind, on pretence that he wished not to embark both the hopes of his family in a laborious undertaking, not unattended with danger; and that the young prince might be properly accompanied to Pella, sent with him a small escort commanded by Didas, a military governor in Pæonia. Didas, who had espoused the interests of the elder brother, gained the confidence of the younger with a view to betray him. Demetrius acknowledged that recent occurrences had afforded him sufficient proof of his father's unjust but incurable suspicions; that his only safety was in flight; and he rejoiced at finding a friend in Didas through whose means he might escape to Rome. This secret design was quickly conveyed to Perseus, and by him communicated to his father. Philip had by this time descended from mount Hæmus, where he had experienced intense cold, even in the month of August,

⁹⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xl. c. 6. & seq.

but

but had not enjoyed any of the extensive and inviting prospects which he looked for, the mountain having continued uniformly involved in a thick fog⁹⁷.

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He was now in his way homeward through Mædica, and employed in besieging Petra, a mountain fort, which had presumed to shut its gates. From this place, which soon surrendered, he sent instructions to Didas to amuse his prisoner, and to be careful to prevent his escape. At the same time he gave orders for seizing the person of Herodorus, one of Demetrius' most intimate friends. No violence, however, was offered to either of them, until the return of Apelles and Philocles from Rome. To the discoveries of those men whom he deemed altogether impartial in the quarrel between his sons, Philip ultimately trusted. But Perseus had found means of suborning them. They conveyed to the king forged letters, sealed with the counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius, "deprecating Philip's wrath against an unfortunate youth, who rather giddily than insidiously had swerved from his duty." The treason of Demetrius now seemed to be fully established. His friend Herodorus was put to the torture, and died without uttering a word that could be laid hold of. Demetrius was conveyed to Heraclæa in Pæonia, and there poisoned by Didas at the entertainment following a sacrifice. He quickly perceived the effects of the fatal draught, and retired in great agony to his apartment, into which, lest his complaints should be overheard, two ruffians were sent to smother him⁹⁸.

Murder of
Demetrius.

In his late angry negotiation with the Romans, Philip said threateningly, that the sun of all his days had not yet set. It set for ever with the murder of Demetrius. Immediately on that event, Perseus, the great promoter of it, totally changed his conduct. Instead of perpetual assiduity about his father, and unbounded deference to his will, he kept himself at a distance, held separate councils with his partisans, and betrayed unequivocal signs of an unnatural eager-

Philip discovers the treachery of Perseus and his accomplices.

⁹⁷ Ibid. c. 22.

⁹⁸ Ibid. c. 24.

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ness to reign. This alteration in Perseus awakened the latent suspicions which the king silently entertained concerning his unworthy treatment of Demetrius. They were at length communicated to Antigonus, his near kinsman, who, had long discerned the turpitude of Perseus, notwithstanding the deep veil of hypocrisy under which it was concealed; and who, being now assured of the king's willingness to believe him, determined to unmask the traitor. As he doubted not but the letter from Titus Quintius was forged, on which chiefly the king's proceedings had been grounded, he seized on Xychas, a scribe, who was much connected with Philocles and Apelles, and who should seem to have served them in the office of secretary in their embassy to Italy. Xychas, when first brought to Philip, denied that he had any secret to impart; but a seasonable application to his fears, made him acknowledge that he had counterfeited the hand writing and signature of Quintius, for the purpose of ruining Demetrius. Of his two accomplices, Apelles took guilt on himself, by a hasty flight beyond seas; Philocles was seized and secured; according to one account he confessed his guilt on being confronted with Xychas; others say, that he endured the torture without making any discovery. However this may have been, Philip obtained complete conviction in his own mind, and declared himself the unhappiest of men in the death of one son and the life of the other⁹⁹.

Perseus defies his deceived father—death of Philip. Olymp. cl. 2. B. C. 179.

That other was too powerful for punishment. He kept on the frontiers of Macedon, at the head of his numerous partisans, defying the vengeance of his father, whom a mixture of grief and rage was hurrying to the grave. In the extremity of his affliction, Philip would have abandoned his country to destruction, or even have bequeathed it to his worst enemies the Romans, a mode of extinction that afterwards became not unusual with Greek kingdoms. But from these desperate purposes he was diverted by the engagements

⁹⁹ Ibid. c. 55.

which

which he had contracted with the Bastarnæ for the invasion of Italy, and not less by the desire to reward Antigonus, in whom, from his success in vindicating the innocence of Demetrius, he beheld that injured young prince restored as it were to life, and reinstated in all his rights. Antigonus thus obtained the expectancy of the crown; and being conducted by Philip through the central provinces and cities of Macedon, while Perseus still kept at the extremities, was every where recommended to the inhabitants as their future sovereign¹⁰⁰.

He shortly afterwards undertook an embassy to the Bastarnæ, whose assistance might prove equally important against domestic and foreign enemies. But his mission to those distant allies proved highly unseasonable, for Philip, after spending a considerable time at his favourite cities Demetrias and Thessalonica, proceeded to Amphipolis to meet the return of Antigonus, and was there seized with a fever which ended his life, in the 59th year of his age and 42d of his reign. Naturally enterprising, and always active, he deserved in early life the fairer praise of justice and clemency. But being beset by bad counsellors, his youthful mind was fired with an ambition that spurned every obstacle in the way of its gratification: and one crime hurried him into another still more atrocious, until he merited the character willingly stamped on him by Roman historians, as a cruel master, an unnatural father, a perfidious ally, and a relentless enemy. His physician Calligenes was the creature of Perseus. To him the king's danger was communicated, though concealed from all besides. The son hastened to secure the inheritance of his father's throne, and effectually succeeded in this purpose, while Antigonus was still on his return to Amphipolis. Near to this place, a rumour first reached him of the sad alteration in his fortune. Before he had time to escape, a party of soldiers seized his person;

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. c. 56.

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Disasters of
his allies the
Bastarnæ.
Olymp.
cl. 2.—cli. 2.
B. C. 179—
175.

and to give orders for the death of Antigonus should seem to have been the first important act in the reign of Perseus ¹⁰¹.

The Bastarnæ, meanwhile, were in motion. Before Philip's death was known, the first divisions of them crossed the Danube, and began to march through Thrace, in confidence of the measures taken for their friendly reception in that country, and their secure passage to Dardania. But the revolution, which had happened in Macedon, disconcerted all their measures. Instead of friends in the Thracians, they found in that people implacable enemies. Many perished by the sword, many more by the inclemency of the weather, and by their folly in pursuing the enemy over barren heaths and stormy mountains. In the thunder and lightning of mount Hæmus, they thought that heaven combated against them, and manifestly condemned their enterprise ¹⁰². Scarcely thirty thousand of the vast multitude penetrated to Dardania, and gained possession of that country which, on account of its inveterate hostility to Macedon, Philip wished to subject to the havock of those ravagers in their way to the Alps. Having remained in that Illyrian district about four years, an unfortunate war with the revived courage of the natives drove them from Dardania, and made them take the road homeward in the heart of winter. The firm ice of the Danube seemed to offer them a secure passage; but it suddenly gave way under the collected mass of men and cattle, and the greater part of the Bastarnæ perished in the river ¹⁰³. Rome, destined at last to fall by the hands of Goths and Germans, thus remained safe from those barbarians for nearly six centuries; the boldest project in the reign of Philip having ended in an empty menace.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid.*¹⁰² *Ibid.* c. 57, 58.¹⁰³ Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

CHAPTER XXII.

Situation and Policy of Perseus.—His Negotiations with the Powers of Asia and Europe.—Usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes.—Reports of Roman Ambassadors from Macedon, Syria, and Egypt.—Attempted Assassination of Eumenes. Accusations against Perseus.—Campaign of Licinius Crassus.—Of Aulus Hostilius.—Of Martius Philippus.—Passage of Octoluphus.—War in Illyricum.—Paulus Emilius takes the Command in Macedon.—Conquest of that kingdom.—Ruin of its Royal Family.—Illiberal and cruel Conditions imposed on it.—Treatment of its Abettors among the Etolians, Achæans, Rhodians.—Affairs of Syria and Egypt.—Plunder of Illyricum.—Desolation of Epirus.—Wealth accumulated by the Romans.—How employed by them.

A New war must have broke out between Rome and Macedon, had Philip lived only a few months longer; and his death, at the critical juncture when it happened, is admitted, even by the pride of Roman historians, as an event highly propitious to their commonwealth. The circumstances of Perseus were altogether different from his father's. A powerful party in the country denied his right of succession: he was personally odious to the numerous adherents of his late brother Demetrius; and instead of assistance from the Bastarnæ, he had reason to dread their hostility. On the cowardly mind of Perseus, fear produced the effects of prudence. By every imaginable concession, he soothed his enemies at home and abroad. Proclamations were made for recalling to their country, and reinstating in their possessions, all persons who had been banished by the resentment or jealousy of Philip; and edicts to this effect were hung up in the temples of Delphi and Delos,

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and policy of
Perseus.
Olymp.
cl. 3.
B. C. 178.

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Delos, and other general resorts of superstition and commerce. In his domestic government, Perseus made no distinction between his own friends and those of his late rival: justice was administered with impartiality; and promotions in the state and army were regulated by the natural claims of birth, rank, and tried merit. The maxims of his foreign policy were equally conciliatory. His ambassadors, sent to Rome, spoke of nothing but amity, concord, and the unbounded respect of their master for the will of the senate. Perseus disavowed with truth all share in his father's negotiations with the nations beyond the Danube; he courted assiduously the Roman allies in Greece: undertook a journey to Delphi, where he behaved at once popularly and piously; and dispatched from thence letters or messages to all the neighbouring cities, exhorting them to forget past dissensions with Macedon, and assuring them, that on his part nothing should be left untried for recovering that fair renown among the Greeks which his father Philip, in the latter part of his reign, had too justly forfeited.

He offers to
send back
debtors and
fugitive
slaves be-
longing to
Achaia and
Attica.

To the Athenians, the oldest allies of Rome, and the Achæans, who were at this time the most respectable, he offered advantages of such a nature as, he had reason to think, would be highly welcome. During the late reign, these two states had passed decrees, prohibiting all intercourse with Macedon; the Athenians, chiefly with a view thereby to flatter the Romans; the Achæans, partly from the same motive, and partly from their desire of excluding every interference in their affairs by a powerful foreign prince. But regulations debarring the Macedonians from entering the territories of Athens and Achaia, also hindered, by a natural consequence, the citizens of these republics from all access to the kingdom of Macedon, and thus prevented creditors and masters from reclaiming their debtors and runaway slaves; both which descriptions of fugitives had retired in great numbers within the Macedonian frontier. Perseus wrote to

! Conf. Polyb. l. xxxvi. c. 1. & Tit. Liv. l. xli. c. 1-4.

the Athenians and Achæans, that he had made search for all persons amenable to their jurisdiction; that he had been fortunate in discovering the greatest part of them; and was desirous, out of regard for those whom it concerned, to remand them to their respective homes. In the Achæan council, the acceptance of this proposal was recommended by the pretor Xenarchus, but opposed by Callicrates, a man so totally devoted to Rome, that he was afraid of entering into any friendly transaction with a prince, likely to become obnoxious to that commonwealth. On such an unworthy ground, Perseus' offer, first communicated by letter, and afterwards by the more respectful mode of a formal embassy, was rejected, to the deep regret of those Achæans who wished to maintain the independence of their country, and particularly of Lycortas and Arco, formerly the pupils and friends of Philopœmen; and, now that he was no more, fondly attached to his maxims, and zealous in prosecuting his measures². History does not inform us of the proceedings of the Athenians on the same occasion: but as they, of all the Greeks, were the meanest in their adulation to Rome, and the loudest in their invectives against Macedon, it may warrantably be inferred that their behaviour was not less pusillanimous.

Without testifying the smallest resentment against such states as declined connection with him, Perseus cultivated with diligence and address all those to whom he could gain an opening; particularly the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Etolians. In these and other communities, the lower classes of men favoured the king of Macedon, merely because their superiors were better inclined to the Romans; many followed the impulse of that natural generosity, which, in the sportive combats of the stadium, always disposed the multitude to abet the weaker party: even among the higher ranks, all who had no interested purpose to serve, acknowledged and lamented that the plausible

His negotiation with the powers of Europe and Asia.
Olymp.
cl. 3.—cl. 1.
B. C. 178—176.

² Tit. Liv. l. xli. c. 23, 24.

Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 1—3.

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He marries
Laodicè,
daughter to
Seleucus.

patronage³ of the Romans was gradually exalting itself into dominion; and, though they considered the evil as less, of acknowledging the supremacy of that distant people, than of paying obedience to a king in their own neighbourhood, yet they earnestly desired to avoid submission to either; and in the contest ready to take place between them, wished to render the balance even, that they might not themselves lie at the mercy of the conqueror⁴. In this disposition of the Greeks, Perseus recovered, without exciting alarm, some possessions that had belonged to his ancestors; particularly the district of Dolo- pia, on the frontier of Epirus⁵. He formed connections with the small states into which that renowned kingdom of Pyrrhus had long been divided; he entered into a negociation with Gentius, king of the Illyrians; and he completely gained Cotys, the leader of the Odrys- fians, and the most powerful chieftain in Thrace⁶. Not confining his views to Europe, he looked towards the powers of Asia; where Eumenes, indeed, who swayed the politicks of the peninsula, was his hereditary and irreconcilable foe. But we have seen the jealousies that in the partition of the spoils of Antiochus the Great, had arisen between Eumenes and the Rhodians. In the first year of his reign, Perseus greatly conciliated to him those islanders; and through their means entered into a treaty of marriage with the king of Syria, and espoused his daughter Laodicè. As Seleucus, in terms of the peace granted by Rome to his father, was debarred from the use of vessels of any considerable magnitude, the Rhodians, with a splendid fleet, escorted the bride from Antioch to Pella⁷. In the way thither, they anchored in the sacred island of Delos, where Laodicè made valuable offerings to Latona and her divine children. Her generous piety was extolled, with due praise, by the Delians, and afterwards commemo-

³ Cicero uses the word after it had long ceased to be applicable. Itaque illud patro- cinium orbis terræ verius, quam imperium nominari poterat. De Offic. l. ii. c. 8.

⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 30.

⁵ Id. l. xli. c. 22.

⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 29.

⁷ Polyb. l. xxvi. c. 7.

rated by a marble statue erected in their island, in honour "of queen Laodicè, the wife of Perseus⁸." Shortly after celebrating his own nuptials, Perseus betrothed his sister to Prusias II. king of Bithynia.⁹ These were the only marriages by which he could strengthen his interest in the east; for Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, having escaped, as related above, the vengeance of the Romans by contracting an affinity with Eumenes, followed thenceforward the advice of that prince, in choosing both his friends and his enemies. The king of Egypt was a minor under the prudent guardianship of his mother Cleopatra. This princess, daughter to Antiochus the Great, had profited in the school of adversity. She maintained a friendly intercourse with the Romans, and instilled into her docile son, Ptolemy Philometor, a respectful deference for those antient allies and powerful protectors.

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Betroths his
sister to Pru-
sias.Politics of
Cappadocia
and Egypt.

Such continued to be the state of the eastern kingdoms, when, in the fifth year of Perseus' reign, his father-in-law Seleucus was poisoned by the high-treasurer Heliodorus, who assumed his master's diadem. Demetrius, son to Seleucus, was then in his way to Rome, in exchange for Antiochus, brother to the same prince, who had remained a hostage thirteen years in that city. To crush the rebellion of the Syrians, Antiochus came among them escorted by the arms of Eumenes: their loyalty returned to the house of the great Nicator; Heliodorus paid the just forfeit of his crimes; and for strengthening the throne, the present Antiochus was preferred to the absent Demetrius, a boy in his twelfth year¹⁰. Yet, as the ordinary rules of succession were hereby violated, Antiochus, who, in opposition to the ignoble usurper whom he had destroyed, was entitled Epiphanes, had recourse to the lowest artifices for gaining favour with those who had the power, and as it eventually suited them, might have the will to

Antiochus
Epiphanes.
Olymp.
cli. 2.
B. C. 175.

⁸ The pedestal, containing this inscription, has come down to modern times. Vid. *Mar-mor. Oxon. Num.* 142.

⁹ Plutarch de Fratern. Amor.

¹⁰ Appian Syriac. Hieron. in Daniel, xi.

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Embassies
from Rome
to the East.
Olymp.
cli. 4.
B. C. 173.

Jealousy be-
tween Eu-
menes and
Perseus.

dispute his title. He courted the Romans by the meanest compliances; in the streets of Antioch he exhibited the dress and manners of a Roman citizen; he would solicit votes and distribute money like a republican candidate for magistracy; and his behaviour, while it was directed to the flattery of a foreign power, seemed so uncouth and extravagant to his own subjects, that instead of Epiphanes, "the illustrious," they nicknamed him Epimanes, "the madman;" neither of which epithets, as will appear hereafter, strictly characterised him¹⁰.

During these transactions in the east, the Romans had been withheld from the Macedonian war, long meditated, by constant occupation against the Ligurians and Spaniards; nations often vanquished yet always in rebellion¹¹. But in the sixth year of the reign of Perseus, they sent four ambassadors at once; to Greece, Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. Marcellus, who was at the head of the deputation into Greece, met the Achæans in council, (we know not in which of their allied cities), and greatly commended them for adherence to their decree, prohibiting all intercourse with Macedon¹²; a decree conformable indeed to the narrow views of Rome, but on the part of the Achæans, equally impolitic and illiberal. The declaration of Marcellus on this subject afforded a clear proof of the odium in which Perseus was held; and that even his fairest designs were to be counteracted, merely because he had become powerful.

This hatred, originating in interest, was inflamed into animosity by the appearance of king Eumenes in the senate. That prince, instead of sending ambassadors to Rome, had come thither in person, the more surely to excite war against a neighbour peculiarly obnoxious to him. Perseus, looking beyond Europe, had extended his influence among the innumerable free cities on the coast of Asia, many of which had chosen as a patron more honourable than Eumenes, the

¹⁰ Polyb. l. xxvi, c. 10.

¹¹ Liv. l. xli. c. 18.

¹² Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 6.

representative

representative of the long line of Macedonian kings. Unfortunately, these cities were bound by no general confederacy with each other: they defended their precarious independence by the strength of their walls, or held it by the wavering wills of foreign princes, whose interests they balanced, and whose favour they conciliated, generally contriving to make friends of the strongest.

The king of Pergamus was received at Rome with every mark, not only of honour, but of cordial affection. Upon his first application, the doors of the senate-house were opened to him. He began by saying, that he had just performed a long journey, not solely from a desire to visit the gods and men, through whose bounty he had been raised to a condition which left him nothing higher to wish for, but to give the senate seasonable warning of the transactions and designs of Perseus. He then recounted the proceedings above related, of that prince, and placed them all in the most unfavourable light; not omitting the ascendancy which he had acquired among the cities of Asia, which Eumenes artfully ascribed to their invidious hatred of the Romans. He exaggerated the powerful alliances which his rival had formed in Greece, Epirus and Illyricum. "But, independently of foreign aid, the increase of domestic resources, during a peace of twenty-five years, rendered Macedon, truly formidable. Her army amounted to 30,000 infantry, and 5,000 horse: magazines of corn had been provided for the supply of full ten years; the treasury was filled with money sufficient to pay, for an equal term, 10,000 mercenaries; the revenues, particularly those derived from the mines, were in a state alarmingly productive: and Perseus, in his arsenals, had coats of mail and all sorts of weapons for an army three times more numerous than that now on foot. Whenever he took arms, his exertions were likely to prove not less persevering than vigorous. The youth of Macedon, if it fought alone, might indeed fall to decay, but the Illyrians, and especially the Thracians, nations entirely at his devotion,

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Eumenes
inflames the
Romans
against Per-
seus.
Olymp.
clii. 1.
B. C. 172.

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Defence
made by
Perseus'
ambassadors.

Complaints
of the Rho-
dians against
Eumenes.

tion, would supply him with a perennial source of stout and stubborn soldiers." Moved by these considerations, Eumenes said, "that he had thought it worthy of his own fidelity and zeal to apprise the Romans of their danger, instead of allowing them to learn it from an invading enemy ¹³."

The king's representations produced their full effect. A few days afterwards, a meeting of the senate was granted to the Macedonians, commissioned to defend their master. They were heard with great impatience; and the ungracious reception which they met with provoked Harpalus, the head of their embassy, to speak with a degree of freedom that farther widened the breach. He said, that Perseus had spared no pains to repel calumny, "and to convince the Romans that there had been nothing of hostility in any of the words or actions ascribed to him. But that, should they obstinately persevere in seeking false grounds of quarrel, his master would prepare to defend himself. The chance of war was equal ¹⁴."

The negotiations with Pergamus and Macedon had brought to Rome deputies from most of the free cities in Greece and Lesser Asia. They came thither under various pretences, but the great common motive was to watch the result of transactions deeply interesting to them all, and to give them, if possible, the turn most favourable to their several views. Out of respect to Eumenes, he had been heard in the senate not only the first, but alone; and the other strangers knew the purport of his discourse merely by conjecture. The Rhodians were highly dissatisfied with this mode of proceeding. They desired to be confronted with the king, who, they doubted not, had mingled complaints against themselves with his accusations of Perseus. As ancient and faithful allies to Rome, they vindicated their fair claim to this favour, and obtained it through the interest of those senators who had long been connected with their island in the bands of hospitality and friendship. Satyrus, who

¹³ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 11, 12, 13.

¹⁴ Ibid. c. 24.

headed their deputation, did not content himself with acting the part of a defendant. He pronounced a warm invective against Eumenes, represented his ascendancy as more grievous to the free cities in Asia than that of Antiochus, whom he had supplanted: and maintained, that he wished to bring back Roman armies to the East, merely that he might be abetted by them in his unjust usurpations and cruel oppressions. This language met with applause from the Asiatic deputies who were present; but it highly offended the senate, and eventually proved, as we shall see, not a little injurious to the Rhodians. To Eumenes, on the other hand, it was useful: the general and unjust conspiracy of his neighbours against his fame as well as interest, endeared him the more to the Romans: accordingly, a most flattering decree immediately passed in his favour, and he was honoured with an ivory rod, a curule chair, and such other symbols of friendship as the commonwealth bestowed on its most deserving confederates¹⁵.

C H A P.
XXII.

Acceptable
to the Asia-
tic deputies,
and offensive
to the senate.

Shortly after this transaction, ambassadors having returned from their above-mentioned missions to Pella, Antioch, and Alexandria, made report of their proceedings to the senate. With regard to Macedonia, they confirmed the statement given by Eumenes of its great military preparations and very menacing posture. The kings of Syria and Egypt, they said, had been warmly solicited by Perseus, to join in his hostile designs; but that Antiochus had learned to know the Romans by his long residence among them, and that Ptolemy continued to honour and revere them as hereditary protectors: that both these princes adhered firmly to the faith of treaties, and were zealous in case of war to afford every aid required of them¹⁶. This information had much influence on the senate, but its resentment against Perseus was exasperated to the highest degree by accounts received from a different quarter: accounts, which, if true, would brand that prince as the most execrable of criminals, and which, on

Report of
the Roman
ambassadors
from Mace-
don, Syria,
and Egypt.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 172.

¹⁵ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* c. 26.

C H A P.

XXII.

Eumenes
 attacked by
 assassins in
 his ascent to
 Delphi.
 Olymp.
 clii. 1.
 B. C. 171.

the other hand, if false, must disgrace his enemies as the basest of calumniators.

His ambassador Harpalus had, on the first indication of the senate's unalterable displeasure, hastened back to Macedon, and was said to have greatly incensed his master against Eumenes, as the chief author of the war which he represented as now become inevitable. It was not doubted that Eumenes, on his way home to Pergamus, would signalize his piety by a visit to Delphi. This journey would afford an opportunity for intercepting and destroying him amidst the intricate paths and craggy rocks which environed the sacred city. Eumenes, in fact, as he ascended from Cirrha to the temple, by a narrow and lonesome tract, where two persons could not conveniently walk abreast, was overwhelmed by a shower of stones, and taken up for dead by his attendants. The perpetrators of this enormity made their escape by the heights of Parnassus, having slain one of their accomplices who was unable to keep pace with them; by which cruel expedient their names remained unknown. Upon examining the prostrate body of Eumenes, his attendants perceived that he still breathed. Proper assistance was administered to him: he was carried to the sea-coast, only a few miles distant; embarked there in a vessel for Corinth, and from thence was transported to Ægina, an island, as we have seen, long subject to his dominion. At Ægina, he kept himself in the greatest privacy; none were admitted to his presence but those instrumental to his cure; he thus set sail and arrived in Pergamus before the first rumours of his death had been completely dissipated, loudly accusing his inveterate adversary Perseus as the author of the execrable attempt to assassinate him. To confirm this charge before the senate, Caius Valerius, one of the Roman commissioners in Greece, brought with him into Italy Praxo a citizen of Delphi, who confessed that, about the time of Eumenes' disaster, he had accommodated with lodging four strangers, three of whom were Macedo-

Perseus ac-
 cused of this
 enormity
 and other
 crimes more
 secret and
 more odious.

nians, and the fourth a certain Evander of Crete, commander of some Cretan mercenaries in the service of Perseus. But, as if the violence done to Eumenes had not been sufficient to provoke the senators to war, Valerius was provided with another witness, who accused Perseus of more execrable, because more secret crimes. This accuser was Lucius Rammius, a citizen of Brundisium, and the most generous as well as richest inhabitant of that place. Rammius was accustomed to receive into his house and entertain with magnificent hospitality, not only illustrious Romans employed in the public service, but the ministers of foreign states, and particularly of kings. His fame reached the ears of Perseus, whose ambassadors, in their way to Rome, had often experienced Rammius' good offices. Perseus invited him to Pella, and prevailed with him to visit that capital. But Rammius, as he declared, had not been long there, when he found himself admitted to a degree of familiarity with the king far greater than he desired, and made a partaker in secrets with which he would never have wished to become acquainted. The king finally proposed to him, that he should employ the opportunity afforded by his hospitable style of life, for destroying by poison those Romans whom he should, from time to time, name to him; giving assurances, that the execution of this plan would not be attended with the smallest danger, because he should be supplied with poisons potent and efficacious, yet altogether imperceptible in their effects, either at the time when administered, or during the progress of their slow and secret operation. Rammius affected to enter into these views, lest he should himself become the victim of Perseus' dire pharmacy: he had embraced, however, he said, the first opportunity of getting beyond the reach of the king's venomous fangs, but after being made privy to such horrid projects, had not ventured upon returning into Italy, until he had confessed all that he knew to Valerius then at Chalcis, to whom he had immediately repaired, and whom he now accompanied

C H A P.
XXII.

Preparations
of the Ro-
mans—they
change the
complement
of the legion.

accompanied to Rome, that he might repeat his confession in the senate¹⁷.

When the other crimes of Perseus were heightened by such foul imputations, the Romans, not waiting to employ their usual forms in making war, ordered a body of troops to rendezvous at Brundisium, that they might be ready to sail to Illyricum, and anticipate the enemy in seizing Apollonia and other safe harbours on that coast. Ships were collected from the sea-ports of Magna Græcia and Sicily to the amount of fifty quinqueremes; and corn was provided chiefly from the inland districts of these countries and from Sardinia. It was determined that the consul Licinius Crassus should levy, besides a due proportion of allies, two Roman legions for the service of the Macedonian war; each legion to consist of 6,000 infantry, and 300 horse, instead of 5,000 infantry and 200 horse, which had hitherto been the full legionary complement. An innovation was also made in the appointment of military tribunes, who were to be named by the generals, instead of being elected by the suffrages of the people¹⁸. During the progress of the consul's preparations, the pretor Cneius Licinius, who commanded the forces assembled at Brundisium, sailed with 5,000 men to Apollonia, and encamped in that neighbourhood. A multitude of confidential agents was at the same time dispatched to all the nations of Europe and Asia, who were likely to take an interest in the approaching war, or to fall within the sphere of its operations. Not less than five embassies were sent to the countries contiguous to Macedon; they arrived at Corcyra, carrying with them an escort of a thousand infantry, which they divided among them, after settling in that island the plan of their future motions. Agreeably to this plan, Decimius repaired to Gentius the most considerable prince in Illyricum, and notwithstanding the benefits conferred by Rome on his father Pleuratus, strongly suspected of defection.

Their nume-
rous negoci-
tions.

Olymp.
olii. 2.

B. C. 171.

¹⁷ Ibid. c. 17.

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 31.

The

The two Lentuli sailed to Cephallenia, that they might visit, before winter, the coasts of Peloponnesus, and make sure of the Roman allies in that peninsula. The most important commissions were assigned to Marcius and Atilius, who were to examine the temper of men in Epirus, Etolia, and Thessaly; from thence to pass into Bœotia and Eubœa; and then to meet the Lentuli in Peloponnesus, that they might compare with them the result of their respective negotiations, and concert measures for rendering them on all sides successful. This, indeed, was the general issue; the ambassadors succeeded even beyond their hopes, with the single exception of Decimius, who, having failed to gain the Illyrians, returned home loaded with the imputation of being bribed by the enemies of his country¹⁹.

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Perseus, though he urged his preparations with activity, had testified a desire for maintaining peace by successive applications at Rome and at Corcyra, before the separation of the Roman ambassadors in that island. He was, on both occasions, scornfully repulsed; yet, when he learned that Marcius, whose father had been the guest and friend of king Philip, had proceeded to Larissa in Thessaly, he sent fresh messengers to request an interview. Marcius answered, that he well knew the intimacy which had subsisted between Perseus' father and his own; moved by which consideration, he had the more willingly undertaken his present mission into Greece: that he likewise wished for a conference, and to that end, would proceed with all convenient speed to the river Peneus, near the passage between Omolium and Dium. A few days afterwards the king came thither, escorted by his guards and attended by a splendid retinue of his friends and courtiers. Marcius, also, was honourably accompanied by deputies from the allied cities, all of whom were anxious to behold the meeting between a powerful king and the ambassadors of a renowned and mighty commonwealth. Some altercation took place

Perseus' interview with Marcius the Roman commissioner. Olymp. clii. 2. B. C. 171.

¹⁹ Ibid. c. 45.

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XXII.

about adjusting the point of ceremony, which party should come to the other by crossing the Peneus. Marcius, whose surname was Philip, terminated this controversy, by saying, let the younger come to the older, the son to the father. A new question was started, what number of Macedonians should pass over. Perseus proposed bringing with him his whole escort. This was complied with, but on condition that the king should grant hostages: a demand made, not so much for the sake of security, as to prove to the numerous strangers present, that the Romans and Macedonians did not treat as equals. Notwithstanding these very unpromising preludes, the parties met each other with every appearance of cordiality; and both being seated, Marcius began the conference. "You desire," I presume, "Perseus! to have an answer to the questions in your letters to Corcyra, why we, who are ambassadors, have crossed the seas with an armed force, and why Roman garrisons have been sent into several cities on your side the Hadriatic. Not to answer would be haughty; to answer truly, I fear will seem harsh. Yet those who violate treaties, must expect to be punished either by words or actions. In the latter mode of chastisement, the Romans, I hope, will employ some other than me; therefore, however it may hurt my feelings, I will declare for the sake of you, an hereditary guest and friend! the wrongs of which my country complains." Marcius then enumerated all the injuries and crimes of which Perseus had been accused by his enemies in Greece, by king Eumenes, and by Rammius of Brundisium. He accumulated the charge, by saying, with how much pain he had learned, that two Thebans, Evercas and Callicritus, had been intercepted on their mission to Rome, and cruelly assassinated; and that Perseus had stripped of his dominions Abrupolis the Thracian, and had afforded protection to the murderers of Artetarus the Illyrian, though both these princes were allies of the Roman people²⁰. The king in reply, lamented that he had

²⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 40.

found accusers in those to whom he had been willing to submit as judges. The things laid to his charge, he said, were either vile calumnies, or actions, which, rightly viewed, he needed not to be ashamed of. The allegations of Rammius and Eumenes were of the former kind. They were unsupported by any evidence; and had reason, probability, and common sense directly against them. It was likely that he should admit Rammius to his utmost privacy, a stranger whom he had never seen but once on a short visit, and whom he was not likely ever to see again! Had Eumenes no other enemies but himself, that Eumenes whom the Romans, by the complaints recently made of him in their senate-house, had found to be justly obnoxious to so many individuals, and so many communities both of Europe and of Asia! Could not the Thebans, Evercas, and Callitritus, perish by shipwreck among the stormy Cyclades, unless the king of Macedon had co-operated towards their destruction? Abrupolis the Thracian, now acknowledged for the ally of the Romans, had carried his ravages into Macedon. He was repulsed, and vanquished in a just war. The Illyrian Artetarus, another of their allies, had fallen a prey to domestic sedition. His murderers, indeed, had sought refuge in Macedon; and there, for a short time, had found it. Upon the first remonstrance from the Romans, they had been expelled from that kingdom. In all this, where is the ground, nay, the pretence for quarrel? By the laws of Rome²¹, as well as of Greece, criminals, under certain circumstances, were allowed to fly into exile; an useless indulgence if no place is to be left open for their reception! Do the Romans hold themselves guilty of all the misdeeds perpetrated by those unhappy men to whom they have at any time afforded an asylum in Italy²²? Marcius affected to be convinced by the king's discourse. On this account he granted him,

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Perseus ably
repels the
accusations
against him.

²¹ In public trials at Rome, persons accused were not put under restraint. They might retire into voluntary exile, even when the last tribe was employed in giving its

suffrage against them. Ascon. in Ciceron. in Verr.

²² Ibid. c. 41.

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XXII.

Marcus
boasts of his
deceit in the
senate.

though with apparent hesitation, a few weeks truce, that he might renew his applications to the senate. During this interval, the Roman agents continued to promote, without obstruction, the views of their republic on both sides the Ægean: they were alike successful on both; particularly in recovering the good will of the Rhodians, who were able to reinforce them at sea by a fleet of forty gallies. Upon his return to Rome, Marcus had the effrontery to boast in the senate-house of the deceit which he had practised on the king, whose preparations, he said, were in such a state of forwardness, while the Romans were yet getting ready, as would have enabled him to commence the war with many decided advantages. A few senators condemned the duplicity and meanness of this proceeding: but so totally had the maxims of the Romans changed, that a great majority of the senate extolled Marcus' dexterity; and a decree immediately passed for his return with a squadron of quinqueremes into Greece, and for allowing him to use his own best judgment in promoting the interests of his country. Orders were, at the same time, dispatched to his late colleagues in the embassy, that they should occupy, with the troops at their disposal, the strongholds in Bœotia and Thessaly²³.

The Romans
fail to Apol-
lonia—their
forces.
Olymp.
clii. 2.
B. C. 171.

Meanwhile, the pretor Caius Lucretius had been assembling the fleet at Naples to the number of forty quinqueremes; with which, having sailed from that harbour, he arrived on the fifth day in the isle of Cephalenia. His brother Marcus, who preceded him, had orders to collect a few gallies promised by the Locrians, Urians²⁴, and Rhegians. He touched afterwards at Epidamnus, and finding there sixty-six vessels belonging to king Gentius and the commonwealth of Issus, he carried them also into Cephalenia, pretending to believe that they had been equipped by those allies for his service.

²³ Ibid. c. 47.

²⁴ Uria, now Oria, was a city little known between Brundisium and Tarentum. Strabo,

l. vi. p. 195. It was a colony of Crete. Herodotus, l. vii. c. 170.

At Cephalenia, the fleet remained inactive, until the army, under the consul Publius Licinius Crassus, should cross the Hadriatic. This general, to whom the province of Macedon had fallen by lot, left Rome in a military garb to join the army that awaited his orders at Brundisium²⁵. Hitherto unknown to fame, he went to take the command in a war long meditated, against a kingdom whose renown had once filled the world; which, under Philip, father to the present king, had maintained against three consular armies no ignoble warfare, and which, as the senate declared, was eager to renew the contest after having repaired its exhausted strength in a peace of twenty-five years. During the seven years, indeed, that Perseus had reigned, he had never ceased to be represented as an object of jealousy. His people stunned, not terrified, remembered their recent wounds, but were still more mindful of their ancient glory; they stood erect and frowning in the midst of submissive vassals to Rome, by whom their country was surrounded; fortune might now prove more favourable to them; much anxiety therefore attended this expedition, and great preparations had been made for it. The transports conveyed from Brundisium to Apollonia two Roman legions now respectively raised to their full establishment of 6000 foot and 300 horse: the allies were not less numerous; so that the consular army exceeded 25,000 men. Five thousand Romans, as we have seen, had already taken post in different parts of Greece; a reinforcement of seven thousand allies was expected from king Eumenes; the Achæans and other republics, it was not doubted, would raise their contingents and signalise their zeal; cavalry and elephants had been ordered from Numidia; and as Perseus had but few ships of war, and those chiefly drawn up for safety within his fortified harbours, the marines on board the Roman fleet of forty sail, and even most of the rowers, might be employed in co-operating by land with the army; in strengthening posts, besieging maritime cities, and in transporting

²⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 48, 49.

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Perseus takes
the field in
Thessaly.
Olymp.
clii. 2.
B. C. 171.

themselves quickly along the coast, and acting seasonably on any part of it.

Perseus, in consequence of the deceit practised on him by Marcius, his hereditary guest, had been anticipated in his negotiations with the Rhodians and other republicks of Asia. His ambassadors, sent to Rome, had returned from that city, and made report of their peremptory dismissal by the senate²⁶. The hopes of peace being thus cut off, the king held a council of his ministers and generals at Pella, only a few days before the consular army reached Apollonia. As concession had heightened the pride of the enemy, no resource remained but in arms. The Romans had fought Philip on pretence of emancipating Greece; they now levied war on Perseus with the evident purpose of conquering Macedon. Yet 40,000 foot and 4,000 horse, collected for the defence of that kingdom, would oppose no slight obstacle to Roman ambition. Perseus put himself at their head at Citium, in the neighbourhood of Pella. His suitable speech was received with acclamation; the deputies from the states of his kingdom offered him contributions in money and in corn: he desired for the present, only to be supplied with baggage waggons and beasts of burthen, and made preparations for invading Greece without delay, that the Roman allies, and his own inveterate enemies in that country, might be the first sufferers in the war. The army marched with expedition fifty miles through the beautiful district of Pieria, crossed the river Haliacmon, and traversed the Cambunian mountains which cover the frontier of Thessaly. In that province, long subject to his ancestors, Perseus had a few partisans, but many more exasperated foes. He was unwilling to leave any strong cities behind him, and therefore made himself master of all the principal places north of the river Peneus, which intersects the country almost in its utmost breadth. He strongly garrisoned Gonni, at the entrance of the famous pass called the valley of Tempè, and

²⁶ Ibid. c. 48.

having

having there ferried over the Peneus, took post at Sycurium, about five miles south of its bank, and at a smaller distance from the foot of mount Ossa. In this situation his soldiers enjoyed every convenience in point of wood and most salubrious water, and all the southern districts of Thessaly lay open to their incursions²⁷.

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Perseus had not continued long at Sycurium when the consul, having penetrated without interruption through the defiles of Epirus and Athamania, arrived on the western frontier of Thessaly, and encamped on the river Peneus, in the neighbourhood of Larissa. There the Romans were soon joined by Eumenes, who had left Pergamus in company with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus. Philætærus, a fourth brother, remained as viceroy in Pergamus. Athenæus stopped short in his way from Asia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, with about 2,000 infantry, to guard a place of great importance, as we have seen, in the former Macedonian war. Eumenes and Attalus joined the forces of Licinius with 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Contingents also arrived from the Achæans, Etolians, and some states of Thessaly, which did not, however, collectively amount to the number of men furnished singly by Pergamus.

The consul
Licinius,
with his al-
lies, arrives
on the west-
ern frontier
of Thessaly.

To provoke the enemy to battle, Perseus extended his ravages twenty miles southward to Pheræ. The territory of this allied city being abandoned to its fate, the tame inactivity of the Romans inspired the king with more than usual courage. With a party of light troops, he proceeded to attack their advanced posts; and having succeeded in a bold skirmish, obliged them to draw their whole forces within their camp. For several succeeding days, he advanced to their entrenchments, thinking to provoke their cavalry and light infantry to sally, and thereby to obtain an opportunity of intercepting their return. The Romans, however, kept within their ramparts; and as part of the road between the two camps was so deficient in good water, that Perseus was obliged to carry with him

The Romans
defeated
near Larissa.
Olymp.
clii. 2.
B. C. 171.

²⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xlii. c. 51—54.

this

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this article from Sycurium, he determined to move his camp within five miles of the enemy, to avoid the repetition of fatiguing excursions in the heat of summer, through a parched country involved in clouds of dust. This movement, which escaped the observation of the Romans, enabled him to advance unperceived, next day at early dawn, within five hundred paces of their camp. An alarm was given from the gates: the Romans flew to arms: their horse and light infantry sallied from their entrenchments. An action ensued, in which all the light troops and cavalry on both sides were engaged, and which ended decidedly in favour of the king. The Romans were repelled with the loss of 2,400 men²⁸; and the battle would have been fatal to the whole of their cavalry, had not Eumenes and the Thessalians, with equal skill and valour, sustained the desultory fury of the Thracians, and afforded protection to their flying friends within their own regular and still threatening ranks. Upon observing the retreat of the enemy's cavalry, Leonnatus and Hippas seasonably advanced with the phalanx, and exhorted the king to second his good fortune by immediately assaulting the Roman camp. The campaign might have ended with success in this promising enterprize, when Evander the Cretan, the same man who was accused of way-laying Eumenes and attempting to destroy him in his journey to Delphi, interposed his pestilent counsel. The crafty Cretan well knew his master, and probably read in his countenance some disinclination to the bold measure proposed to him. He therefore conjured him, not to lose the fruits of his victory by an attempt to make it greater. That the battle, which he had already won, would either procure for him an immediate peace, or gain for him so many new allies, that he would be enabled to prosecute the war with little danger. Conformably with this advice, Perseus checked the ardour of his troops in the moment of victory;

The Macedonians hindered by the king from prosecuting their success.

²⁸ Ibid. c. 59. Plutarch makes the loss greater; 2,500 of the consul's best troops, and 600 prisoners, Plut. in Paul. Emil.

and

and his conduct appeared next day equally imprudent and pusillanimous, even in his own eyes, when he found that the Romans, fearful of being attacked, had availed themselves of the intervening night to remove beyond the Peneus²⁹. This timidity in the enemy, concurring with symptoms of alienation in Greek cities hitherto most zealous in the cause of Rome, flattered Perseus with the hope of renewing his negotiations with better success than formerly. In useless overtures for peace, and in a petty war of outposts and foraging parties on both sides the Peneus, a considerable time elapsed without any action of importance, until the Romans took post at Phalanna, on the northern bank of the river, and the enemy encamped nearly opposite to them at Mopsium³⁰.

In this situation, Perseus learned from deserters that the Romans, entirely unguarded, had spread widely to reap the surrounding fields. He quickly passed the river with about three thousand cavalry, intermixed with some light troops, ordering his heavy infantry to follow with all convenient speed. To the disgrace of the consul's vigilance, the reapers were surprised, and pursued with great slaughter; a thousand carts laden with corn, and above six hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. Not contented with this advantage, Perseus dispatched to his camp the corn and prisoners, under a guard of three hundred Cretans, recalled his men from pursuing the reapers, and determined to attack their nearest station, guarded by eight hundred Romans under Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune. Pompey perceiving his design, had just time to quit a post, which he judged to be untenable, and to occupy a neighbouring eminence, which the advantage of the ground, he hoped, would enable him to defend. The place being difficult of access, was assailed by missile weapons, and particularly by those of a kind first employed by the Macedonians in the present war, and named from a compound denoting the dart and sling, whose powers the *cestro-*

New advantages on the side of the Macedonians. Olymp. clii. 2. B. C. 171.

²⁹ Ibid. c. 57—60.

³⁰ Ibid. c. 65.

CHAP. *spendone* united. The Romans formed themselves into a close body, with thickly compacted shields, the better to resist this deadly instrument; but the Macedonians compelled them again to divide, by threatening on all sides to climb the eminence. In opposing these separate attacks, the besieged suffered dreadfully from the sharpness of darts discharged with unusual velocity, and were on the point of being totally destroyed, when the consul brought to their relief, besides his own light infantry and horse, about two thousand Numidians, who had recently joined his standard. Perseus endeavoured to withstand this new enemy, sending orders at the same time for his phalanx to advance to his aid with all expedition.

Rendered
unavailing
by an acci-
dent.

Both armies
go into win-
ter quarters.

The phalanx hastened to join him, but in passing the narrow defiles leading from the northern bank of the Peneus, met under the Cretan escort above mentioned, the train of loaded carts and Roman prisoners³¹. The roads being thus interrupted, a dreadful confusion ensued; the prisoners were put to death, and the carts with their yoked horses were precipitated from the heights on either side to make way for the soldiers. This tumult had scarcely ended, when a new obstacle appeared, Perseus with his flying cavalry. It became necessary for the foot as well as horse to give way; and such was the trepidation of their retreat, that, had the Romans ventured to pursue them, they might have obtained a complete victory. The hostile armies returned to their respective camps; and as winter was fast approaching, Perseus, after throwing a strong garrison into Gonni, thought it adviseable to move towards Macedon. The consul also prepared for quartering his troops during winter in Thessaly and Bœotia, of which latter province, as well as of the neighbouring isle of Eubœa, the fleet, under the pretor Lucretius, had nearly effected the conquest. At sea, the Romans were completely the masters: their fleet had been joined at Chalcis by two Carthaginian quinqueremes; by two triremes from Heraclæa in Pontus; by four

³¹ Ibid. c. 66.

triremes from Chalcedon and Samos respectively; and by five Rhodian quadriremes. But as their own navy more than sufficed for all the work to be done, the zeal of their allies was thanked, and their services were dispensed with³².

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The issue of the campaign had nowise corresponded to the high hopes with which it was undertaken. The Romans obtained not any advantages worthy of their mighty preparations; their victories had been balanced by still greater defeats; and the evils done to their enemies were far surpassed by the injuries which they inflicted on their allies. In the inactivity of their winter quarters especially, the commanders by sea and land tarnished the honour of their country by innumerable acts of pride, avarice, and cruelty. Their unworthiness was no secret at Rome, and successors to them were appointed. The consul Aulus Hostilius was sent to take the command of the army; the fleet was committed to Hortensius. These new commanders were equally inefficient with their predecessors. Hostilius could not penetrate within the rugged frontiers of Macedon; and Hortensius, active only in mischief, aggravated the extortions and insults long loudly complained of. Before their command expired, the senate was crowded with deputies from many maritime commonwealths on the coasts of Europe and Asia. These embassies came either from places which had not yet experienced the tyranny of Rome, or from those actually smarting under its lash. The cities of Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, and Lampsacus spoke the language of allies to great and generous protectors, and wished only to know in what way their resources might be employed most usefully against Perseus, the common enemy. But Coronæa in Bœotia, Abdera in Thrace, above all, Chalcis in Eubœa, sent to demand vengeance. The calamities of the last named city were expressed by Mictio, who came to the senate-house in a litter, being disabled in his limbs. He said, "that the use of his tongue only was left him to bewail the

Misbehaviour of the Romans to their allies. Olymp. clii. 3. B. C. 170.

The new commanders Hostilius and Hortensius unsuccessful.

Complaints against them and Lucretius, late commander of the Roman fleet.

³² Ibid. c. 56.

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sufferings of his country, first under Lucretius, and now under Hortensius. That the cities Ænos, Maronæa, Amphipolis, and others, which shut their gates against the Romans, flourished in wealth and peace; but that Chalcis, which had received them as friends, had been beggared and enslaved. That the ornaments even of its temples had been sent to embellish the villas of Italy. That, instead of keeping on shipboard as it was their duty, the crews of the Roman fleets were continually on shore, during summer as well as winter. That profligate sailors, alike careless of what they did and what they said, lived in free quarters among the wives and children of the insulted Chalcidians." The senate disavowed and reprobated these odious proceedings; sent commissioners to examine into the injuries that had been done; and, as far as possible, to redress them: a fine to the amount of three thousand pounds was imposed on Lucretius²² lately commanding the fleet. We are not informed of the penalties to which his accomplices were condemned; there is reason to believe that they fell infinitely short of their deservings.

Perseus' successes in Thrace and Illyricum obstructed by his sordid avarice.

The worthlessness of the Romans entrusted with command proved highly beneficial to the affairs of Perseus. His partisans increased in most of the republics of Greece. In Thrace, his ally Cotys, king of the Odrysians, being attacked by some hostile chieftains of that country, Perseus marched to his relief, and enabled him to defeat the Thracians in arms, supported by a considerable body of Pergamenians. On the side of Illyricum he was not less successful. Appius Claudius, who had been sent with eight thousand men into that province by the consul Hostilius, fell into a snare laid for him by the citizens of Uscana, a town on the frontiers of Macedon, and lost the greater part of his army. After this disgrace of the Romans, Gentius, the most considerable prince in Illyria, listened readily to the amicable proposals of the king of Macedon. To raise a numerous army of his warlike countrymen, Gentius needed nothing but

²² Tit. Liv. l. xliii. c. 4-9.

money,

money, which the opulence of Perseus could have supplied in abundance³⁴. But the avarice of the latter trembled to diminish the treasures which his slow œconomy had accumulated. Perseus, through his parsimony, not only lost the seasonable aid of the Illyrians, but much alienated his useful ally Cotys, a Thracian by birth but not in character, since he was a man of real ability in the council as well as in the field: of great sobriety and temperance, alike superior to anger and to pleasure, and endeared to all who knew him by his humanity and clemency³⁵.

The imprudence of the Roman commanders, in listening to false reports, obliged the leading men among the Epirots to seek the protection of Macedon. There was a certain Charops of Epirus, who had formed a close connection with the Romans during their war with Philip; and who, after the termination of that war, sent to Rome a grandson of his own name, that he might be trained to Roman discipline³⁶. The younger Charops, through the merit of the elder, obtained the countenance of many powerful patricians; and, on his return to Epirus, being a man of a light head and a depraved heart, never ceased to traduce to his foreign friends the best and worthiest of his countrymen. Under Licinius Crassus, the first consul sent against Perseus, many persons of distinction, whom Charops had known in Rome, were employed in subordinate commands. His calumnies, therefore, began to operate with great efficacy. The Romans talked of sending as hostages into Italy several suspected persons, particularly Cephalo, an Epirot of great probity, and deservedly the most popular man in the whole country. They had recently, on similar accusations, required several Etolians to be surrendered to them. Cephalo, while it was yet time, had recourse to Perseus, and prevailed with all who acted with him in the republick, to throw themselves into the arms of that prince.

Calumnies of
the Epirot
Charops
against his
countrymen.

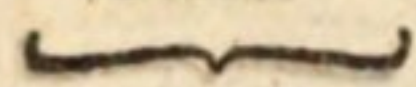
³⁴ Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 8. Tit. Liv. l. xliii. c. 20.

³⁵ Polyb. l. xxvii. c. 10.

³⁶ Id. l. xxvii. c. 13.

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New com-
manders
Marcius
Philippus,
and Marcus
Figulus.
Olymp.
clii. 4.
B. C. 169.

Their plan
of campaign.

They are
joined by
Achæan de-
puties, par-
ticularly by
Polybius the
historian.

The alliance, however, was concealed with due caution; so that the consul Hostilius, who succeeded to Licinius, had begun to pass through Epirus, when he was admonished by the party adverse to Cephalo of the danger attending that measure³⁷.

Amidst the loss of armies and the defection of allies, the Romans began to look out for a new commander to conduct the war against Macedon; and, as if they had thought that the same man who had over-reached Perseus in negociation, was also the likeliest to defeat him in battle, they made choice of Quintus Marcus Philippus. This new consul joined the army in Thessaly; his coadjutor, the pretor Marcus Figulus, took the command of the fleet at Chalcis. They brought with them new levies to the amount of 6,000 Roman infantry, and an equal number of Italian allies. The cavalry, accompanying both divisions collectively, did not exceed 450. It was concerted between the commanders by land and sea, that while the consul Marcus Philippus broke into the nearest province of Macedon on the side of Thessaly, the pretor Marcus Figulus should direct the exertions of his fleet against the sea-coasts of that kingdom; which, being indented by the two great bays of Therma and Strymon, infolding, as it were in their arms, the two lesser ones of Singus and Torona, extended above three hundred miles from Pella to Philippi, and contained much valuable territory and many flourishing cities. The ardour of preparation, and the enterprising character of the consul, who, though he had passed his sixtieth year, and had to contend with an unwieldy corpulency, displayed all the fire and activity of youth, brought to his camp in Thessaly, among other deputies from Greece, those of the Achæans headed by Polybius the historian, who, in the vigour of manhood³⁸ thus enjoyed an opportunity of indulging his

³⁷ Id. ibid.

³⁸ Eleven years before this period, he had been named in company with his father Lycortas as ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes. But this commission was conferred on him by particular favour in his 23d year,

and eight years before the age required by law for the exercise of high political or military functions. In his 34th year, being commander of horse in Achaia, he was sent ambassador to the consul Marcus. Conf. Polyb. l. xxv. c. 7. & l. xxviii. c. 6, 10, 11.

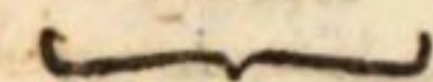
own boundless curiosity by accompanying the Romans in one of their most memorable expeditions. The province of Pieria, into which they had to penetrate, was divided from Thessaly by a broad belt of highlands extending inland from the Thermaic gulph, and affording, in the length of about forty miles, only three practicable passes. The western passage, remotest from the coast, led across the Cambunian mountains, and had been vainly attempted in the preceding campaign. Another road, frequented by merchants and pilgrims, had been adorned for their security with a temple of Apollo, and thence derived the name of Pythium. The third route was marked, on the side of Thessaly, by the lake Asciris. It crossed a mountain named, from its eight crests, Octoluphus, one of which was called Eudierus, because, notwithstanding its great elevation, it abounded with sparkling fountains of fine water. Beyond Eudierus there stood a still higher mountain, from which there was an abrupt descent of seven miles, to a narrow and intricate valley, which led eastward to the forest named Callipeucè, and well entitled to this appellation from its display of beautiful pines. From Callipeucè you proceeded to the open plains between Lebethra and Heracleum, at the foot of mount Olympus, and only twelve miles from the Macedonian city Dium, near to which Perseus had pitched his camp. The consul preferred the road by Octoluphus; a rude ascent of twenty miles, a more abrupt descent of seven, and, from thence a perplexed passage of twenty-five, to the plain adjacent to Heracleum. In this undertaking, he must lay his account with combating at once the difficulties of the country, and the powerful opposition that would be made to him by the enemy. Perseus had stationed 10,000 men to guard the passes of the Cambunian mountains; he had posted a still greater number in the route by Octoluphus. The neighbourhood of his camp, it might be suspected, would enable him to send timely assistance, whichever way the Romans might attempt to penetrate.

The passes
from Thes-
saly into
Macedon.

The consul
prefers the
route by
Octoluphus.

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Views from
the hill of
Eudierus the
enemy's en-
campment.

Difficulties
of passing
Otoluphus,
particularly
with ele-
phants—
how obvi-
ated.

penetrate³⁹. The consul began his expedition by sending 4,000 light troops, commanded by his own son Q. Marcius and by M. Claudius, that, by occupying posts on the way, they might provide for the safe progress of the army. He followed with his whole cavalry and infantry; and with twenty-two African elephants. The first part of the road was so difficult, that the light troops under young Marcius scarcely advanced fifteen miles in two days to Eudierus. They encamped around its refreshing fountains; and proceeded, on the following day, to the higher hill beyond it, which they occupied in sight of 12,000 Macedonians posted in that neighbourhood. From thence they sent messengers to the consul on his way from the lake Ascuris. He arrived, and encamped on the eminence already seized, from which he could behold not only the enemy's post about a mile distant, but their larger camp near Dium, with the adjoining sea-coast, the river Helicon, and the green valley of Pieria, celebrated by poets as the cradle of the muses⁴⁰. The sight fired his soldiers with delight; they grasped already in fancy the rich spoils of Macedon, and their impatience scarcely allowed them a day's halt to recover the fatigues of their march.

On the two following days there happened only desultory skirmishes of light troops; for the nature of the ground admitted not of regular combat. The Romans had overcome great difficulties, but they had still greater to surmount. They had indeed carried with them food for many days, but the state of their affairs required them to advance speedily; a matter of much danger, had Perseus been an able general. That prince either vainly paraded along the sea-coast with his cavalry, or remained altogether inactive in his camp at Dium, while Marcius, a large and heavy old man, scaled steep mountains, and prepared for abrupt descents through paths unexplored, and which, had they been known, would only have appeared

³⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 2. & seq.

⁴⁰ Plin. l. iv. c. 10.

the more frightful. Having left a detachment under the tribune Popilius, on the eminence first seized, to keep the enemy in play, he sent forward Attalus of Pergamus, and Misagenes the Numidian, at the head of their respective countrymen. They were followed in the woody and concealed paths by the Roman cavalry and baggage. The legions formed the rear. In the first four miles there was much confusion and loss among the beasts of burden. The elephants, above all, greatly increased the disorder. When they met with any unexpected obstacles, they attempted to throw their riders; and their fierce roaring occasioned great terror among the horses. To enable them to descend safely, a method was contrived for lessening the steepness. Platforms of stout planks, projecting from the upper rocks, were propped by strong beams rising from those below. These platforms, having only a moderate inclination, were extended in succession down the shelving sides of the declivity, and served as a chain of bridges, each of which was about thirty feet long. The elephants were conveyed from the end of the upper bridge to the beginning of that beneath it, by removing the beams on which the former was supported. Through this contrivance, the army advanced in the day time seven miles, the soldiers making more use of their hands than of their feet, and often rolling themselves down with their armour; so that in this disordered state, even the guides, who had undertaken to lead the way, dreaded any opposition from Perseus, as big with ruin. At night they found themselves in the bottom of a hollow valley, on which firm resting place they waited next day until they should be joined by the detachment left under Popilius, since, in the impossibility to return by the ground which they had descended, the possession of the height which he occupied was no longer necessary to them. The next morning, they crossed with united forces the forest of Callipeucè; and, on the following day, penetrated to the plains between Libethra and Heracleum, within a few miles of the sea-coast, without beholding an enemy⁴.

⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 5.

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Strange panic of Perseus—his absurd orders.

Perseus was indulging in the warm bath, when news arrived that the Romans had crossed the mountains. He sprang, frantic, from his seat, exclaiming, that he had been betrayed by the generals whom he had sent to guard the passes, and that his kingdom was conquered without a battle. In the first paroxysm of rage and phrenzy, he gave orders for retreating to Pydna, twenty miles north of Dium, without forgetting, in the midst of his trepidation, to command the removal, from the latter city, of the twenty-five equestrian statues, erected in honour of Alexander's companions, and which, it should seem, had been carefully repaired since the desolating irruption of the Etolians. At the same time he dispatched two of his friends, Nicias and Andronicus, that the former might cause his vast treasures at Pella, amounting to nearly five millions sterling, to be buried in the sea, and that the latter might destroy by fire the ships and arsenals at Thessalonica⁴². His panic, however, was altogether unreasonable; for Heracleum shut its gates against the Romans; and the adjacent plain, on which they encamped, was accessible on the side of Thessaly, only by the narrow valley of Tempè: and led into Macedon only by the difficult defile of Dium. Had Perseus remained firm in that strong city, which, with its lake and temple, occupied almost the whole space between mount Olympus and the sea, and been careful to support his posts in the gorges of Tempè, the Romans must have been cooped up in a country ill calculated to supply their wants, or compelled to extricate themselves from their uneasy situation by fighting to much disadvantage. But the madness of Perseus, who recalled his garrisons from Tempè, as well as all his other detachments, and fled northwards from Dium to Pydna, relieved the invaders from this distressing alternative.

March and counter-march of the Romans.

The consul immediately sent orders to the lieutenant left behind him in Thessaly, to secure his communications on that side by seizing the passes which the Macedonians had abandoned; and after taking proper precautions for exploring the road, proceeded in two

⁴² Ibid. c. 6.

marches to Dium. He encamped in the vicinity of Jupiter's temple, the more surely to guard that holy place from violation. Having entered Dium, he was surprised to find, in a town of inconsiderable magnitude, so many ornamental edifices, and such a profusion of works of art. At sight of these riches, he could scarcely persuade himself that Perseus' flight did not conceal some ambush. But upon a careful examination, all appeared to him safe; so that leaving the maritime cities Pydna and Methonè on his right, he advanced in the direct line to Pella. Having proceeded two days on his march, he began to suffer from scarcity of provisions; and the farther he removed from Thessaly, he doubted not but his difficulties, in that point, would encrease. To whatever reproaches he might thereby be exposed, it seemed necessary to return southward. In this direction, he passed beyond Dium, five miles, to Phyla, where he found corn and other necessaries provided in abundance by Lucretius, the officer whom he had ordered to occupy the valley of Tempè.

The sudden retreat of the Romans brought back Perseus to his senses. Having collected his forces at Pydna, he returned towards Dium, and fortified a camp between the latter place and Phyla, on the northern bank of the Enipeus; a scanty rivulet in summer, but in winter a fierce torrent, rolling in a deep rocky channel, from mount Olympus to the Thermaic gulph. In this situation he hoped to defend the frontier of Pieria, until the advancing season obliged the enemy to go into quarters in Thessaly.

Meanwhile the consul had sent a detachment under Popilius to take possession of Heracleum. The place was situate five miles south of Phyla, and nearly midway between Dium and Tempè. Popilius invited it to surrender, and experience the Roman clemency. But the inhabitants trusted to the strength of their city built on a rock, overhanging the river Sus. The siege afforded nothing memorable, except that the wall was taken, as in sport, by some Roman youths, through a contrivance which they had learned from the games of the

Perseus encamps between Dium and Phyla.

The walls of Heracleum taken by a contrivance learned from

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the games
of the circus.

circus. In the intervals of the horse and chariot races, which properly constituted those entertainments, it had been usual, among other martial pastimes, for parties of about sixty armed youths, to throw themselves into a figure resembling the roof of a house. The middle ranks stood upright, each man covering his head with his shield; the ranks which followed on either hand gradually stooped lower and lower, until the outermost rested on their knees. In this manner, the shields of the several ranks, descending successively below each other, composed a firm and solid fabrick, upon which combatants, mounting on either side, sometimes skirmished with each other, on the middle of the edifice, and sometimes flourishing their weapons, made a show of defending its extremities, or of annoying an enemy from this vantage ground. Such was the mode of assault employed against Heracleum, only that the outward men, instead of raising their shields on high, projected them, for safety, as in real battle⁴¹.

The Romans
and Eu-
menes un-
successful on
the sea-coast.

With the capture of Heracleum, the campaign of the consul Marcius closed. He encamped in its neighbourhood, and prepared for winter, by making choice of fit places for granaries, and by sending part of his soldiers to repair the roads on the side of Thessaly, and to raise buildings, at convenient distances, for lodging the carriers and cattle employed in the conveyance of provisions from that quarter. During the operations of the Roman army in Pieria, the fleet under Marcius Figulus had waged a fruitless war against the enemy's sea-coast. Thessalonica, Antigonis, Cassandria, and Demetrias, cities, all of which owed their foundation and their names to persons illustrious in the present history, were successively attacked with more loss on the side of the assailants, than on that of the defenders. King Eumenes shared the mortification of these unprofitable expeditions; and abruptly sailed towards Pergamus, not a little disgusted with the Roman commanders, both by sea and land. The fleet under Figulus,

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. i.

much

Appius
Claudius
equally un-
fortunate in
Illyricum.

much weakened in numbers, returned to Oreum in Eubœa, or the neighbouring isle of Sciathus⁴⁴. In another scene of the war, affairs were not more prosperous. The Illyrian army, commanded by the pretor Appius Claudius, had suffered a severe defeat under the walls of Uscana. To repair this loss, Appius demanded five thousand men from the Achæans. The demand was communicated by the Achæans to their ambassador Polybius, who still attended the consul Marcius in Macedonia. The consul, upon the first intimation of the business, desired Polybius to return to his country, and prevent the Achæans from sending the troops required of them. This was done with an affectation of sparing the blood and money of Achaia; but suspicion assigned a more likely motive in the mean jealousy of Marcius; he feared lest the war, conducted by another against the Illyrians, should prove more successful than his own campaign against the Macedonians⁴⁵. The principal effect of this campaign had been to expose the strange levity of Perseus. When he recovered from his cowardly frenzy, he countermanded the orders which he had given to Andronicus, for burning his arsenal at Thessalonica; an absurd commission which that prudent friend had delayed to execute. At the same time he sent word to Pella, to save his treasures from the sea, into which he had ordered them to be thrown. Nicias, to whom that mad business was entrusted, had complied, indeed, with the letter of his first orders. The buried wealth of Perseus, however, was again recovered by expert divers; but such was the tyrant's cruelty, that in the vain hope of obliterating his own shame, all the persons concerned in these transactions, Andronicus, Nicias, nay the unhappy divers, are said to have fallen victims to those secret arts of destruction, in which he was an adept⁴⁶.

Perseus
folly and
cruelty.

The consul Marcius had no sooner established his winter quarters, than he sent an account of his proceedings to Rome, and requested that he might be seasonably supplied with men, corn, cloathing,

The consul
Marcins re-
quests sup-
plies.

⁴⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 13.

⁴⁵ Polyb. l. xxviii. c. 11.

⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 10.

horses,

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Interposition
in favour of
Perseus, by
Prusias and
the Rhodi-
ans.

Emilius con-
sul with
Macedon for
his province
—his cha-
racter.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

horses, above all, Numidian cavalry. About the same time, the ambassadors from Prusias of Bithynia, and the commonwealth of Rhodes, demanded audiences in the senate house. Prusias, as brother-in-law to Perseus, sued warmly for his pardon. The Rhodians complained that during the three years, in which war had been carried on against Macedon, they had suffered a severe interruption in all commerce, even in that of grain necessary for their subsistence, and a great decay in their port duties and other revenues. They said, that ambassadors had also been sent by their republick to Perseus, to bring that prince to reasonable terms of accommodation: and that, whichever of the belligerent powers persevered in prosecuting the war, the Rhodians would be under the necessity of regarding its obstinacy as hostile to the best interests of their own island. To this haughty language, which seemed altogether unwarrantable in so small a state, the senate answered by declaring the freedom of the Carians and Lycians; a resolution, also, was entered into, that the decree to this effect should be intimated to the two nations long oppressed by the Rhodians⁴⁶.

The remonstrances of allies against the war, and three consular armies successively baffled in the prosecution of it, made the Romans peculiarly anxious about the appointment of a new general. The decision by lot seconded their wishes: it fell on Lucius Emilius Paulus, whose father, of the same name, had signalized at Cannæ his prudent foresight and high heroic valour. The son of this illustrious Roman inherited his sagacity and magnanimity, but had passed his sixtieth year, without enjoying a fit theatre for the full exhibition of his virtues. While the Scipios combated Antiochus the Great, in Asia, Emilius was employed, as pretor, in quelling obscure rebellions in Spain. Thirteen years before he assumed the command against Perseus, he had, in his first consulship broken the power of the Ligurians, an obstinate but ignoble nation. From this time forward, the changed manners of Rome, in consequence of her eastern

⁴⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 14. & seq.

victories,

victories, interrupted the public honours of Emilius, who, amidst shameless examples of rapacity and venality, preserved the honesty, œconomy, and scorn for ill-gotten wealth, which distinguished the best ages of the republick. During his long retirement, he lived remote in the country, wholly dedicated to the education of two sons, worthy of his care, since the elder, being taken into the family of Fabius Maximus, and the younger, into that of Scipio Africanus, both became ornaments to the illustrious houses into which they had respectively been adopted ⁴⁷.

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Upon entering on his office of consul, Emilius moved the senate to send commissioners across the Hadriatic, to learn the real situation of affairs. The commissioners returned with the utmost dispatch, and reported that nothing had been done against the enemy, sufficient to compensate the sufferings of the Romans in passing Octoluphus. The smallest impression had not yet been made on the frontier province of Pieria; where Perseus was strongly encamped on the river Enipeus, bidding defiance to the consul on its opposite bank. Great benefit might have resulted from a diversion on the side of Illyricum; but Appius Claudius, who commanded there, was himself in most imminent danger of being cut off. The operations of the fleet had been equally unsuccessful: many sailors had perished by disease; many had returned home, particularly those belonging to Sicily. The fleet of Eumenes had arrived and departed as unaccountably as if it had moved at the will of the capricious winds; although his brother Attalus still remained steady to the Romans, and had on every occasion signalized his zeal for their interest ⁴⁸.

Commissioners sent at his desire to examine the state of the war—their report.

This intelligence had a tendency both to hasten and augment preparations. It was decreed by the senate, that four legions should be raised with a proportional number of allies. Two legions were destined to serve in Illyricum, under the pretor Lucius Anicius, appointed to supercede Appius Claudius; and enjoined, when the

Reinforcements prepared by the Romans.

⁴⁷ Plutarch in Paul. Emil.

⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 20.

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Emilius'
speech to the
centuries at
parting.

state of affairs permitted him, to co-operate with the consul, in Macedon, by an invasion of its Illyrian frontier. A reinforcement of five thousand sailors was voted to the pretor Cneius Octavius, named to command the fleet instead of Marcius Figulus. Thirty thousand new levies were thus speedily assembled at Brundisium, and prepared to embark in the transports ready to receive them.

At his departure from Rome, to take the command of his legions, Emilius assembled the centuries, and addressed them to the following purpose. "Your congratulations with me have been excited, fellow citizens! not by my elevation to the consulship, but, as I perceive clearly, by my attainment of Macedon for my province; doubtless, because you expect that, through my means, this arduous war will be brought to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. Providence, I trust, overruled the lots by which this momentous business devolved on me; and the gods, I hope, will prosper my designs, and complete their own work. These, however, are matters of opinion; but one thing I affirm with confidence, that every exertion shall be made on my part to deserve glorious success. You may rely with full assurance on the truth of whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate; on which account it will become you to hold in contempt all such unwarranted rumours as have been spread in the present war more than in any other. In every circle and almost at every table, there are persons ready to explain how armies should be led into Macedon; where camps should be pitched, magazines established, posts occupied; on what occasions it will be proper to fight, and when to decline an engagement. Not contented with expatiating on their own infallible plans, they arraign the commanders who deviate from them, as on a day of trial. Such proceedings can have no other tendency but to perplex, damp, and dispirit those entrusted with your armies, for there are few men proof against the assaults of popular obloquy; and who, like the great Fabius, can endure to see their reputation lessen through the idle loquacity of ignorance

ignorance and conceit, rather than maintain and augment it with serious mischief to your affairs. If there are any here present, who think themselves qualified to assist me by their counsel, let them not refuse to accompany me into Macedon. They shall be supplied with ships, horses, tents; even their travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if they decline this offer, let them cease directing from the city, the concerns of the camp, and controuling from shore the navigation of a vessel, in which their own slothful cowardice only hindered them from embarking." Shortly after holding this assembly, the consul left Rome with a retinue unusually numerous, and towards the beginning of April set sail from Brundisium⁴⁸.

During the suspension of military operations, occasioned by a severe winter, Perseus had been busy in negotiation with such neighbouring powers as either jealousy of the Romans, or his own immense treasures were likely to engage in his interest. He promised to Gentius the Illyrian three hundred talents; but ten talents only had been forwarded to Scodra, a city twenty miles from the sea, and the capital of that credulous barbarian, who being naturally of a weak mind, impaired by habitual drunkenness, no sooner received this small sum by way of earnest, than he threw into prison Perperna and Petillius, two Romans just sent to him as ambassadors. The remainder of the money stipulated was on its way to Scodra; but Perseus had taken the precaution to desire those who escorted it to travel slowly, and to wait orders on the frontier. Upon the intelligence that Gentius had violated characters held sacred, and thereby provoked the Romans beyond remission, the money was arrested in its progress, and the bags containing it, though sealed up by Gentius' agent with the signet of that prince, were conveyed back to the treasury of Pella. Notwithstanding this disgraceful transaction, which could neither be concealed nor excused, Perseus availed himself of his treaty with an ally whom he had so grossly

Perseus' for-
did negocia-
tions with
the Illyrians
and Bastar-
nae.

⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 22. Conf. Plutarch in Emil.

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deluded, to promote his interests with the Rhodians. Gentius had sent to him two Illyrians, who upon seeing the money safely sealed up, and dispatched to their master, had orders to join Macedonian ambassadors already commissioned to Rhodes, and to forward all their views. The union of the two kings increased the confidence of the Rhodians in their own importance as mediators of a general peace. They declared publicly their resolution to effect this purpose: if persuasion should not avail, they determined to have recourse to arms. In his transactions with Eumenes and the Bastarnæ, Perseus might have been still more successful, had not a sordid avarice marred his projects. With the Bastarnæ under Clondicus and other chieftains, he had renewed the alliance contracted by his father Philip; and a great body of these barbarians, chiefly cavalry, had advanced to the Macedonian province of Medica, on the frontier of Thrace, to sell to him their assistance. The price was to be ten pieces of gold for every horseman; five for every foot soldier; and a thousand for each of the leaders. The sum would have been considerable, since the number of the Bastarnæ exceeded 20,000; but no purchase money could have been too dear for such powerful auxiliaries. Perseus lost their co-operation by sending to them in Medica flattering messages instead of money, without which the Bastarnæ declared that they would not advance a step further. They did not offer violence to his ambassadors who treated with them, nor retaliate, for the king's dishonesty, on his helpless subjects, but taking the road homeward through Thrace, lived at free quarters on their way⁴⁹.

Secret negotiation between him and Eumenes fruitless.

Notwithstanding the personal animosity between Perseus and Eumenes, strong causes concurred to unite their interests. Eumenes, as we have seen, had been alienated from the Romans, in consequence of their change of maxims, and begun to perceive that the same power which had raised Pergamus to splendour, was the like-

⁴⁹ Plutarch in Emil. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 26, 27. Appian Macedon. p. 533.

liest,

liest, under new circumstances, to replunge it in obscurity. He wished to have Macedon for a bulwark between himself and those jealous allies, whom any slight cause of disgust might convert into irreconcilable enemies. The Romans, he thought, were weary of a tedious and unsuccessful war; and Perseus, he well knew, had from the beginning desired peace. This therefore was the great end at which he aimed, and for the effecting of which he entered, on pretence of exchange of prisoners, into a secret correspondence with the king of Macedon. Their negociation was carefully concealed; but being conducted on both sides by Cretans, the ordinary agents in all kinds of perfidy, it was whispered that Eumenes had promised to withhold all further assistance from the Romans on the payment of a thousand talents; and that he had undertaken, upon receiving five hundred talents more, to procure peace for that prince, or to join him in the war. Whatever may have been in this report, the dishonesty and vileness of Perseus put an end to the negociation⁵⁰.

Having failed in the attempt to gain Eumenes of Pergamus, Perseus could not expect to meet with better success in his applications to the kings of Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia was father-in-law to Eumenes, through whose good offices he had been reconciled to the Romans, after the part which he had taken against them in their war with Antiochus the Great. Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria was engaged in projects, as will appear hereafter, altogether incompatible with any exertions in favour of the king of Macedon. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt had recently attained his fourteenth year, the age of majority in that kingdom, and upon the death of his mother Cleopatra, hitherto regent, had been solemnly enthroned at Alexandria, and begun to administer the government in his own name. But his counsels were guided by Eulæus an effeminate eunuch, and by Lennæus an incapable mi-

He obtains
no assistance
from the
other Greek
kings of the
East—their
situation at
that time.

⁵⁰ Appian. Macedon. c. xvi. p. 533. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 25, 26. Polyb. l. xxix. c. 3. l. xxx. c. 1.

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Successes of
the Macedo-
nians by sea.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

nister. Instead of improving his domestic force, and the resources which might have nourished it, these men encouraged him to confide in the arms of Rome, his hereditary protector".

Disappointed of allies, partly by his own sordid avarice, and partly by the strange want of precautionary policy among the Greek kings of the East, Perseus was under the necessity of exerting himself, single handed, against a far superior enemy. Before the Roman reinforcements arrived in the spring under Emilius and Octavius, he fitted out from Cassandria about fifty vessels, of the long piratical form, well armed and stoutly manned, with orders to scour the Ægean sea, and by every means to annoy the Romans and those inclined to succour them. This armament was entrusted to Antenor and Calippus, commanders of skill and enterprise. By establishing signal posts on mount Athos and other towering promontories or rocky islands, they gained speedy intelligence of the course necessary to be pursued, either for protecting their own trade or for destroying the transports of the enemy. Having steered for Tenedos, they relieved a large fleet of their own merchantmen blocked up by some ships of war belonging to Eumenes. From thence they directed their course to Chios, where they found thirty-five vessels, deriving their name of Hippagogues from their use in transporting horses. They contained a body of Gallic cavalry, which had been sent to join Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, still encamped with the Romans near the southern bank of the Enipeus. The Pergamenian captains had not the smallest suspicion of falling in with an enemy. They believed the ships of war which they saw at a distance to be Roman or Pergamenian; "perhaps Attalus himself was on board, or they were vessels containing troops whom that prince had thought fit to send home from the Roman camp." But the singular shape of the vessels, the briskness of their rowing, and their prows properly

" Diodorus Siculus Excerpt, de Virtut. p. 579. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 2.

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prepared for combat, left no room to doubt of their hostile intention. The Hippagogues fled in consternation, for they were awkward vessels, and the Gauls on board them could not endure the sea, much less be induced to fight on it. Part of them escaped to the friendly shore of Erythræ; another suffered shipwreck on the opposite coast of Chios; and, careless of their horses, the Gauls made all haste to the city of that name. The Macedonians landed and pursued them; and the Chians having shut their gates, eight hundred Gauls were slain, and two hundred taken; the horses were either drowned or hamstringed; not more than twenty of remarkable beauty were transported, together with the prisoners, to the harbour of Theffalonica²². The Macedonians then sailed to the Cyclades, and were successful in taking or sinking many of the enemy's ships among those islands. But the central and sacred Delos was the region of eternal peace. This privileged spot, distinguished for commerce and superstition, and in which, as we shall have occasion to explain, ten thousand slaves were frequently brought to market in a single day²³, afforded its equal and inviolate protection to the Romans, Pergamenians, and Macedonians. The three nations assembled promiscuously in its temple, without entertaining the smallest jealousy of each other.

Inviolability
of Delos—
an asylum to
all parties.

Meanwhile the consul Emilius crossed the Hadriatic with his coadjutors Octavius and Anicius. Operations began in Illyricum, where Anicius arrived in time with his reinforcements to save the unfortunate army under Appius Claudius, and to protect the faithful allies of Epidamnus and Apollonia. Gentius, the fiercest enemy in that quarter, had followed up his traitorous blow struck at the Roman ambassadors, by marching southward, at the head of fifteen thousand men, into the territory of their confederates, while eighty of his long boats were sent to ravage the adjacent coasts. Anicius first defeated him at sea, and took many of his vessels. Having then

Gentius the
Illyrian
made cap-
tive with
his family.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

²² Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 28.

²³ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668.

joined

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joined to his own army the remains of that under Appius, still encamped on the river Genusus, midway between Apollonia and Epidamnus, he drove the invaders from those districts, and pursued them northwards to Scodra, sixty miles distant from Epidamnus. Scodra was the capital and main stronghold of Gentius. It derived its name from mount Scodrus⁵⁴, the highest in that region, and which views from its top the coast of Illyricum on the west, the barbarous Dardanians on the east, and the inland provinces of Macedon on the south. The river Oriuns, flowing from this mountain into the Hadriatic, is joined by the Clausula and Barbana, tributary streams, which almost surrounded the city Scodra, and greatly added to its means of defence. Had Gentius, who occupied this post with the main strength of his nation, remained patiently within his walls, he might have long defied the arms of Anicius, who prepared to besiege him. But the frantic Barbarian, whose natural ferocity was often aggravated by hard drinking into madness⁵⁵, presumptuously opened his gates, and marched forth to oppose the Romans on equal ground. He was totally defeated: his capital surrendered; and Gentius, to save a life which he had forfeited by violating the laws of nations, threw himself with tears and prayers at the pretor's feet. Anicius raised him from the ground, and even admitted him to his table; but next day consigned him as prisoner to the tribune Caius Cassius: a strange example of royalty precipitated into the lowest misery for a bribe of ten talents, then the ordinary hire of a Roman prize-fighter⁵⁶.

The first care of the pretor was to recover the persons of the ambassadors Perperna and Petillius. Having restored them to the splendour becoming their public characters, Anicius soon afterwards employed their services for getting into his hands the friends and family of Gentius. His queen Etuta, a princess of Dardania, with his sons Scerdiletes and Pleuratus, and his brother Caravantius, were

⁵⁴ Or Scordus.⁵⁵ Polybius, l. xxix. c. 5.⁵⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 31.

seized

seized in different lurking places, and conducted to the Roman camp. Shortly afterwards they were embarked for Rome, together with king Gentius, and most of the principal men among the Illyrians. Perperna preceded them, to acquaint the senate with the happy issue of a war, which, before the Romans were apprised of its commencement, had ended in one month, with the taking of the enemy's capital and the reduction of his whole country¹⁷.

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The success in Illyricum prepared the way for still more important events. Perseus having greatly strengthened his works on the Enipeus, posted his light infantry and horse along the sea coast, that wherever the gallies under the pretor Octavius should make descents, they might be resisted with vigour and celerity. Emilius, upon his arrival with reinforcements, drew nearer to the southern bank of the Enipeus and to the enemy. The bed of the river was broad, rocky, and interrupted: its banks were intricate and lofty; but, with the return of summer, its waters had become so low, that the flowing in of the sea rendered them brackish and unwholesome. This inconvenience had been felt before Emilius took the command, and much search had been made for fresh water in the neighbourhood. As none had been found, the consul ordered wells to be dug near the sea shore, not doubting that the lofty mountains which he beheld before him, since they did not pour down any visible streams, discharged their superfluous moisture into the sea by concealed subterranean outlets. His expectation was gratified by the discovery of copious sources of pure water¹⁸.

Emilius supplies the army with good wells.

Meanwhile the news of Gentius' defeat and captivity tended to discourage the Macedonians; but upon viewing their camp, Emilius deemed it impregnable, so strong was its position, and so skillfully was it defended by a series of towers, discharging all sorts of weapons. During the time necessary in adjusting his plan of campaign,

Salutary changes introduced by him.

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 32.¹⁸ Ibid. c. 33.

the

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the soldiers were kept in motion and spirits by alterations of which they could discern the use, and which, had they been less important in themselves, would have served to create a belief that, with changes in other points, their fortune also was to change under a new general. With this view, the word of command was not to be issued as usual with an overstrained inarticulate voice to the whole line, but to be given deliberately and distinctly to the nearest centurions, and by them communicated clearly from one extremity to another: an improvement which seemed the more necessary in an army of relaxed discipline, noisy and impetuous. The centinels were not allowed, as formerly, to carry with them their shields; their business was not to fight, but to watch; and when they perceived danger, to give alarm seasonably. The advanced guards were also regulated in a new and more convenient manner. Without distinction of climate or season, they had hitherto been compelled to remain all day long with their horses bridled, and encumbered with heavy armour; by which means, they had sometimes, when fatigued, been defeated by enemies of little prowess. Emilius ordered them in future to be relieved regularly at mid-day. As there were still murmurs, fomented by pride and conceit, especially among those who had served in the expeditions into Asia, the consul thus addressed them in his only military oration to the multitude, "In an army," he said, "it was the business of a general, and his only, to determine on the measures to be adopted, either within his own breast, or by the advice of such persons as he thought fit to consult with: none besides had any right, either openly or secretly, to obtrude their opinions. A soldier's duty before action consisted wholly in three points; in exercising his body in such a manner as would give him the utmost strength and agility; in having his armour in the best order; and in providing a store of fit food, ready to supply him during any service on which he might be sent. That he must confide in the gods and the

the general for taking care of all the rest. From deliberating foldiers nothing but general confufion was to be expected ⁵⁹." Shortly afterwards the conful learned from fome Theffalian merchants in whom he could confide, that the paffage above mentioned by Pythium, which led to the rear of the enemy's camp, was by no means impracticable, and lefs strongly guarded than its importance required. The Macedonians pofted for its defence excelled indeed in the ufe of miffile weapons; but thefe could be of little avail againft the Roman fword, fhould the attack be made in the night. To mask his defign, he ordered part of the fleet to affemble at Heracleum, with provifions for a thoufand foldiers for ten days. He then detached from the army five thoufand chofen men under his eldeft fon Fabius, and the young Scipio Nafica, afterwards fo illuftrious in the fenate. They proceeded to Heracleum with the fhew of embarking there, in order to make defcents on the Macedonian coaft; but having fupplied themfelves from the fhips with food, they immediately left the fea fhore, and took the road towards Pythium, under guidance of the travelling merchants of Theffaly. The march was regulated in fuch a manner that they arrived at Pythium on the third night, when the attack was made, and proved completely fucceffful; for Perfeus, during the three intervening days, had been totally occupied by the conful's feints, and in fome bloody fkimifhes in the bed of the Enipeus. When he learned that part of the enemy threatened to fall on his rear, while a far greater force lay before him, he haftily refolved to decamp, and move northwards about thirty miles to Pydna ⁶⁰. The plain before this place, well adapted to the exertions of the phalanx, feems to have determined him to risk an engagement; a refolution equally foolifh and fatal, fince the numerous cities, both along the coaft and in the inland country, moft of which had great means of defence, left him an alternative lefs dangerous to himfelf, and lefs favourable to an invading enemy.

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He deceives
the enemy
and gains
the approach
to his rear.

Perfeus
moves to
Pydna.

⁵⁹ Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 34.⁶⁰ Ibid. c. 25.

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Emilius' address in fortifying a camp before the battle of Pydna.

Emilius, upon intelligence of the king's retreat, hastened across the Enipeus, and being joined by his detachment, which had just descended from the mountains, urged the pursuit with all possible celerity. He found the Macedonians in a posture of defiance, on the plain before Pydna, watered by the rivers Leucas and Æson, which, after uniting their streams within the heart of that city, fall together into the Thermaic gulph, only two miles distant from its walls. The consul might condemn the king's rashness, but he could not despise the formidable aspect of his army. He had come in sight of it before mid-day; his march had been attended with much fatigue, the heat was already excessive, and every moment growing greater. Under these circumstances, the Romans had not any camp or stronghold, to which, in case of bad fortune, they might retreat for safety. By that martial people the camp was considered as a home; they fought for it with the same zeal as for their hearths and altars: it was their asylum and protection, the source of their comforts and of their hopes, which soothed the soldier's fatigue, poured balm into his wounds, and from which, after repairing the evils of defeat, he often issued anew to glorious victory. Notwithstanding these reasons against an immediate action, the ardour of troops who had surmounted many difficulties to gain the opportunity of fighting, which now offered, was to be restrained with caution. To have resisted it directly, would have been the highest imprudence. The consul, therefore, had recourse to a skilful obliquity, by which he at once deceived his own men for their good, and deluded the Macedonians to their ruin. With the utmost eagerness he arrayed the Romans for battle; rode round their ranks; urged the military tribunes to execute completely and correctly the orders which they had received; and addressed in fit speeches the different divisions of the army. At first they felt much alacrity to encounter the enemy, and expressed it by firm acclamations; but as the day advanced, and the heat became intolerable, their voices lost strength and spirit, their countenances

countenances fell, and their weary bodies began to repose for support on their shields and spears⁶⁰. Upon perceiving this alteration, Emilius commanded his rear division to begin the work of intrenchment, while his first line remained under arms, ready, as it seemed, to attack the enemy. But having formed a breast work of considerable strength, he drew his whole army behind it, and under protection of the cover which he had thus artfully raised, completed the fortification of his camp in the usual form. The stratagem pleased his soldiers, who, amidst their languor of mind as well as body, were glad that a part of them, by using the spade, should exempt the whole, in its present dispirited state, from the necessity of having recourse to the sword. As Emilius kept his design till ripe for execution, within his own breast, neither Attalus his faithful ally, nor any of his Roman lieutenants, had the opportunity of interposing with their advice. They had all warmly approved his professed intention of fighting; but when they perceived the consul's purpose to be altered, no one ventured to remonstrate, except Scipio Nasica, whose eagerness for battle was heightened by the recent and signal success of his detachment. To his instances on this subject, Emilius replied, "such sentiments were mine, when I was young as you are; when you attain my age, you will think as I do." Perseus, meanwhile, encamped, vainly elated with his confessed superiority; since the Romans, when a battle was in their power, had evidently declined it.

But whatever encouragement might thereby result to his men, was done away in the succeeding night. Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, had, by permission of the consul, addressed the army, and predicted that, in the first watch of the night, the moon would be eclipsed for nearly two hours. He clearly explained the nature and causes of that phenomenon, and assured the soldiers that they ought not to derive from it any unfavourable prognostic. It can

Eclipse of
the moon
predicted by
Sulpicius
Gallus.

⁶⁰ The pila.

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Pynda.
Olymp.
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scarcely be doubted, that the Macedonian camp contained men as well informed as Gallus concerning the heavenly motions. But it also contained many Barbarous allies ; above all, ignorant and obstinate Thracians, whose superstitious terrors being thrown into agitation, overflowed and damped the whole army. An unfortunate wound given to Perseus by a vicious horse, could not fail to heighten the dismay.

At day-break, however, both armies had prepared for action. The heavy armed Macedonians were flanked by the targeteers, as these were by the cavalry. Though drawn up in a plain, they could not advance to the enemy without traversing much broken ground. They remained therefore on the defensive. But the sun shone bright in the faces of the Romans. Emilius, to avoid fighting under this disadvantage, detained his men by a long speech, in which he explained his reasons for hitherto declining battle, and expatiated on the vast benefits resulting from the delay. The sacrifices, also, were performed with great slowness and solemnity, and the twenty-first victim was slain before the inspection of the entrails predicted a complete victory to the Romans, provided they firmly waited the enemy's attack. These, and similar contrivances, for rendering superstition alike auxiliary to prudence and to prowess, had been so long and so successfully employed, that they were not without influence even on those patricians themselves, who had been the authors of the deceit. In the present instance, there was not an opportunity to discern their full force ; since the battle was brought on undesignedly by the following accident. A horse escaped from the Roman lines : some Thracians endeavoured to intercept and seize it : a skirmish ensued with the Roman cavalry ; and both parties were continually reinforced, until the engagement became general. The first line of the Romans was broken and pursued by the Macedonian phalanx and targeteers, whose bristling spears, as they advanced, filled even Emilius with terror. He is said to have torn his general's robe

in despair⁶¹. But this emotion was transient. Bare-headed, he rode through the ranks, exhorting to a fresh attack. The second division of the Romans, however, must have incurred the same disgrace with the first, had Perseus or his generals done their duty. But, instead of pursuing the fugitives with his cavalry and light troops, and removing impediments in the way of his phalanx, he allowed this body of heavy infantry to advance into the uneven ground, and thus to fluctuate and break in pieces through the unequal exertion of its parts, or the inequality of the various obstacles which it encountered. Emilius seized the decisive moment for throwing into the intervals the maniples of his legions. The Macedonians were thus attacked in flank; their long spears became useless; they had to contend with the Roman sword, better tempered than their own, more ponderous and sharper, and by its form as well as size, of far more decisive effect and more bloody execution. In the space of an hour, the battle became a rout, in which twenty thousand Macedonians fell, and eleven thousand were made prisoners⁶²; a disaster the severest, in its consequences, that, in the course of so many wars, had yet befallen the patrimonial kingdom of the great Alexander.

After the loss of his army, Perseus could not expect to find any resource in the bravery and loyalty of his people, to whom his tyranny had been the more intolerable because exercised under a government constitutionally free⁶³. The Macedonians were in haste to make submission to the conquerors. The various strongholds of the kingdom opened their gates without requiring the formality of a summons. The antient Egæ or Edeffa; the stronger modern metropolis Pella; Thessalonica, Amphipolis, Pelagonia, respectively the capitals of great provinces; all these, with many inferior cities, invited the Romans within their walls; and so vigilant was the discipline of Emilius⁶⁴! found no reason to repent their confidence. In the

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Misconduct
and defeat of
Perseus.

Submission
of Macedon
to Emilius.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

⁶¹ Plutarch in Emil.

⁶² Id. ibid. & Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 42.

⁶³ See above, vol. i. p. 28.

⁶⁴ Paulus per omnes deditas civitates dimissis, qui præessent, ne qua injuria in nova pace victis fieret. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 46.

course

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Proceedings
of Perseus
after his es-
cape from
the field of
battle.

Transactions
at Pella.

At Amphi-
polis.

course of a few days, the consul was master of the whole country, stretching two hundred miles from Thrace to Epirus, and of nearly an equal extent between Dardania and Thessaly; and thus forming the compact materials of a kingdom industrious, opulent, and warlike, deriving high popular fame from an antiquity of seven centuries, under a succession of thirty kings, yet entitled to juster renown from the single reign of Philip, father of Alexander: for the glory of Alexander himself spurns the narrow limits of Macedon.

The success of Emilius, equally complete and rapid, occasioned much sensation among all the kingdoms and republics belonging to the Grecian name; but to avoid interruption in explaining this complex subject, we shall previously relate the proceedings of vanquished Perseus, after his escape from the field of battle. Accompanied by his horse guards and courtiers, he, at first, purposed to pursue the military road to Pella; but, in his way thither, his flight was interrupted by crowds of disbanded Macedonians, who, frantic with rage and disappointment, upbraided the king and his companions as the authors of their discomfiture and disgrace. To avoid a dangerous conflict with his own exasperated soldiers, Perseus struck into the Pierian forest, and followed its woody windings with an escort which continually diminished on the way. By this circuitous route, he arrived at Pella about midnight. His first care was to visit his treasury; Enetus, who had the charge of it, interposing some unseasonable remonstrances, was silenced by a poignard. Above 2,000 talents were got ready for transportation: the royal children, inhabiting the palace of Pella, two sons named respectively Philip and Alexander, and a nameless daughter, were ordered, also, to accompany their father's flight. Before day-break, the king left Pella that he might cross the Axios, and oppose that river, difficult of passage, to the pursuit of the enemy. Such was his dispatch that, on the second day after the battle, he arrived with his family and precious effects at Amphipolis, above a hundred miles distant from Pydna.

Pydna. But the news of his defeat had preceded him. He was not attended by any of his ministers or generals, or even by a single Macedonian soldier. Only five hundred mercenary Cretans adhered, not indeed to the person of Perseus, but to his treasures, which the loyal compassion of his subjects had allowed him to carry in his train. Of all those denominated the king's friends, there remained with him only Evander the Cretan, Neon the Bœotian, and Archidamus the Etolian; men who had been accomplices in his crimes, and were partakers in all his guilty secrets. At Amphipolis, he purposed to address the multitude, holding his elder son Philip by the hand: but his voice was soon stifled by his tears. Evander then standing up to speak for his master, was rejected by a loud outcry; "Begone quickly from hence, lest you should cause destruction to the few Macedonians who are left." Thus reprobated by every portion of his subjects, Perseus, however, was allowed to embark on the Strymon with his children, his treasures, the Cretans, and the royal pages⁶⁵, and to sail to the isle of Samothrace, about fourscore miles distant⁶⁶.

In his happier days, this island had acknowledged his protection, though governed internally by its own magistrates, a priestly colony from the commercial city Pessinus, in Lesser Asia⁶⁷. Ever anxious to extend their traffic, the citizens of Pessinus had occupied, as a convenient staple, the central isle of Samothrace, adorned it with a spacious temple, and introduced into it the fantastic rites of the Pessinuntian goddesses, which had procured for the place equal security and celebrity⁶⁸. Into this inviolable sanctuary Perseus found admittance before a Roman detachment came in quest of him to Amphipolis. Soon afterwards, the pretor Octavius sailed with the same purpose to Samothrace. To draw the king from the temple, a remonstrance was sent to its governors, against protecting within their sacred asy-

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In Samothrace.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

⁶⁵ See above, vol. i. p. 209.

⁶⁶ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 45.

⁶⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 87. & seq.

⁶⁸ Strabo, l. x. Conf. Plutarch in Pompeio.

lum,

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lum, men stained with the guilt of blood. This observation was levelled at Evander, whom the Romans regarded as a notorious affassin; but, should Evander be convicted on trial, Perseus, of whom he had been the guilty instrument, had reason to fear for himself. The king, under this apprehension, endeavoured to persuade Evander to avoid a disgraceful execution by a voluntary death. Evander, having demurred to this proposal, was taken off secretly; which cruelty towards a man long devoted to him, totally alienated from Perseus the remaining companions of his flight. Many of them went over to the Romans, and the king, in danger of being deserted by all around him, formed the resolution of attempting his escape⁶⁹.

His fruitless
attempt to
escape from
thence.

There was in Samothrace a certain Oroandes, a Cretan merchant, well acquainted with the coasts of Thrace, to which he had long traded. With him, Perseus bargained for a conveyance to his ally Cotys, the independent and honest chieftain of the Odrysians; who cordially hated the Romans, because the Romans were hostile to the liberties of his country. The vessel of Oroandes stood in the harbour Demetrium, at no great distance from the temple. It was concerted, that Perseus should send thither in the night time as much of his treasure as could conveniently be removed; and then, following in person, proceed secretly to the vessel that he would find waiting for him. On the part of the king all was duly performed; but, before he came to Demetrium, the false Cretan had already put to sea with his embarked gold. Upon this dreadful disappointment, Perseus, with only three persons privy to his plan of flight, wandered about disconsolate and speechless on the shore, till the approaching morn admonished him of his danger in being discovered without the precincts of the sanctuary. The king returned thither, and was found sculking at day-break in an obscure corner of the temple. On the same day, Octavius caused proclamation by heralds, of liberty and safety to all persons within the sacred inclosure, who should volun-

⁶⁹ Tit. Liv, l. xlv. c. 5, 6.

tarily surrender, with perfect security as to their property, whether carried with them to Samothrace, or left behind them in Macedon. The summons was obeyed universally, even by the royal pages, and Ion of Thessalonica, who held in his custody the king's younger children⁷⁰.

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Perseus being thus deserted by all, but his son Philip, saw the necessity of submitting to the conqueror. He was embarked, together with his family and remaining treasures, aboard the admiral galley, and carried by Octavius to Amphipolis, from which city he was sent forward to Siræ beyond the Strymon, where the consul had by this time fixed his camp. In the following year he adorned Emilius' triumph, over which, though his own worthlessness repelled sympathy, the misfortunes of his two accompanying sons cast a melancholy gloom. After exhibiting this sad spectacle of fallen greatness, he lived four years in confinement at Alba. Only his younger son Alexander survived him; a youth who, in the solid enjoyment derived from ingenious though humble arts, learned to deride the fallacious follies of ambition. His productions, as a turner and carver, were much praised; and, after he had learned the Latin tongue, the elegance of his penmanship made his services, in the capacity of scribe, particularly acceptable to the magistrates. Thus ended, in the lowly occupation of an official clerk, the royal dynasty of Macedon, which, in its succession of thirty kings, boasted the deepest politicians and mightiest conquerors⁷¹.

Is sent with
his family
to Rome.

Their
wretched
fate.

Thirteen days after the battle of Pydna, the Romans received from Emilius an account of his victory: and that general, without waiting for the orders of his country, declared the Macedonians a free nation; meaning thereby, that they were rescued from the dominion of kings. The blame of the war was thrown wholly on Perseus; "the Romans had taken arms, not only to revenge their

Emilius' pro-
ceedings in
Macedon.

⁷⁰ Tit. Liv. *ibid.* & Plutarch in Emil. tarch in Emil.

⁷¹ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 16. Conf. Plu-

CHAP. own wrongs, but to deliver from oppression a long injured people.

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His progress through Greece and honours paid to him.

War in Epirus—bold resistance of Passaro. Olymp. cliii. 2. B. C. 167.

Half the revenues, which the Macedonians had paid to their tyrant, would satisfy their Roman protectors." By such declarations, Emilius confirmed the good will of the vanquished; and the whole kingdom discovered such proofs of grateful submission, that its affairs might be safely entrusted to the care of his lieutenants. Until commissioners should come from the senate and enable him to settle definitively the affairs of his invaluable conquest, Emilius, therefore, employed part of the autumn in a journey through Greece, accompanied by his younger son Scipio, and by Athenæus, brother to Eumenes. For this undertaking, curiosity was the fair pretext; a curiosity, to visit scenes adorned by the arts, and ennobled by great achievements. But policy was, doubtless, the consul's predominant motive: the partisans of Rome were to be supported and honoured; the champions of Grecian independance were to be humbled and abashed⁷². In every city, which he entered, Emilius met with a reception suitable to his late brilliant success. The Delphians had formerly voted a statue to Perseus, whose superstition sometimes assumed the guise of liberality. A column to support the figure had been erected; but the honour intended for the vanquished king, was with propriety transferred to his conqueror⁷³.

During this peaceful progress through Greece, which every where appeared in a state of the most perfect tranquillity, a war still raged on the frontier of that country. Conformably to the plan of operations concerted at the commencement of the campaign, while Emilius and Octavius invaded the eastern provinces of Macedon, the pretor Anicius had been employed against its allies in western Illyricum and Epirus. After the defeat and captivity of Gentius, Anicius moved from Scodra the capital of that unfortunate prince, and conducted his victorious legions into Epirus. Many strongholds surrendered to him on the first summons: others opened their gates

⁷² Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 27.

⁷³ Id. ibid.

after

after a feeble resistance: but he was defied insultingly at Passaro, a strong inland city, which had been the capital of the kingdom, before Pyrrhus transferred his palace to Ambracia on the sea-coast. The firmness of Passaro might originate in the remembrance, that it had long been the seat of a free government, where the king and nation of the Epirots annually plighted their faith to each other; the king to govern constitutionally and justly, and the people to uphold his authority, while it was exerted according to law⁷⁴. But the proud obstinacy of this city was unseasonably prolonged by the artifices of its magistrates, the most conspicuous abettors of Perseus, and the principal authors of the revolt of Epirus from Rome. Passaro was on the point of falling a victim to their selfish purpose of defending, at every risk, their own obnoxious persons, when Theodotus, a young Epirot, changed the public resolution, by exclaiming, that he had known many willing to die for their country, but had never seen any man, except Antinous, (the chief magistrate of Passaro), that wished his country to die for him. While the place prepared to capitulate, this Antinous with his adherents broke into the nearest Roman station, and died with arms in their hands, instead of awaiting the executioner⁷⁵.

Anicius, having received the submission of Passaro, distributed his troops into winter quarters, and returned northwards to Scodra to meet five Roman commissioners who had come thither to settle the affairs of Illyricum, at the same time that ten others sailed to Macedon to adjust with Emilius the measures necessary to be adopted with regard to that kingdom. The latter commission, headed by three men of consular dignity, arrived at Apollonia in the Chalcidicè, a harbour at the foot of mount Athos, and near the more ancient city Acroathos, whose inhabitants were celebrated for a longevity beyond double the ordinary term of human life⁷⁶. In his way to Apol-

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Its motives.

Emilius met
by 500 Eto-
lian fugi-
tives.

⁷⁴ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

⁷⁵ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 26.

⁷⁶ Pomponius Mela, l. ii. in Thracia.

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Final settle-
ment of
Macedon
and Illyri-
cum.
Olymp.
cliii. 2.
B. C. 167.

According to orders previously issued through all parts of Macedon, the deputies from every city and district had assembled at Amphipolis, that they might learn the doom of their country. On a day appointed, these deputies were conducted before Emilius, now proconsul, seated on a lofty tribunal in the midst of a spacious court, and surrounded on either hand by commissioners from the senate. The crowd of heralds and lictors, and other officers with new names or unusual badges, above all, the aspect of the Roman magistrate, imposed a degree of awe which the Macedonians had never experienced in the presence of kings. Emilius, in the Latin language, declared the will of the senate. Octavius, the Roman admiral, translated his words into Greek: "According to the promises formerly made to the Macedonians, the nation," he said, "was to enjoy its own laws, to be tried by its own judges, and to pay only one half of the taxes raised under its regal government. But in addition

⁷⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 28.

C H A P. XXII. their friends were matters of which he could not take cognizance ;
 at the same time he severely censured Bæbius, the Roman officer,
 for lending his aid in the sedition, and interfering irregularly in the
 affairs of Etolia ⁸⁰.

Deputies
 and accusers
 in the camp
 of Emilius.
 Olymp.
 cliii. 2.
 B. C. 167.

The attention of surrounding nations was deeply fixed on the proceedings at Amphipolis. Under pretence of congratulations on the victory at Pydna, ambassadors had flocked to Rome from every kingdom, every commonwealth, and almost every city belonging to the Grecian name, either in Europe or in Asia. Nearly as numerous a conflux of deputies attended the camp of the proconsul in Macedon. These men, who had most of them been zealous partisans of Rome, and thereby acquired much influence in their respective countries, embraced the present as the fittest opportunity for confirming unalterably their ascendancy. For this purpose, they denounced by name, to the proconsul, all those of their fellow citizens suspected of abetting the king of Macedon. Some of the persons whom they accused were convicted, indeed, by the evidence of letters found among Perseus' papers, which had come into the possession of the Romans, at the same time that they seized his money and other precious effects. But the far greater number consisted of men alike unfriendly to Macedon and to Rome, and to the treacherous partisans of both these usurping powers. Numerous lists of pretended culprits, containing several thousand names, were thus given to Emilius and his assessors by Mnesippus the Bœotian, Chremes the Acarnanian, Nicias the Epirot, Liciscus and Tisippus Etolians ; and the unworthy Achæans Callicrates, Aristodemus, Agefias, and Philip. It deserves remark, that no accusers appeared among the Athenians. This people, long the busiest and most ungovernable of all the Greeks, had early and universally abandoned, not only the cause of Macedon but of Grecian freedom ; and, instead of their old turbulent democracy, enjoyed peace without honour, under the indulgent protection of Rome ; an indulgence in

None of
 these from
 Athens, and
 why.

⁸⁰ Id. *ibid.*

their

their case the more conspicuous, in proportion to the stern policy adopted with regard to most of their neighbours. Orders were dispatched to the several states implicated in the accusation, to seize all persons named in the lists just given to Emilius, that they might be transported to Rome and there tried for their offences. To this severe mandate, the only exception was in favour of Achaia. The papers of Perseus afforded not the smallest proof of a secret correspondence between that unfortunate prince and any city, or even any individual, belonging to the Achæan league, which then extended over the whole of Peloponnesus. The names, however, of a thousand Achæans appeared in the list of Macedonian partisans; and those names included Polybius, Xeno, Stratius, together with many others who had borne high offices in the state or army; in a word, all persons obnoxious to Callicrates and his unworthy faction. It was suspected by the Romans, that an order to seize men so popular might be disobeyed by a state still powerful. The two principal commissioners, therefore, Caius Claudius and Domitius Enobarbus, immediately repaired to Corinth, and were introduced by Callicrates into the Achæan diet. Without apology or preface, they arraigned a numerous party in Achaia, as having acted in concert with Perseus, and required sentence of death to be passed on such base conspirators. You will first, replied the pretor of the Achæans, name the guilty, and make good your charge against them. I name then, rejoined the Roman commissioner, all who have of late years commanded in your armies or presided in your councils. They are all traitors to Rome and to their country. Xeno, who had recently been general, then replied unguardedly in the consciousness of innocence, "In that case even I shall be held criminal, though at all times ready to defend my cause and confound my accusers, either here in Achaia, or even in Rome itself." The commissioners laid hold of these last words: "You say right; let the whole cause be referred to the senate;" accordingly they produced the list with which

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Orders for
seizing the
accused
Greeks and
transporting
them for
trial to
Rome.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

A thousand
principal
Achæans in
the number.

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Treatment
of Antissa in
Lesbos.

Cruel inqui-
sition in
Rhodes.

which Callicrates had furnished them; gave orders that the persons named in it should be transported to Italy; and such was the power usurped from this moment by the Roman faction in Achaia, that these orders were carried strictly into execution⁸¹.

This proceeding towards Achaia was accompanied in other parts with severities, as tamely tolerated as they were tyrannically inflicted. During the Macedonian war, Antissa in the isle of Lesbos had received and victualled some vessels belonging to Perseus. To punish this delinquency, Labeo, a Roman commissioner, sailing from Amphipolis to Lesbos, commanded the instant demolition of the harbour and city of Antissa. Its wretched inhabitants, deprived of their homes and of all means of subsistence, solicited the compassion of their neighbours of Methymna, and found safety in that place, which had not offended the Romans⁸².

After the defeat and captivity of Perseus, Popilius Lænas and Caius Decimius, who had sailed from Italy in the double capacity of admirals and ambassadors, finding their exertions in the former character no longer necessary at Delos, left that island to proceed on their destined course to Egypt with a commission, whose nature and result will presently be explained. In coasting along Asia, they came to Lorima, a Carian city, twenty miles distant from the isle of Rhodes, and situate in direct view of its capital. Thither some Rhodians in authority came to meet them, and requested that, before prosecuting their intended voyage, they would first land at Rhodes, and examine with their own eyes the disposition and temper of a commonwealth, whose faults had been greatly exaggerated. After much solicitation, the ambassadors complied; were conducted to the magistrates, and by them introduced into the assembly of the people. Instead of waiting to hear the apologies ready to be offered, Popilius expatiated on the offences that had been given; repeated and exaggerated every

⁸¹ Pausanias Achaic. p. 416. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 30. & Polyb. l. xxx. c. 10.

⁸² Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 31.

report to the disadvantage of the Rhodians; and being naturally a man of great asperity, heightened the bitterness of his sentiments by an angry voice and a threatening countenance. His colleague Decimius assumed a tone altogether different. He charged the faults, of which the Rhodians now repented and were ashamed, on the treachery of a few corrupt counsellors. The people at large, he doubted not, were innocent; and would be ready, now that it was in their power, to punish the guilty. The assembly testified approbation, not only at his vindication of the public, but at the blame thrown on individuals; and when the Rhodian magistrates rose up to reply, those who repelled the charges of Popilius were heard with less satisfaction than others who re-echoed the sentiments of his colleague. Accordingly, a decree passed, that all Rhodians who had co-operated with Perseus, either in word or deed, should be punished capitally. The ambassadors remained only five days at Rhodes; but the criminal prosecutions, begun before their departure, continued to hold to the end the same bloody course. The accused either suffered a legal execution, or laid violent hands on themselves: and none escaped death but a few individuals, more obnoxious than the rest, who had fled into banishment upon the arrival of Roman commissioners in their island⁸³.

This dreadful expiation might have satisfied the resentment, and even the pride, of Rome. Yet shortly afterwards, when Rhodian ambassadors appeared in that capital, they were denied the courteous hospitality which the Romans were accustomed to exercise towards strangers in a public character. They had at first appeared in white robes, to testify their joy for the defeat and ruin of Perseus, but they were allowed to remain in the midst of the market place, until they procured quarters in a mean inn, from which they issued next day in sordid garbs, and beset with supplications the dwellings of the senators. When a public hearing was at length granted to them,

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Humiliating
speech of the
Rhodians in
the senate.
Olymp.
cliii. 2.
B. C. 167.

⁸³ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 10.

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Their interests espoused by Cato the Censor.

they entered the senate-house with olive branches in their hands, and with streaming eyes prostrated their bodies on the ground. Astymedes, the head of the embassy, then rising slowly, and endeavouring to collect his thoughts and summon his resolution, reminded his judges of the happier days of Rhodes, when a strenuous ally to Rome in the memorable wars against Philip and Antiochus. On those important occasions, the whole resources of his republic, and of every individual composing it, had been unceasingly exerted in the Roman service. "If, during the dependency of the late war with Perseus, there was any demerit on the part of the Rhodians, it was at least of a negative kind: no substantial aid had been afforded to the king of Macedon; and the provoking embassies sent from Rhodes in his favour, were to be ascribed solely to the rashness and madness of a few turbulent individuals, who had suffered death by the sentence of their country, or perished by their own hands." In examining the question of peace or war with Rhodes, the senators were divided. The Romans, most adverse to that people, were those who had been employed in arms or embassies in the course of the four years war with Perseus. Another party espoused their defence, headed by Cato the Censor, then in his 66th year, but in the highest bloom of his faculties and his eloquence. With that commanding attitude, which he assumed in every debate, he converted the accusations against the Rhodians into their highest panegyric. "They had opposed the views of Rome, only because Rome forsook and deserted those ancient maxims which had caused her greatness and constituted her glory. They wished not to save Perseus from ruin for his own sake, but chiefly that they might spare the Romans the evils attending unbounded prosperity and the unbridled licence of power. In the zeal of patriotism, and the natural loftiness which it inspires, the Rhodians had interposed in favour of a Greek king in a tone of command unwarranted, indeed, by their real strength. But those offensive embassies, if considered more deeply, were

were to be deemed of the same nature with painful but salutary remedies. They were admonitions of a wise and friendly state, like those of one true friend to another, calculated for restraining guilty passions, and thereby preventing the dishonour and ruin that must inevitably follow their gratification⁸⁴." The interposition of Cato averted from Rhodes the fate of Antissa. Pardon was granted to the island; but the same decree confirmed the emancipation of its dependencies in Caria and Lycia. Polycrates, with part of the ambassadors, carried this intelligence to Rhodes; Astymedes, with the remainder, continued at Rome to watch occurrences, and to derive every possible advantage from them. The decree of the senate was received by the Rhodian magistrates with well affected gratitude; and a crown of gold, weighing 20,000 aurei⁸⁵, was sent as a peace-offering to Rome.

Popilius and Decimius, having for ever humbled an island illustrious in arts from immemorial antiquity, and which had upheld renown in arms for the space of an hundred and fifty years, prosecuted their voyage to Egypt, on a mission of which it is now necessary to explain the object. Antiochus Epiphanes, after mounting the throne of Syria in the manner above related, to the prejudice of Demetrius, the son of his elder brother, set himself to amass money by contrivances unusual and impious; and productive, as will be seen in the sequel, of very extraordinary consequences. His treasures enabled him greatly to reinforce his Syrian army by bodies of more hardy mercenaries; and he was eager to employ it wherever the richest and easiest conquests might be made. Egypt was the old and natural rival of Syria, and had degenerated still more in point of valour, than it had declined in arts and opulence. But, in the minority of Ptolemy Philometor, Egypt was governed by his mother Cleopatra, sister to Antiochus, a prudent and virtuous princess, who maintained good government at home, and was careful to preserve

Affairs of
Syria and
Egypt.
Olymp.
clii. 1.
B. C. 172.

⁸⁴ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 22. & seq.

⁸⁵ Each aureus was then 16 shillings in value.

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War be-
tween Antio-
chus Epi-
phanes and
Ptolemy
Philopator.
Olymp.
clii. 2. cliii. 1.
B. C. 171.—
168.

peace abroad. Cleopatra, however, survived her brother's accession to the throne of Syria only three years; and Antiochus, by means of ambassadors sent to Alexandria to grace the coronation of her son, discovered that the ministers of the young prince purposed to renew their master's claim to the provinces of Cœlesyria and Palestine.

Antiochus needed no stronger inducement to commence his meditated war against Egypt. He four times invaded that kingdom in the four successive years that the Romans carried on operations against Macedon⁸⁵. His first campaign was distinguished by an important victory at Pelusium. In his second expedition he not only completely defeated Philometor, but made captive his person, treating him, however, with much kindness, and sparing the blood of his subjects. In this manner he gained an ascendancy over the whole country, except one city. But this city was the strong and wealthy Alexandria, containing more purity of Grecian blood, and more military resources, than were now to be found in all the rest of the kingdom collectively. The Alexandrians chose for their king the younger brother of Philometor, and honoured him with the title of Euergetes, the benefactor, though he is usually distinguished in history by his nick-name Physcon, acquired, when he grew older, from his excessive corpulency, the effect, as was believed, of his brutish intemperance⁸⁶. Antiochus in a third expedition laid siege to Alexandria, which baffled all his efforts, while Physcon, in conjunction with his sister Cleopatra, sent an embassy to Rome, representing the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced through the ambition of an encroaching neighbour their own unnatural uncle, and their not less unworthy brother, who had submitted to become his vassal. Domestic events, which will afterwards be related, withdrew Antiochus from the siege of Alexandria. He left Philometor in Memphis, as titular sovereign of Egypt, but was careful to garrison Pelusium. Upon his departure, the two brothers,

⁸⁵ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 579—624. 2 Maccab. c. v.

⁸⁶ Diodor. ibid.

through

through the intervention chiefly of Rhodian ambassadors, entered into a friendly correspondence, and peace was the more earnestly desired on the part of Physcon, because the Alexandrians greatly depended for subsistence on provisions conveyed by the Nile; and on the part of Philometor, because the city held by his brother was the only place strong enough to resist Antiochus, should he a fourth time invade the country⁸⁷. This event took place, and Antiochus had advanced to Eleusis, within four miles of Alexandria, when his progress was arrested by the Roman ambassador Popilius Lænas, and his colleagues Decimius and Hostilius. At sight of Popilius, whom he had well known during his residence of thirteen years at Rome, Antiochus testified much joy, and extended both arms to embrace him. But the Roman rejected his salutation, and, sternly unfolding the written orders which he had received from the senate, presented them to the king, and commanded him to give them an immediate perusal. Antiochus ran over the tablets, and declared that he would deliberate on their contents with his friends. But the Roman, who as we have already seen, was a man qualified to execute the haughtiest instructions in the haughtiest manner, stretched forth his rod, and tracing with it a line in the sand, round the king's person, said, "You must answer the senate before you stir from this circle." Antiochus knew the character of the Romans and of their ambassador; his nephew Demetrius, the rightful king of Syria, was in their hands; they had formerly gained decisive victories in Asia, and their recent conquest of Macedon would facilitate a new invasion of that continent. He therefore rejoined, with a faltering accent, "I will obey the senate." Popilius then embraced him as his ancient friend⁸⁸. By means of the same embassy peace was concluded between the two Egyptian brothers, on condition that they should reign conjointly: Antiochus withdrew his army from Egypt; and

Antiochus' progress to Alexandria arrested by Popilius Lænas. Olymp. cliii. 1. B. C. 168.

Philometor and Physcon reign conjointly.

⁸⁷ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 16. l. xxix. c. 8. & Justin, l. xxiv. ⁸⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 12.

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Transporta-
tion to Rome
of the Mace-
donian
nobles.

the Romans sailed to Cyprus, which had been invaded and conquered by a Syrian fleet; and by the mere interposition of their authority restored the whole island to the dominion of the Ptolemies, its antient masters⁸².

While the pride of the senate thus trampled on Alexander's successors in the east, its tyranny, mixed with cruelty, was exercised in a manner unexampled over not only the kingdom of Perseus, but over Greece, Illyricum, Epirus; in one word, over all the antient Macedonian dependencies in the west. From just hatred to Perseus, the new settlement of Macedon had been accepted without murmur: in order formally to ratify it, deputies from the several cities and districts had assembled at Amphipolis. In this convention Emilius told the Macedonians, that the institutions which he had given them, just and liberal as they were, and highly calculated to promote the real happiness of the publick, could not, however, be lasting, unless the country were disburdened of men altogether incapable themselves of relishing such fair arrangements, and who would therefore spare no pains to render them unpalatable to others. That men, accustomed to pompous courts and arbitrary kings, had neither tempers nor understandings suited to the generous maxims of equal freedom. He therefore enjoined the Macedonians, and persuaded them that the injunction was essential to their best interests, to banish the friends and servants of Perseus; persons who distinguished themselves from the multitude of their fellow citizens, not more clearly by their purple vestments, than by the proud complexion of their minds: trained in habits of commanding haughtily, and obeying servilely; some of them immoderately rich; and others poor through profligacy, yet surpassing the former in expence; and both classes totally unfit for living under a free republick. All such persons, accordingly, including not only governors and generals, but every inferior officer serving by sea and land, and even all those who

⁸² Tit. Liv. *ibid.*

had

had at any time been entrusted by the court with the most considerable office at home, or the slightest legation abroad, together with their male children above the age of fifteen years, were commanded, under pain of death, to embark on board transports ready to convey them to Italy⁹⁰; and what is most extraordinary in the whole transaction, this rigid decree was tamely complied with.

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After thus separating from the mass of the community, materials which he had declared unfit for cordially combining with it, Emilius proclaimed a solemn festival at Amphipolis, of which he had long entertained the design, and concerning which he had already given intimation, not only to the several cities on his way through Greece, but likewise to all the Greek confederates in Asia. Never did the Olympic games, of which those at Amphipolis were an imitation, attract such splendid troops of spectators or actors: and amidst this immense concourse of strangers, such was the plenty of the country, provisions of every kind remained at the lowest price. In the banquets given by Emilius, the disposition was not less admirable than the sumptuousness; and, to the compliments paid him on that score, he replied, that the man who was not fit to regulate an entertainment, could not be well qualified to array an army. The peculiar distinction of the show consisted in an exhibition of the invaluable spoils of Perseus and his palaces; which treasures, with a sum estimated at about 2,000,000*l.* sterling, in money, was embarked under the care of Octavius, to be conveyed to the treasury of Rome.

Festival at
Amphipolis.
Olymp.
cliii. 2.
B. C. 167.

Having finished his transactions at Amphipolis, the proconsul, at the head of his army, marched in five days to Pella. He encamped two days in the neighbourhood of that city, but immediately sent forward a detachment under his eldest son Quintus Maximus and Scipio Nasica, to plunder those districts in Illyricum, which had shewn most zeal in the cause of Perseus. After performing this service, the detachment was to meet him at Oricum, the Illyrian har-

Plunder of
Illyricum.

⁹⁰ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 32.

bour

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Defolation of
Epirus.

bour nearest to Italy. Meanwhile he proceeded with the main army, westward, and in fifteen marches reached Passaro, the antient capital of Epirus.

In that neighbourhood the pretor Anicius still continued to encamp, after reducing, as we have seen, the adjacent country, and garrisoning its principal strongholds. Emilius sent him notice not to be surpris'd at the events which must soon be transacted around him; "for the senate had granted as a boon to his own army, the spoils of the rebellious Epirots." After this message, a general, extolled by all historians for humanity as well as probity, concerted measures for executing effectually, and with the least danger to himself, commands never exceeded in atrocity by the most barbarous conqueror. A due number of centurions was dispatched through the several cities of Epirus, on pretence of freeing them from garrisons, and of summoning ten deputies from each city to Passaro. These deputies were sent home with orders to collect all the gold and silver within their respective departments; and to hold it by a certain day, at the disposal of the Roman general. When the day approached, his several cohorts began to march with such a nice adjustment of time and distance, that they appeared at once, and for one purpose, before all the different cities of Epirus. In the morning, the gold and silver had been deposited; four hours afterwards, the cohorts received signal for a general pillage; their spoil was so considerable, that each horseman's share may be estimated at thirteen pounds, and each foot soldier's at half that sum. One hundred and fifty thousand Epirots were dragged into slavery; the walls of the plundered cities, to the number of seventy, were demolished; a sale followed of the slaves and other booty; and part of the money, arising from it, was divided also among the soldiers⁹.

⁹ Livy, as if ashamed of the transaction, hurries through it in four short sentences. His account (l. xlv. c. 34.) is wanting in perspicuity; and the defect is not supplied by Plutarch in Emil. p. 271.

The proconsul proceeded immediately afterwards to Oricum, where he met the detachment under his son Maximus, enriched by the plunder of Illyricum. Preparations were then made for crossing the Hadriatic; and, as a small body of troops, properly distributed, was sufficient to command countries drained alike of all military resources, and of all men qualified to employ them, the far greater proportion of the Romans sailed for Italy in two embarkations; first, the conquerors of Macedon under Emilius; and next, under Anicius, the conquerors of Illyricum and Epirus. These generals, as well as Octavius commander of the Roman fleet who had ably co-operated with them, held their respective triumphs. The objects displayed in the procession of Emilius were incomparably the most refined as well as most precious, containing, besides the ordinary exhibitions of crowns of gold, captives, and armour, a profusion of pictures, and statues, and vases; clothes and hangings of the most delicate fabrick, curiously constructed couches or triclinia, innumerable carved works in gold, silver, and ivory; in one word, the same splendour that had appeared twenty-two years before, in the triumph over Antiochus the Great; for those Greek kings of the east all affected the same elegancies, and delighted in the same kinds of magnificence. Of all the treasures taken with Perseus, or found in his palaces, Emilius reserved nothing of value for himself or his family; if we except the library of the conquered king, which the general bestowed on his younger son Scipio, who had already, in his eighteenth year, discovered that taste for elegant learning, which thenceforth honourably distinguished him. The Macedonian coin, carried in procession, may be estimated at 2,000,000*l.* sterling⁹²; the gold seized in Illyri-

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Wealth accumulated in the war—how employed by the Romans.

⁹² Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 40. Pliny, N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 9. Livy states the amount at sestertium millies ducenties; Pliny at bis millies trecenties; Velleius at bis millies centies. The rules of criticism will therefore warrant the reading of bis millies ducenties, equivalent to 1,806,041*l.* As much, Livy says, was spent by Perseus in preparations for the war, or dispersed in his flight; and we may fairly allow an equal sum for distributions to the Roman army, for plunder and peculation. So that the whole amount accumulated in the royal treasury in the course of thirty years since Philip's ruinous war with the Romans may be computed at 5,418,128*l.*

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cum amounted to a tenth part of that sum; we know not how much of the booty of Epirus, after gratifying private rapacity, was carried into the public treasury. But the whole aggregate wealth brought thither upon this occasion, formed an important æra at Rome, since, in consequence of this acquisition, joined with the tribute imposed on Macedon and its dependencies, and the long growing revenues derived from other quarters, the republick reached, as it were, at one bound, such a pitch of opulence, as thenceforward exempted its citizens from all payment of taxes⁹³. This stream of wealth which continued thus copiously to flow into Rome, was liberally expended in works chiefly of public use; temples, fortifications, aqueducts, highways, market-places, and bridges; above all, in improving the agriculture of Italy, in its whole extent, from Rhegium to Aquileia. The Romans were so far from hoarding their riches, like most of the powers which they had recently conquered, that their treasury, when examined only ten years after the triumph of Emilius, contained little more than the value of half a million sterling⁹⁴.

⁹³ Cicero de Offic. l. ii. c. 22. The exemption lasted 125 years to the consulship of Hirtius and Panfa in the war between Augustus and Antony: it continued therefore

long beyond the real existence of the republick. Plutarch in Emil.

⁹⁴ Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

CHAPTER XXIII.

State of Greece and Macedon.—Agitations in the Eastern Kingdoms.—First Impulse given by Antiochus Epiphanes.—His penal Statute.—View therein.—Religious war of the Jews.—Death of Antiochus Epiphanes.—Demetrius Soter escapes from Rome, and regains his Birthright in Syria.—Dissentions between the Egyptian Brothers Philometor and Physcon.—Revolutions in Cappadocia.—The Usurper Alexander Balas in Syria.—War between Bithynia and Pergamus.—Prusias II. of Bithynia dethroned by his Son Nicomedes II.—War in Syria.—Demetrius Nicator.—Death and Character of Ptolemy Philometor.—Jewish Temple in Heliopolis.

FROM the conquest of Macedon, twenty-two years elapsed to the reduction of that country into the servile condition of a province. Greece, under the name of Achaia, experienced, about the same time¹, a similar degradation. Before the commotions which immediately produced this final catastrophe, the most turbulent kingdom of antiquity remained in a state of lethargic stupor, (such was the shock with which Rome had stunned it), careful only to make regular payments of the tribute to which it had been subjected by the chance of arms. During the same space of time, Greece maintained an aspect not less peaceful, controuled by such of her own citizens as were willing dependants on Rome, or by commissioners sent from the Roman senate occasionally to direct and abet them. Amidst this despondent tameness of the original stock of the nation, the wide-spreading colonies in Asia and Africa present us with many remarkable events and many extraordinary characters. In boundless deference for the senate, the two greater powers of Syria and Egypt

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State of
Greece and
Macedon.
Olymp.
cliii. 2.—
clviii. 3.
B. C. 167—
146.

Agitations
in the Greek
kingdoms of
the East.

¹ Polybius, l. xl. sub fin. Conf. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 11. & Pausanias in Achaic.

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rivalled, indeed, the three secondary ones of Pergamus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia; but, during the breathing-time required by the Romans after their stubborn warfare in Illyricum and Macedon, these five more eastern kingdoms afford materials for history no less curious than copious, both in the transactions between sovereigns and subjects, and in the proceedings of all these sovereigns with regard to each other.

The first impulse given by Antiochus Epiphanes—his object in profaning temples. Olymp. clii. 3. B. C. 170.

In the agitation of this complicated and bloody drama, the first impulse was given by Antiochus Epiphanes, who had possessed himself, as we have seen, of his throne, to the prejudice of his nephew Demetrius. To uphold his usurpation, and pay stipulated contributions to the Romans, money, an essential requisite, was to be obtained by any means that seemed most efficacious, how inconsistent soever with justice or the best interests of his people. Accordingly, Epiphanes is the first king of Syria who formed a regular plan² for profaning the sanctity of temples, or what was in effect synonymous, for robbing the banks of deposit, and rifling the great magazines of commerce. By way of preparation for this undertaking, as the property within sacred inclosures was guarded by peculiar veneration for the local deities of each temple, Antiochus determined to bring over his subjects in every part of the empire to the gods of Greece, and to wean them from their ancient usages, by habituating them to conformity with his own mode of worship. With this view, fit emissaries were sent by him to the different provinces, to tamper with powerful individuals, and to gain them as auxiliaries to his enterprise, by the hope of sharing in his gains³. The expedient was successful with every pagan nation on either side the Euphrates; and even of the Jews, a people greatly reduced by foreign enemies, and then torn by domestic factions, “many sold themselves to the king, to do wickedness.”

² Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 4. & c. 11. According to this author, Antiochus' death was occasioned by his flagitious attempt on the temple of Elymais in Upper Asia, of which we shall speak hereafter.

³ 1 Maccab. c. i. v. 42, 43.

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Promoted by
apostates in
Judæa—
their rapa-
city and
tyranny.

At the head of these apostates stood three brothers, assuming the Greek names of Jason, Menelaus, and Lyfimachus; the first of whom supplanted Onias, also his brother, in the office of high-priest of Jerusalem, and was himself supplanted by Menelaus, who began the depredations on the temple⁴. In perpetrating a second act of sacrilege, Lyfimachus, the abettor and instrument of Menelaus, was slain in the holy treasury. A combat ensued between two enraged factions, headed by the hostile brothers, Jason and Menelaus, both of them rebels to their religion, and alike odious to a great proportion of their countrymen, its sincere votaries. At this perturbed crisis, Antiochus, in his way from Egypt⁵, entered Jerusalem, decided the contest in favour of Menelaus, and expelled his rival Jason, who died miserably in exile. The king then proceeded to the execution of his rapacious design on the temple. The Jews defended it with desperate valour. Forty thousand of them were slain, and nearly an equal number dragged into captivity⁶. The prize of victory, contained in the public and secret treasury, amounted in value to three millions sterling; for besides precious implements of worship, there was the money of widows, orphans, and other valuable deposits. The capital being thus drained of treasure and drenched in blood, the country was abandoned to the apostate Menelaus, its nominal high-priest, supported by the Syrian generals, Philip and Andronicus, men of relentless cruelty⁷.

The Jews had remained two years under this complex tyranny, when Antiochus, upon his disgraceful repulse from Egypt by the overawing sternness of a Roman ambassador⁸, vented the fury of his ill-stifled passions against a miserable people, who were without domestic strength, and enjoyed not any foreign protection. On the march homeward, his general Apollonius was detached with twenty

Antiochus'
penal statute.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

⁴ 2 Maccabees, c. iv.

⁵ That is, in returning from his second expedition against Egypt, of which we have spoken above.

⁶ 2 Maccab. c. v. v. 14.

⁷ Josephus Orat. de Maccab.

⁸ See above, c. xxii.

thousand

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thousand men to complete the depredations on Jerusalem, without regarding, in the execution of his orders, the demolition of the place, and the extirpation of its inhabitants. The Jews were surpris'd in their synagogues on the sabbath; all who prepared for resistance were put to the sword; great part of the city was thrown down or burnt; and a fortress being built on a neighbouring hill commanding the temple, was occupied by a Syrian garrison, to prevent access in future to the *holy house*, and thus abolish the morning and evening sacrifices daily offered in it to Jehovah⁹. At the same time, Antiochus, repairing to his capital on the Orontes, from thence issued his penal decree against all who refused compliance with the religious ceremonies of Greece, and appointed persons versed in the ritual of that country, to superintend the punctual execution of the mandate¹⁰.

His adviser
Ptolemy
Macron.

His chief adviser in this matter was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia, Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes. This man had long governed Cyprus for the crown of Egypt; but upon some disgust received from the court of Alexandria, had revolted from Ptolemy VI. Philometor to a more aspiring, and, as it seemed, more generous master; for Antiochus was not less profuse than rapacious, lavishing on unworthy favourites the wealth cruelly extorted from his people¹¹. The merit of defection from a rival prince, and of bringing to Syria the accession of a valuable and long coveted island, was heightened in Ptolemy Macron, by the personal recommendations of industry, dexterity, and unbounded flattery. In all his words and actions he was careful to humour the inclinations of the king; and, though himself in advanced life, rivalled his youthful master in shameless amours and unbridled profligacy¹². He thus became Antiochus' prime favourite, and enjoyed¹³ the lucrative

⁹ 1 Maccab. c. i. Conf. Joseph. in Præfat. ad Histor. de Bell. Judaic.

¹⁰ 1 Maccab. c. xli. & seq.

¹¹ Polybius, l. xxviii. c. 18. l. xxix. c. 9.

¹² Polybius, l. xviii. c. 38. & l. xxvii. c. 12. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 38.

¹³ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 8.

government of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, though he should seem to have usually resided as minister near the royal person. By a seasonable bribe to this villain, Menelaus, the nominal high-priest of the Jews, is said to have intercepted from Antiochus the complaints of that injured people, and to have procured the death of their deputies¹⁴; and the same Ptolemy Macron afterwards assisted the king in issuing his edict of conformity, and in choosing fit persons, under the name of overseers¹⁵ for rendering it effectual.

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These overseers pervaded the provinces, escorted by soldiers, not merely for their own security, but that they might propagate, wherever necessary, their religion by the sword. Their proceedings, equally tyrannical and rapacious, occasioned insurrections in those parts of Upper Asia still subject to the house of Seleucus, but the nations on this side the Euphrates being more within the reach of the controuling Syrian army, generally complied with their injunctions before they assumed the tone of commands¹⁶. Even the Samaritans, who often laid claim to a Hebrew descent, now declared themselves of the race of the Medes; acknowledging, indeed, that their fathers, with a view to prevent certain plagues too usual in their country, had observed the Jewish sabbaths, and built a temple to Jehovah on mount Gerizim; but adding, that they themselves, more enlightened than their ancestors, had determined in all things to obey the will of their sovereign. They begged leave therefore to consecrate Gerizim in future to the Grecian Jupiter, under one of his favourite titles, "The protector of strangers;" a name highly appropriate, they said, to their own circumstances in Palestine¹⁷. The Samaritans thus craved as a favour that to which the Jews only submitted from fear of the most dreadful punishments. *Their* temple was also consecrated to Jupiter, under his loftier title of *Olympian*; and sacrifices were offered on his

Reception of
his missiona-
ries, or over-
seers, in the
provinces.

¹⁴ 2 Maccab. c. iv.

¹⁵ Επισκοποι. 1 Maccab. c. i. v. 51.

¹⁶ Josephus, 1 Maccabees. Diodorus.

¹⁷ Josephus, Antiq. l. xii. Conf. c. 7.
& 10.

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Profanation
of the altar
of Jehovah—
horrid cruel-
ties in Jeru-
salem.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

altar on the twenty-fifth day of the winter month Cisleu¹⁸; a date of much importance, as we shall see presently, in Jewish history.

In the attempt to confirm this change of worship in Jerusalem, the emissaries of Antiochus met with such boldness of opposition, as recalled thither the king in person. When other means of conversion failed, the tyrant had recourse to the stake and the rack. But the zeal of the Jews waxed hotter than fire; their faith proved stronger than all the combined powers of mechanical torture. Antiochus commanded and superintended the most horrid executions; witness the martyrdom of the venerable Eleazar in his ninetieth year, and that of the mother with her seven sons; events recorded by national historians as the noblest examples of that fortitude which is to be derived from trust in the Almighty, confirmed by the testimony of a good conscience¹⁹. After the altar of Jehovah had been profaned by the impure idol of a Grecian god²⁰, Antiochus left the remainder of the work to be done by his substitutes, who, in performing the task assigned them, visited various subordinate cities in Judæa, without encountering any memorable opposition, until Apelles, a zealous missionary, came to Modin, situate half way between Jerusalem and the sea port of Joppa.

The Greek
missionary
Apelles mur-
dered at
Modin—
commence-
ment of the
religious
wars of the
Jews.
Olymp.
cliii. 1.
B. C. 168.

Upon his arrival there, Apelles addressed himself to Mattathias, the principal inhabitant of the place, being a descendant of Joarib, the most honourable branch in the sacerdotal family of Aaron²¹. The great hereditary consideration of Mattathias was sustained by his five sons, all of them youths of great promise; of whom Simon, the second, was not less conspicuous for premature wisdom, than

¹⁸ Cisleu, or Calue, is the 9th month in the Jewish kalendar, corresponding to the latter part of November, and the former of December.

¹⁹ 2 Maccab. c. vi. v. 31. & c. vii. Joseph. in Lib. de Maccab. Josephus' Greek eloquence contrasts with the sublime brevity in 1 Maccab. c. i. v. 62, 63. "Howbeit

many in Israel were firmly resolved not to profane the holy covenant; so then they died."

²⁰ That is, in the Jewish style, when Antiochus "had set up the abomination of desolation." Maccab.

²¹ Chronicles, c. xxv. v. 7.

Judas

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Judas the third was renowned for matchless strength and high heroic valour. The names of the remaining brothers were Johanan, Eleazar, and Jonathan²², destined also to act illustrious parts in a warfare prompted alike by piety and patriotism. The father of this dauntless family was accosted by Appelles in the language which he had before held on similar occasions; and exhorted, as superior to his fellow citizens in rank, to be the foremost in adopting the new worship. But Mattathias, with a voice to be heard by the gathering multitude, declared, that though all men should obey the king's decree, himself and his sons would maintain their prior covenant with God; and when he perceived an apostate Jew sacrificing to an idol, he instantly leaped forward and inflicted on him the punishment denounced against this transgression by the law of Moses. His sons, fired by the example, executed the same summary vengeance on the Greek missionary and his attendants; after which the whole family took flight to the neighbouring mountains, and were followed by many of their townsmen who approved their zeal and boldness. With this transaction commenced the religious wars of the Jews, which lasted twenty-six years under five Syrian kings; and after destroying above two hundred thousand of the best troops belonging to those princes, terminated in the emancipation of Judæa and the independent government of the Asmonæans, priests and sovereigns, all of them descended from Mattathias, although the name of their dynasty is borrowed from Asmonæus, an illustrious also, and more remote ancestor.

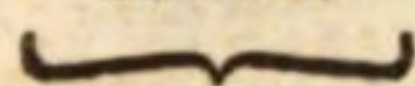
Their suc-
cess.
Olymp.
cliii. 1—
clix. 3.
B. C. 168—
142.

The extraordinary result of this warfare, in the triumph of a petty province over a great monarchy, must be ascribed chiefly to the inflexible spirit of the Jews, more stubborn than the iron rocks which they inhabited. But this primary cause was seconded by the strange misconduct, or rather madness, of the Syrian kings; by the state of hostility in which they lived with most powers in their neigh-

Causes
thereof.

²² See 1 Maccab. c. ii.

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Maccabees—
their courage
and mode of
warfare.

bourhood; above all, by the distracted condition of their provinces, and even of their court and capital. An explanation of each of these particulars in its order will include every historical event that happened in the Macedonian empire during the period of time above specified.

The small but resolute band that followed Mattathias to the mountains, speedily received accessions from all parts of the persecuted country. It happened that a party of these fugitives had fallen victims to a too literal acceptation of the command, “hallow the sabbath day;” and it was now first resolved, that respect for this ordinance ought not to prevent the Jews on the sabbath from defending their laws and their lives. As the adherents to Mattathias gained numbers and strength, they ventured to descend from their mountains; others who had espoused the same cause emerged from caverns and deserts; night was the main season of their warfare; they made inroads suddenly into the habitable country and as suddenly disappeared, after they had overturned the idolatrous altars, opened anew the Jewish synagogues, collected and multiplied the copies of the sacred books, and distinguished by the sign of the covenant all male children born since the commencement of the persecution. In these desultory expeditions, being commanded during the first year by Mattathias, upon his death, in very advanced age, they followed the standard of his son Judas, surnamed Maccabeus, as his followers are called Maccabees, from the initials of the Hebrew words engraved on his standard, “Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah!” Such at least is the national tradition concerning the origin of a name, applicable in its strict sense to persons enlisted under Judas and his brethren²³, but also applied more extensively to those who before Judas raised his standard, had magnanimously braved death in the same religious cause: particularly the Jews re-

²³ Exodus, c. xv. v. 2.

and second book of the Maccabees.

²⁴ Their history is contained in the first

cently tortured at Jerusalem by the merciless Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as those martyred fifty years before at Alexandria²⁵ by the brutish Ptolemy Philopator.

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As the insurrection in Judæa reached not the capital of the province, and the idol of Jupiter still profaned the altar of Jehovah, the government of Syria reserved the mutinous proceedings of the Jews for matter of future vengeance. The king, his whole court and generals, and almost every distinguished individual in the state or army, were busied in preparing for a solemnity at Daphnè near Antioch, that was to eclipse the games recently celebrated by Paulus Emilius in Amphipolis, and even those still more magnificent exhibited at Alexandria during the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus. But the magnificence displayed by Emilius was a triumph over conquered Macedon; and that displayed by the first Ptolemy, in associating his son to the government, was the still nobler triumph of skilful industry and bold commercial enterprize; whereas the gold, the gems, the spices, perfumes, the embroidered tissues of curious fabric, the innumerable paintings and statues, ostentatiously shewn by Antiochus, were merciless extortions of rapine aggravated by sacrilege²⁶. But such was the fondness of the Greeks for public solemnities, that sacred embassies, as they were called, came from nearly three hundred cities to partake in the religious games, and to carry to the gods their accustomed offerings. The gymnastic exercises, and other entertainments, lasted thirty days, during which time king Antiochus was not the least curious part of the spectacle. Himself vilely mounted, he would conduct the pompous cavalcades of Nisæan horses and Indian elephants; sometimes hastening their progress, and again as capriciously retarding it. At the banquets which succeeded these military reviews and processions, he would run jest-

Festival at
Daphnè.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

Degrading
extravagan-
cies of An-
tiochus.

²⁵ Their history is contained in the third book of the Maccabees; and the history of those martyred at Jerusalem is written by Josephus, in what is called the Fourth Book

of the Maccabees.
²⁶ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 3. & seq. Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 583.

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First victo-
ries of Judas
Maccabeus.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

Antiochus'
marches to
the East.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

his viceroy
Lyfias.

ing from lodge to lodge, shew the guests to their seats, snatch a mouthful from one table, drink hastily at another, and at length conclude with playing the fool among the hired buffoons and mimics to the scandal and disgust of all who saw him²⁷.

While Antiochus was exhibiting these extravagancies at Daphnè, the Maccabees were acting a very different part in Judæa. In succeeding to the designs of his aged father, Judas carried them on with a youthful ardour. He had encreased his little army to six thousand men, before Apollonius, the recent plunderer of Jerusalem, took the field against him. The Syrian general was defeated and slain; Judas, amongst other spoil, seized his sword, and made signal use of it against succeeding invaders. The first of these was Seron, Ptolemy Macron's lieutenant in the government of Cœlesyria. Seron's army, in itself numerous, was swelled by a crowd of hellenising Jews and renegado Samaritans. But Judas taught his faithful band, "that the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host, but strength cometh from heaven." In the descent from Bethoron he leaped suddenly on the enemy²⁸: Seron fell; his army was put to the rout. Scarcely had these exploits reached the ears of Antiochus, when serious disorders broke out in distant parts of his empire. He learned at once from the north and from the east²⁹, that in consequence of the discontents excited by the rapacity of his overseers and missionaries, many provinces had determined to withhold their contributions³⁰. Upon this emergency, he determined to move in person into Upper Asia, with part of the forces that had recently passed in review at Daphnè; and, as the expedition must employ several years, he named Lyfias, a general allied to him in blood, for his viceroy in the dominions on this side the Euphrates, at the same

²⁷ Id. *ibid.* Conf. Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi. v. 21.

²⁸ 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 23. In the Apocrypha, the wars of the Jews are described with primitive simplicity. Josephus uses the

terms of Greek tacticks, but is not more informing.

²⁹ Hieronym. in Daniel, c. xi. v. 24.

³⁰ 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 29.

time appointing him guardian to his son, a boy seven years old, of the same name with his father. According to instructions received before the departure of Antiochus, Lyfias concerted measures with Ptolemy Macron for suppressing the disorders in Judæa, which, since the overthrow of Apollonius and Seron, had been growing every day more formidable³¹.

An army thus marched into Judæa, forty thousand strong, and encamped at Emmaus, in the heart of the devoted province, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, generals of approved merit. As little doubt was entertained that so mighty a host would prevail against the refractory Jews, upwards of a thousand merchants from the sea coast flocked to the Syrian camp, in order to make cheap purchases of slaves; for Nicanor had boasted that he would sell ninety rebels for a talent, that is, at the rate of two pounds sterling a head. Upon learning these proceedings, Judas assembled his men at Maspha, a mountain of extensive prospect, overlooking the tents of the Syrians at Emmaus; and as Jerusalem and its sanctuary were still garrisoned by the enemy, Maspha, which had formerly been a place of national meeting, appeared the fittest temple at the present dangerous crisis. After performing religious worship, Judas, according to the law, caused proclamation to be made, that such men, as, in the course of the passing year, had built houses, betrothed wives, planted vineyards, or were fearful, should enjoy full liberty to depart from his standard³². Many availed themselves of the permission, by which means his numbers were reduced below a tenth part of the enemy's, but Judas reminded them of the destruction that had fallen on the countless host of Senacherib³³, and how eight thousand Jews had defeated an hundred and twenty thousand Gauls, in the famous battle of Babylon³⁴.

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Preparation
for the battle
of Maspha.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

³¹ 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 31. & seq.

vol. i. p. 123.

³² Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 11.

³³ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 20. See above,

3 Maccab. c. iii. v. 40. & seq.

p. 7.

³⁴ 2 Maccab. c. viii. v. 19. See above,

With.

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Nicanor and
Gorgias suc-
cessively
defeated.

With a small band, but of which each individual had resolved to conquer or die, he descended from Maspha to encamp nearer the Syrians; and having learned that Gorgias, with a chosen detachment, had moved to attack him in the night, and thereby intercept his retreat to the mountains, he dexterously counteracted this stratagem, and made it recoil on his adversaries. With the utmost celerity he surprised and assaulted Nicanor during the absence of his colleague. The victory of the Jews was complete; the Syrian camp was set on fire, but Judas forbade his men to plunder it, because they had still to encounter and defeat the detachment under Gorgias. That general had reached in the night the post recently occupied by the Jews; and, on finding it deserted, he exclaimed, with scorn, "the banditti have fled to the mountains." But Nicanor's smoking tents speedily undeceived him. At the first sight of the victorious standard of Judas, this second division of the enemy had recourse to a precipitate flight. The Jews pursued; in the two routs nine thousand Syrians fell; Gorgias took refuge within the fortress of Jerusalem; Nicanor escaped in disguise to Antioch, and justified his ill-success to the viceroy Lyfias, his employer, by declaring to him that it was in vain to fight against men who were supported by more than mortal aid³⁵.

Defeat of the
viceroy
Lyfias.
Olymp.
cliii. 4.
B. C. 165.

Upon returning from the pursuit, the Jews plundered the Syrian camp, in which they found many precious commodities, purple of the sea, blue silk³⁶, and great riches, particularly large sums of money, which the merchants above mentioned had brought to purchase the rebels in Palestine for slaves. On the ensuing sabbath, the victors celebrated their success with devout thanksgivings, and, although they were unprovided with engines fit to batter the fortress in Jerusalem, spared no exertion for expelling idols and their worshippers from other strongholds in the province. In the district

³⁵ Conf. 1 Maccab. c. iv. 2 Maccab. c. viii.

³⁶ Rather lylack, *laxiados*. 1 Maccab. c. iv. v. 23.

beyond

beyond Jordan they are said to have slain twenty thousand Syrians under Timotheus and Bacchides, and thereby augmented their stands of arms beyond the number requisite for equipping all the warriors amongst them³⁷. Notwithstanding this extreme weakness, they were not dismayed by a new invasion next year, under the viceroy Lyfias, whose army exceeded by one third that which had been commanded by Nicanor and Gorgias. The enemy approached by Idumæa, the land of Edom, a name which anciently comprehended the wide deserts between the Red Sea, and the lake Asphaltites, but which was now restricted to the diminutive territory immediately west of that lake, originally forming the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon and part of the tribe of Judah. In consequence of the Babylonish captivity, the lands of these tribes long lay desolate, but were finally occupied by the more industrious portion of the children of Esau, or Edomites, and thence called Idumæa; whereas the stony deserts to the south, formerly the land of Edom, assumed its name of Arabia Petræa, from the stronghold Petra, the capital, as we have seen, of the Nabathæan Arabs. On the side of a country peculiarly hostile to the Jews, Lyfias marched against them in all the ostentatious pomp of delegated power, at the head of an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse. Having entered their frontier at Bethsura, a place between Jerusalem and Hebron the capital of Idumæa, he advanced with full confidence to the battle. Judas opposed him with only ten thousand men, but with such resistless valour, that the Syrians were routed and dispersed, and their camp despoiled of that operose magnificence, which only encumbered its late owners, but which was of high importance to the Jews, towards the design which they immediately formed after this decisive victory³⁸.

Their design was nothing less than to recover and purify the temple of Jerusalem, and to provide it with all things essential to its

Dedication
of the temple,
or feast

³⁷ 2 Maccab. c. viii.

³⁸ 1 Maccab. c. iv.

former

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of lights.
Olymp.
cliii. 4.
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former worship; an undertaking which was accomplished exactly at the end of three years after the abomination of Jupiter's statue had been erected on the altar of Jehovah³⁹. In the same month Cisleu, and on the same day of that month, the altar was consecrated anew to the Almighty, and daily sacrifices began to be performed on it, accompanied with hymns of praise, instrumental music, and joyful illuminations, from which last circumstance the festival of the dedication is sometimes called the feast of lights⁴⁰. The splendid solemnity lasted eight days; and, for the same space of time, its anniversary continued thenceforward to be regularly celebrated at Jerusalem, until the final destruction of the temple, thirty-seven years after the crucifixion; that is, as predicted in the gospel⁴¹, before the generation in which Christ taught and suffered had entirely passed away.

The temple
fortified
against
mount Acra.

Notwithstanding the triumphant success of the Maccabees, they found it impossible to expel the Syrians from their fortress on mount Acra. Its strength by art and nature rendered it impregnable. It had been abundantly victualled, and it was defended by men fearful of retaliation for their enormous cruelties. Yet, as it overtopped the temple, and afforded an opportunity of annoying all who came thither to worship, some expedient was necessary for removing this grievance. The mountain of the temple was therefore protected with new walls and towers of great loftiness, continually manned by a powerful and vigilant garrison. Judas also fortified Bethsura to serve as a barrier against the enemy, on that most exposed frontier⁴².

Antiochus'
proceedings
in the East.
Olymp.
cliii. 4.
B. C. 165.

During the war in Palestine, so disastrous to the Syrians, Antiochus had prosecuted an expedition not less disastrous, into Upper Asia. In the march thither, his proceedings are very imperfectly explained⁴³; but in the return, part of the army being left to collect

³⁹ Josephus, c. xii. v. 11. 1 Maccab. c. iv.

⁴⁰ 2 Maccab. c. x.

⁴¹ Id. ibid.

⁴² Matthew, c. xxiv.

⁴³ 1 Maccab. c. iv. v. 60, & seq. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 11.

⁴⁴ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 66. Conf. c. xlv.

tribute,

tribute, Antiochus, with a powerful escort, advanced to plunder a temple and rich staple of trade in Elymais, the southern appendage to mount Zagros, and the main caravan communication between Susiana and Media⁴⁴. In this impious attempt to rifle treasures under the protection of Venus or Diana⁴⁵, whose altars had been honoured and enriched by the great Alexander, he was defeated with peculiar circumstances of disgrace, by the inhabitants of the surrounding district⁴⁶, and reduced to the necessity of making a speedy retreat⁴⁷ to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There, he first learned the repeated discomfitures and routs of his armies⁴⁸; tidings which exasperated to fury the wounds which his pride had received in the late repulse from Elymais. In the fire of his rage he swore that he would render Palestine the sepulchre of the Jews, and precipitating his march westward⁴⁹, for that purpose, was overthrown in his chariot⁵⁰, and died of his wounds at the obscure village Tabæ, situate somewhere on the mountainous confines of Assyria⁵¹. In addition to this simple story, Jewish and Greek writers attest that the death of Antiochus was attended with extraordinary circumstances. He was seized with a phrenzy, as Polybius reports, in consequence of conspicuous manifestations of divine displeasure, wonders ascribed by that respectable pagan writer to the tutelary divinity of Elymais, whose temple and treasure he had recently destined to depredation⁵², but referred in the history of the Maccabees, and in Josephus, to a just judgment of the

Extraordinary circumstances attending his death.
Olymp. cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

⁴⁴ Strab. l. xvi. p. 1080.

⁴⁵ Appian. Syriac. c. lxvi. says Venus; Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 11, Diana. The temple violated by Antiochus the Great, Justin calls templum Elymæi Jovis. Justin, l. xxxiii. c. 2.

⁴⁶ Josephus, Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

⁴⁷ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 11.

⁴⁸ 2 Maccab. c. ix. v. 3.

⁴⁹ The Latin and English translations of 1 Maccabees, c. vi. v. 4, make Antiochus

return to Babylon, but ἀποστρέψας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, denotes only that he took the route towards that city.

⁵⁰ 2 Maccab. c. ix. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. vi.

⁵¹ Curtius, l. v. c. 13, says at the extremity of the Paratacæne mountains, confounding this eastern chain with the more western chain of mount Zagros. See above, vol. i. p. 10.

⁵² Polyb. l. xxxi. c. 11.

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Almighty, whose temple he had actually ⁵² plundered, profaned, and desolated; and whose sincere worshippers he had subjected to the rage of bloody massacres, and the more execrable refinements of deliberate torture. In the work of destruction, he deserved his title of Epiphanes, since in this he was truly pre-eminent above all the Syrian kings. Yet his flatterers extolled his great improvement of Antioch, on the Orontes, to which he added the last of the four quarters into which that capital was divided ⁵³. He also enlarged Hemath or Epiphania, a city south of Antioch, and a hundred miles nearer the source of the Orontes ⁵⁴. Shortly before he expired, he devolved his authority on Philip ⁵⁵, one of his generals, as if he had forgot that the regency of the kingdom on this side the Euphrates, and the guardianship of young Antiochus, had been already delegated to Lyfias, his near kinsman.

Antiochus V.
Eupator,
and his
guardian
Lyfias.
Olymp.
cliv. 1.
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Upon the first intelligence of the king's death, Lyfias accordingly availed himself of the advantage of having the heir in his hands, placed him on the throne at Antioch, under the name of Antiochus Eupator, and assumed for himself, as protector, the entire direction of the monarchy. When Philip arrived from Upper Asia, with the crown and signet of his deceased master, he found the authority which these badges were intended to convey to him, already usurped by another. To avoid the danger to which his high pretensions might expose his life, he fled into Egypt ⁵⁶, purposing, however, to vindicate his claim to power, through the aid of that kingdom, and of some mercenary forces expected from the East.

⁵² Josephus, Antiq. l. xii. c. 13, says, it is likely that Antiochus should have been punished rather for actually plundering the temple of Jerusalem, than for a simple attempt against that of Elymais, which failed in the execution. This inconclusive argument, in a good cause, favours of the ethicks too prevalent among the Jews, of looking to

external acts and events, rather than to the inward purposes of the heart.

⁵³ Strabo, Pausanias, and Pliny.

⁵⁴ Hieronym. in Daniel xi. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

⁵⁵ 1 Maccab. c. vi. 2 Maccab. c. ix.

⁵⁶ 2 Maccab. c. ix.

The disastrous expedition of Antiochus, his unexpected death, a successor only nine years old, and a disputed regency, were circumstances highly favourable to the Maccabees. Upon the recovery of their temple, and the restoration of their national worship, the humble piety of these successful warriors implored the Almighty that Jerusalem might thenceforth be protected against such dreadful calamities as these which it had recently endured; they fell flat on their faces, and fervently prayed, that, should their sins deserve punishment, God would himself chasten them in mercy⁵⁷, without farther subjecting them to the boundless rage of barbarous and blasphemous enemies. The unstable condition of Antiochus Eupator engaged his council to grant them a breathing time, at the commencement of his reign. But the peace offered to them seems to have been altogether fallacious, since Ptolemy Macron, whom the firmness of their proceedings had converted from an enemy into an admirer, was thereby exposed to the resentment of his colleagues. The government of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, which he had long held, was taken from him by general consent, and assumed by Lyfias the chief of the council, as protector of young Antiochus. Macron, being thus divested of his power, was forsaken by his creatures or flatterers, and reduced to ignoble solitude, of all states the most painful to a child of ambition. He terminated his mortifying reflections by a draught of poison⁵⁸.

While the fears of the Syrian court ill disguised its hostility to the Jews, the bordering nations or tribes gave vent to all the animosity against them that can be excited by jealousy of neighbourhood, opposition in religion, and the envy of sudden and improbable prosperity. Idumæa on the south, Samaria and Galilee on the north, the sea coast of Phœnicia, and beyond the river Jordan the whole country extending from Damascus to the southern extremity of the lake Asphaltites, adopted at once, and as it were, by concert, the re-

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Peace granted by them to the Jews.
—Death of Ptolemy Macron.
Olymp. cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

Unlicensed war against them—its outrages retaliated.

⁵⁷ 2 Maccab. c. x. v. 4.⁵⁸ 2 Maccab. c. x.

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Defeat of
Lyfias and
Timotheus.
Olymp.
cliv. 2.
B. C. 163.

solution of cutting off every worshipper of Jehovah, that could be found within their respective limits: and this cruel conspiracy was carried too successfully into execution. The tale of horror roused Judas and his brethren. They flew to the protection of such faithful Israelites as had escaped the massacre. Some they released from confinement and bonds. To others they brought seasonable succour by appearing before the strongholds in which they had taken refuge. Their success was on all sides equally memorable and complete; particularly that of Simon in Gallilee, and that of Judas in the land of Gilead⁵⁹. After defeating the Syrian officers in this latter district, Judas exercised terrible but just vengeance on the assassins; many of their cities were taken, despoiled, totally destroyed by fire, and all males belonging to them committed to the sword⁶⁰.

The sad issue of this war, which had been waged by his subjects without authority from young Antiochus, or his tutor Lyfias, at length compelled the latter to take the field at the head of the royal army. It amounted to eighty thousand foot and a due proportion of cavalry and elephants⁶¹. It approached on the side of Idumæa, and laid siege to Bethsura, the main stronghold of the Jews on that frontier. Before the walls of this place, the valour of the Jews overmatched vast superiority in point of force. Above twelve thousand Syrians fell; and Lyfias, in apprehension of still greater disasters, became eager to conclude a peace with the conquerors, on honourable terms, particularly by granting to them the free enjoyment, in future, of their religion and laws. But the passions which rankled in the heathen nations contiguous to Judæa, prevented them from approving this measure. That they might effectually prosecute the war, they flocked to the standard of Timotheus, the Syrian general, beyond Jordan, and enabled him to assemble an army still more numerous than that defeated under Lyfias. Judas encountered and discomfited him with great slaughter at Raphon, in the land of

⁵⁹ 1 Maccab. c. v.

⁶⁰ 2 Maccab. c. x.

⁶¹ 2 Maccab. c. xi.

Gilead; and many of the vanquished having taken refuge in Carnaim, or Carno⁶², the Jews pursued them thither, gained possession of the place, and destroyed by fire the temple of the Syrian goddess Derceto⁶³, with a miserable crowd of fugitives who had retired into it for safety. After these successes, Judas pervaded as conqueror the country beyond Jordan; and then repassing that river, over-ran with as little resistance the land of the Idumæans and Philistines. In the expedition of Judas into Gilead, as well as that in the preceding year of Simon into Galilee, the return of the victors was crowded by many helpless Israelites, who feared to remain behind within the dominions of their enemies⁶⁴. To these emigrants vacant lands were assigned in Judæa Proper, where ample room had been made for them by Syrian invasions, accompanied, as we have seen, with signal desolation.

Having performed a series of exploits equally calculated to ensure safety and to gratify revenge, the Maccabees could no longer endure with patience to behold a Syrian garrison in the fortress Acra, overlooking and still threatening their temple. This thorn in their sides, grievous as it was, they had hitherto suffered to remain, from their little experience as engineers. They now set themselves, however, to prepare engines of superior efficacy, and the siege having commenced with vigour, the Syrian garrison, and still more the renegade Jews who reinforced it, in despair of holding out without speedy succour, sent the most pressing instances to Antioch, imploring the king's assistance on an emergency big with destruction, accompanied with every excess of cruelty, to his best and most steadfast friends. The triumphs of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee might already have convinced Lysias of the necessity of assembling a more powerful army than that which either himself or his lieutenants had hitherto brought into the field. He appears to have acted on this

Defeat of the
Jews.—Jeru-
salem be-
sieged.
Olymp.
cliv. 2.
B. C. 163.

⁶² Conf. Maccab. Strabo and Ptolemy. p. 748. & Plin. l. v. c. 23.

⁶³ Conf. 1 Maccab. c. v. Strabo, l. xvi. ⁶⁴ 1 Maccab. c. v.

conviction,

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conviction, since, upon the first intelligence of the siege of Acra, he was ready to invade Judæa with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 300 armed chariots, and those forces superior to his former preparations in quality as well as number. He approached, in company with his young master, on the side of Idumæa; the Jews raised the siege of Acra, that they might encounter the invaders; a battle ensued, in which heroic valour was exhausted, and at length overpowered by superior numbers; Eleazar, the brother of Judas, hoping to regain the day by slaying young Antiochus, drove furiously against an elephant loftier than the rest and royally harnessed, on which he erroneously conjectured that prince to be mounted. Having cleared his way by resistless fury and great havoc of the enemy, he stooped under the elephant's belly, and stabbed it with such unhappy effect, that the huge animal instantly dropped down, and overwhelmed him with its weight⁶⁵. The Jews then made a general retreat to their capital, to which, after first taking Bethsura, the Syrians laid siege. Scarcity of provisions would have compelled the place to surrender⁶⁶, when commotions in Syria occasioned a diversion in its favour.

The siege raised in consequence of commotions in Syria.

Peace with the Jews. Olymp. cliv. 2. B. C. 163.

Philip, whom the late Antiochus Epiphanes had in his last moments named to the regency, invaded Syria with troops drawn from the east, and made himself master of the capital. Upon this emergency, Lysias and his pupil were in haste to move northwards, for the defence of their dominions and the recovery of their imperial city. By a return nearly as sudden as the irruption of the invader, they regained Antioch, defeated and slew Philip, and dispersed or destroyed his followers⁶⁷. Before marching from Jerusalem, that they might not leave an enemy behind them, they had concluded a hasty peace with the Jews, on the same terms of freedom of worship and immunity that had formerly been stipulated, and on the part of the Syrians so shamefully violated. Of this second treaty the un-

⁶⁵ 1 Maccab. c. vi.

⁶⁶ 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

⁶⁷ Joseph. Antiq. xii. 9. 1 Maccab. c. vi.

worthy

worthy Menelaus, the banished high priest of Jerusalem, was the bond and the victim⁶⁸. He had accompanied the invading army, in hopes of being restored to his high rank in his country, armed with fresh powers of extortion and murder, alternately to gratify his avarice and to satiate his cruelty. But this wretch, one of the three hellenising brothers⁶⁹, the prime abettors of all the calamities of their nation, was resigned by the Syrian government to what was called the punishment of ashes, a punishment inflicted on the worst and most odious offenders. It was an invention of the Persians⁷⁰, a people whose genius was exerted in the contrivance of barbarous executions to support a more barbarous despotism. The punishment of ashes is differently described; suffice it to say, that those materials, inclosed in a lofty tower, were made the engines of slow and suffocating torture.

The treaty just concluded with the Jews would not have been better observed than that formerly granted to them; but shortly after the suppression of the pretender Philip, young Antiochus and his tutor were called to a more dangerous competition. Demetrius, son to Seleucus IV. Philopator, and lineal heir to the Syrian monarchy, no sooner learned the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, than he used every endeavour to prevent himself from being excluded a second time from a throne to which his birth entitled him. He had been sent by his father as an hostage to Rome, and since the death of that prince, had been detained there thirteen years in a sort of honourable captivity. His uncle Epiphanes, by servile flattery to the Romans, had been permitted to assume his crown; but Demetrius insisted, with much reason, that this possession should not devolve by inheritance from an usurper. For himself, he said to the Romans that he had lived among them from childhood to his twenty-fourth year; that he looked on the senators as his fathers, and on

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Demetrius
rightful heir
to Syria—
his treat-
men at
Rome.
Olymp.
cliv. 1.
B. C. 164.

⁶⁸ 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

⁶⁹ Jason, Menelaus, Lyfimachus. See

above, p. 461.

⁷⁰ Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 2.

their

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Octavius, a
Roman am-
bassador,
slain in
Syria.
Olymp.
cliv. 3.
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their sons as his brothers: that they ought not to suffer, as it were, their own blood to be stripped of its just rights, but send him, properly accompanied, into Syria, to take possession of his kingdom. The senate, however, lent a deaf ear to his remonstrances⁷¹; it was a maxim with the Romans to prefer, in the succession to kingdoms, persons of weak characters and unripe years, to princes twenty-four years old; especially when they discerned in them strong symptoms of ambition.

Accordingly ambassadors were sent to Antioch to confirm the coronation of Antiochus Eupator. At the head of this embassy was Cneius Octavius, whom we have seen as admiral in the war against Perseus, and whose name was, after four generations, signalised in his descendant the triumvir Octavius Cæsar, successively the tyrant and the father of the Roman world. The ambassador Octavius acted tyrannically in Syria. He was justified indeed in destroying the ships and elephants⁷² which he found in that country, contrary to treaty. But this offensive business he executed in a more offensive manner: and a Syrian Greek named Leptines, stung with indignation at his arrogance, seized an opportunity of assassinating him in a bath at Laodicea⁷³. The news of this event, so disgraceful to the government of his rival, encouraged Demetrius to renew his instances with the Roman senate. They proved again unsuccessful; and the heir to the Syrian crown feared to end his days in Italy, when fortune made him acquainted with two Greeks, then resident in Rome, who filled him with better hopes, and enabled him to realize them.

Demetrius
escapes from
Italy through
the assistance
of Polybius
and Menyl-

The first of these was the historian Polybius, with whom Demetrius had contracted an intimacy amidst the sports of the field, which they both loved to indulge in; and the second was Menyllus, the ambassador of Ptolemy Philometor, and Polybius' confidential friend.

⁷¹ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 12.

⁷² Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. xlv.

⁷³ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 4.

They

They exhorted the young prince never again to apply to the senate, but to trust to their management and his own good fortune for effecting his escape. Shortly after this advice had been enforced by Polybius, a certain Diodorus arrived from Syria, who, having been entrusted with the care of Demetrius in his childhood, hastened, in the eagerness of affection, to acquaint him, that such were the contents excited by the murder of Octavius, the Roman ambassador, and such the suspicions of the army against Lysias, and of Lysias against his army, that should the rightful heir to the crown arrive in Syria without a single attendant, he would find little difficulty in gaining possession of the kingdom. Demetrius, though a prisoner at Rome, lived there in princely magnificence: he was accompanied by many Syrians of great distinction; he spent his time with them in mutual visits and entertainments; and he enjoyed the privilege of hunting the wild boar at a great distance from the capital. Under pretence of this amusement, he determined clandestinely to sail for Asia in a Carthaginian vessel which then lay at the mouth of the Tiber. This vessel, being bound for Phoenicia, to carry the annual acknowledgments from the colony of Carthage to Tyre the mother country, Menyllus, then ready to return home, hired a passage in it for himself and his servants; he spoke with the captain, examined his accommodation, and laid in stores without creating the smallest suspicion. Before the day fixed for departure arrived, Menyllus again visited the captain, and told him that unforeseen events had arisen which would hinder him from embarking personally, but that their agreement should nevertheless stand good, because he still wished to send part of his servants into Egypt, who about the hour of midnight would be ready to come on shipboard. The Carthaginian replied, that he also should be ready to receive them. On the same day Demetrius, with those privy to his designs, supped at the house of one of his Syrian companions, with the declared purpose of proceeding that evening from Rome on a hunting party to Anagnia,

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lus.

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forty miles distant. He chose not to give the entertainment himself, (his own parties being commonly very numerous,) for fear of offending those uninvited to it. That day, Polybius happened to be kept at home by indisposition; but, as he knew from Menyllus every step taken in the business, he began to fear that Demetrius, who was a hard drinker, as well as a keen sportsman, might frustrate his own success through intemperance in wine. He therefore sent to him a boy with a tablet containing a few verses from the Gnostic poets, recommending sobriety, vigilance, distrust, above all, expedition, extolling these qualities as the sinews of successful enterprise. Demetrius read, and recognised the author of the admonition. On pretence of a nausea from drinking, he left the company. The other guests followed him. Those, not in his secret, were sent forward to Anagnia, with orders to proceed with the dogs and nets twenty miles further, to mount Circaum, a place almost surrounded by the Pomptine marshes, and abounding in wild boar. Instead of following the sportsmen, as was expected, to that place, Demetrius, with those destined to embark with him, eight in number, and each with a single servant, proceeded to some tents which had been pitched for the convenience of their rural amusements, hastily equipped themselves as travellers, and advanced with a rapid pace to take shipping at Ostia, fifteen miles from Rome. The Carthaginian had every thing in readiness, the wind was favourable, and the fugitives had nearly reached the straits of Messina before their departure was suspected, or at least authenticated. It was then too late to pursue them. The senate, however, sent Tiberius Gracchus, at the head of an embassy or commission, to inspect the affairs of Syria and the neighbouring kingdoms⁷⁴.

Syria sub-
mits to De-
metrius
Soter.

Before the Roman commissioners arrived in Asia, Demetrius had seated himself on the throne of his ancestors. He landed at Tripolis in Phœnicia, and proceeded from thence to Apamæa, where his an-

⁷⁴ Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 19—22.

cient tutor Diodorus, by leaving Italy many days before him, had provided for his welcome reception. With increasing bands of adherents, he marched towards Antioch; none doubted that he returned with the full approbation of the Romans, justly provoked at the Syrian government by the murder of their ambassador Octavius: a mutiny broke out in the army commanding the capital: Lysias, with his pupil Eupator, were made captives by their own forces, who proclaimed their allegiance to Demetrius, by desiring to know his pleasure with regard to their prisoners. He replied, "let me not see their faces:" they suffered the death of usurpers, unresisting and unlamented. Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, perished in the twelfth year of his age, and the third of his nominal reign⁷⁵.

Towards effecting this revolution, Menyllus, the ambassador of Ptolemy Philometor, had been induced to co-operate, partly through resentment against the Roman senate's manifest injustice to his master. Five years before the Romans set a child and an usurper on the throne of the Seleucidæ, they had weakened the kingdom of the Ptolemies by division. Philometor, the sole heir to the crown, had been compelled to associate his younger brother Physcon to the government. After various struggles between these rivals in power, during which the mild virtues of the one strongly contrasted with the savage ferocity of the other, the intolerable turpitude of Physcon drove him in disgrace from Alexandria. But he was still the favourite of the Romans, because his vices seemed useful to them. Philometor was commanded to resign to him the Egyptian dependencies in Lybia, particularly the kingdom of Cyrenè; and when this order was complied with, the isle of Cyprus, recently recovered from the crown of Syria, was also adjudged to him, that his domain might stand on a nearer foot of equality with that of his brother. In the course of these transactions, both the Ptolemies appeared personally at Rome; and the senate never ceased to be assailed by the

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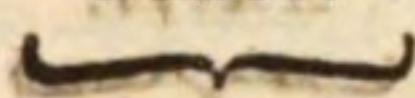
Olymp.

cliv. 3.

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Reason why
Menyllus
promoted
the views of
Demetrius.

⁷⁵ Conf. 1 Maccab. c. 7. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 47.

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Long war
between the
Egyptian
brothers.
Olymp.
cliv. 3.—
clvi. 2.
B. C. 162—
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applications of their respective ambassadors⁷⁶. At the present crisis, Menyllus made strong remonstrances against the cession of Cyprus. He proved in the senate, by the testimony of such Romans themselves as had been employed on various missions into Africa, that Philometor had shewn the utmost deference to every injunction from Rome; that he had exerted himself to maintain Physcon's authority in Cyrenè, notwithstanding the strong dislike of the country to his character and government; and that, on different occasions, he had even saved the life of a brother, who now wished, by parcels, to rob him of his kingdom⁷⁷. Neither the well urged arguments of Menyllus, nor the strongest proofs of their solidity, could prevail against the selfishness of Roman policy. Titus Torquatus, and Cneius Merula were deputed from the senate to put Physcon in possession of Cyprus⁷⁸.

This commission gave rise to a long but unimportant war between the brothers⁷⁹. Physcon levied mercenaries in Greece and Macedonia: the Romans intimated to their Asiatic allies that, by co-operating towards his success, they would deserve well of the republic. But, before he found himself in a condition to invade Cyprus, the Cyrenians were in rebellion. Physcon was repeatedly vanquished; first, by a body of 8,000 Cyrenian insurgents on the eastern frontier of the Pentapolis; and next, by his brother on the banks of the Lapithus in Cyprus; which defeat compelled him to take shelter within a fortress of the same name with the river. Being reduced to extremity in a long siege, he threw himself once more on that fraternal clemency which he had often experienced. The merciful Philometor pardoned his offences, enabled him to recover his dominion over Cyrenè, and resigned to him certain districts in Cyprus, yielding a large revenue in corn. In this generous proceeding, Philometor should seem to have acted not chiefly from fear of Rome,

⁷⁶ Valer. Maxim. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xlvi.

⁷⁸ Id. ibid.

⁷⁷ Polybius, l. xxxi, c. 18. l. xxxiii. c. 5.
l. xl. c. 12.

⁷⁹ Polybius, l. xxxi, c. 18, 25, 27. l. xxii.
c. 1.

but, rather from the mild benignity of his own temper. From the age of fifteen, he governed twenty years without listening to a single accusation against any one whom he had ever treated as a friend, and without putting to death a single state criminal⁸⁰. Yet his forgiveness of the abominable Physcon was cruelty to the Libyan Greeks, and eventually worse cruelty to the Egyptians themselves, since, on the death of Philometor, ten years afterwards, Physcon resumed sovereignty in Egypt, and ruled that country twenty-nine years with the most tremendous and bloody despotism⁸¹.

Upon mounting the throne of Syria, Demetrius was involved in too many domestic anxieties to take concern in the affairs of Egypt or any other foreign kingdom. In the commencement of his reign, he defeated and disgraced two powerful instruments of the late government, Timarchus governor of Babylonia, and Heraclides treasurer in that wealthiest of the satrapies. From his suppression of these officers, under whose severities the Babylonians had long smarted, he obtained his title of Soter, or Saviour, by which he is distinguished in history⁸². At the instigation of Alcimus, an hellenising Jew, and pretending to the office of high priest of Jerusalem, he turned his arms against the Maccabees⁸³, to destroy what he was taught to regard as a rebellious faction. But his principal care was to court the Romans by embassies, and presents, and professions of the most humble respect⁸⁴. To shew his zeal in whatever concerned that people, he made diligent inquiry into the murder of their ambassador Octavius, without being able by any of his discoveries, to implicate, in that transaction, the late Syrian government. The perpetrator of the deed was Leptines, a Syrian Greek yet a firm patriot, who could not brook the arrogance of the Romans to his countrymen, and who, instead of denying the fact, openly gloried in it, at the same time that he predicted with equal sagacity and confi-

Demetrius
Soter—his
proceedings.
Olymp.
cliv. 3, 4.
B. C. 162—
161.

⁸⁰ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

⁸¹ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 644.

⁸² Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 47.

⁸³ 1 Maccab. c. vii. 2 Maccab. c. xiv.

⁸⁴ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 4. & 6.

dence,

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Leptines and
Isocrates,
the assassins
of Octavius,
sent to Rome
— strange
contrast be-
tween them.

dence, that no harm would fall on him for so glorious a transgression⁸⁵.

This extraordinary man was sent to Rome together with another Greek, whose pusillanimity strongly contrasted with Leptines' dauntless courage. The Greek, alluded to, bore and disgraced the name of Isocrates. He was a vain loquacious man, who lectured in public, and whose ostentation and emptiness had exposed him to ridicule at Athens, a place still renowned for learning, after it had ceased to be considerable in power. The contempt, with which he had been treated in Greece, made him remove in quest of admirers into Syria. In this country he ventured, in his lectures, to mix politicks with literature. The rapacity and insolence of the Romans formed his favourite theme, and he frequently extolled the assassination of Octavius as an example worthy to be imitated. These offensive speeches were reported to government. Isocrates was tried, convicted, and ordered to be sent to Rome that he might be punished at the will of the senate. From the moment of his accusation he was afflicted with an agony of terror; he totally neglected his person; his hair was uncombed, his nails were allowed to grow to unmeasured length; and when he arrived at Rome, he was viewed as a sort of mixed monster, at once hideous and ridiculous⁸⁶. But Leptines shewed himself in the senate with an erect aspect, bold, firm, and immoveable; and, as he had uniformly predicted, no harm befel him, the Romans being unwilling to wash out what they affected to regard as the guilt of the Syrian nation and government, in the blood of individual delinquents.

Renewed
war with the
Jews.
Olymp.
cliv. 4.
B. C. 161.

Meanwhile hostilities had recommenced in Judæa; and Nicanor, a general often unfortunate in that country, had been defeated and slain⁸⁷ by Judas in a great battle near Bethoron. Judas was, in his turn, not defeated but overwhelmed by numbers in a battle near Panias, by Bacchides, who succeeded to Nicanor. In that fatal

⁸⁵ Polybius, l. xxxii, c. 6.

⁸⁶ Id. *ibid.*

⁸⁷ 1 Maccab. c. vii. 2 Maccab. c. xv.

action,

action, the leader of the Maccabees lost his life; a life most precious to the respectable portion of his nation, and lamented by all of that description with heart-felt sorrow. His body was recovered by his brothers Jonathan and Simon, and by them interred at Modin⁸⁸, in the sepulchre of his ancestors. With universal approbation from the Maccabees, Jonathan assumed the office of general in the room of Judas; but the chance of war was against him; the faithful Israelites were compelled to fly, as formerly, to mountains and deserts; and were reduced to great weakness⁸⁹, when external events, deeply interesting to Syria, gave a new direction to the arms of that country.

Demetrius Soter, notwithstanding his assiduous courtship of the Romans, had hitherto failed to gain their good will. In return to an embassy that had been sent by Judas Maccabeus, the senate, shortly after the death of that illustrious patriot, and amidst the accumulating disasters of his party, contracted an alliance with the Maccabees, and promised to defend them against all their enemies⁹⁰. Under these circumstances it was time for Demetrius to look around him for confederates among the Greek kings of the east. Prusias II. of Bithynia, surnamed the hunter, was a prince wanting in dignity, and even destitute of good faith⁹¹; the respectable Eumenes II. of Pergamus, now in the extremity of old age, was the hereditary foe of the Seleucidæ. The king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philometor, had personal wrongs to complain of from the senate; but Egypt and Syria were rival kingdoms, and the former had acquired and maintained its equality only by truckling in mean submission to Rome. Demetrius, therefore, turned his eyes to Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia; a prince who had just mounted the throne, young, brave, and beloved by his subjects⁹², who, though noted for slow understandings, were not contemptible in numbers, nor deficient in that bodily vigour which forms good soldiers. To cement his friendship with Ariarathes, Demetrius sent to him a re-

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State of the
eastern king-
doms.
Olymp.
clv. 1.
B. C. 160.
Syria.

Bithynia and
Pergamus.

Egypt.

Cappadocia.

⁸⁸ Joseph. l. xii. c. 19. 1 Maccab. c. ix.

⁸⁹ 1 Maccab. c. ix.

⁹⁰ 1 Maccab. c. viii. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 3.

⁹¹ Appian. Mithridat. c. 2. & seq. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

⁹² Diodor. Eclog. p. 518. & Excerpt. p. 584.
spectful

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respectful embassy, offering him in marriage his sister Laodicè, the widow of Perseus king of Macedon. But this proposal Ariarathes rejected without hesitation, fearful of embroiling his affairs with Rome, to which power both the widow of Perseus and her brother seemed to be still obnoxious.

Artifices of
Antiochis,
wife to Aria-
rathes V.

Stung with this disappointment, which his pride construed into an affront, Demetrius was at no pains to conceal his fixed purpose of revenge, and very peculiar circumstances in the family of Ariarathes, enabled him speedily to gratify it. The father of that prince had espoused, as we have seen, Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, who, to conceal her barrenness, deceived her husband with several suppositious children, but at length producing a son of her own, confessed the fraudulent part hitherto acted by her, obtained pardon, and procured Ariarathes, her genuine offspring, to be declared successor to the throne. He, accordingly, ascended it; but to the high dissatisfaction of Orophernes, his counterfeit brother, who complained, that through the unnatural artifices of a woman unworthy of all credit, he had been deprived of his right of primogeniture. The sincere or well affected indignation of Orophernes might have evaporated in useless complaints in the soft climate of Ionia, into which, after the story of his birth became known, he had been sent by his father to reside; but the resentment expressed by Demetrius against the possessor of the Cappadocian throne, ensured for a pretender to it a welcome reception in Syria.

Demetrius
expels Aria-
rathes and
raises Oro-
phernes to
the throne of
Cappadocia.
Olymp.
clv. 2.
B. C. 159.

Orophernes hastened to Antioch; explained his wrongs to Demetrius; the Syrian army on foot against Jerusalem, marched to Mazaca; the Cappadocians, partly deluded and partly defeated, threw down their arms; and, notwithstanding speedy assistance sent to Ariarathes by Eumenes of Pergamus, the former was driven from his kingdom⁹³, and sent to sue for aid to the Roman senate, the ordinary refuge of dispossessed princes.

⁹³ Polybius, l. iii. c. v. l. xxxii. c. 20. Justin, l. xxxv. c. 1.

The fruitless aid given on this occasion by Eumenes, closed his reign of thirty-eight years. To the last, his exertions were always on the side of justice, by a uniform adherence to which, in a profligate age, and in the course of a long and busy life, he is more nobly distinguished, than by his memorable victories and splendid conquests. Though he had a son born to him in old age, he bequeathed the crown to his brother Attalus, who assumed, in gratitude, the title of Philadelphus; and after administering the kingdom for the space of twenty-one years, transmitted it to the son of Eumenes, named Attalus Philometor, the last and only unworthy king of Pergamus⁹⁴.

The friendship of Eumenes was not calculated to serve the fugitive Ariarathes, in his application to Rome, since the former of these princes had of late years given many plain indications that he was no longer to be duped by the artifices under which the senate disguised its lust of universal empire. A splendid embassy from Orophernes, his presents, and promises, and flattery, countervailed the petitions of an abdicated king, low in circumstances and broken in spirit. All that the exiled Cappadocian could obtain was a decree appointing him to reign conjointly⁹⁵ with his rival, a decree barren and nugatory, since, towards carrying it into effect, no levies were raised, nor any orders issued. The first gleam of hope to Ariarathes, darted from Cappadocia itself: and his most useful auxiliaries were the vices of his upstart adversary. Instead of atoning by merit for the defects in his title, Orophernes displayed the wanton effrontery of confirmed hereditary despotism. He trampled on the laws and rites of the Cappadocians, and introduced among that rustic and simple people Ionian effeminacy aggravated by bacchanalian intemperance⁹⁶. His last and insufferable outrage was the plunder of the revered Cappadocian temple, at the foot of mount Ariadne. His enraged subjects took arms; Ariarathes, assisted by Attalus of Pergamus, was at hand

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Death of
Eumenes of
Pergamus.
Olymp.
clv. 2.
B. C. 159.

The claims
of Ariara-
thes ne-
glected at
Rome.
Olymp.
clv. 3.
B. C. 158.

The usurper
ruined by his
vices, and
Ariarathes
restored.
Olymp.
clv. 4.
B. C. 157.

⁹⁴ Polybius, Conf. l. xxx. c. 2. l. xxxii. c. 23. l. xxxiii. c. 16. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624.

⁹⁵ Appian. de Rebus Syriac. c. 47.

⁹⁶ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 20.

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Disgraceful
intrigues and
drunkenness
of Deme-
trius.
Olymp.
clvi. 1.
B. C. 156.

His castle of
indolence.
Olymp.
clvi. 2.
B. C. 155.

to avail himself of their insurrection: the usurper not daring to encounter them in battle, fled in precipitation to Antioch, having previously deposited four hundred talents of his ill-gotten treasures in Priené, a city of Ionia, long the place of his residence⁹⁷.

By flying to his Syrian ally, Orophernes gained safety for his person, but from the disposition in which he found Demetrius, little prospect was afforded to him of retrieving his affairs by means of that prince. Demetrius, though at peace with Egypt, had recently entered into a correspondence with Archias, governor of Cyprus for Ptolemy Philometor; and by a bribe of five hundred talents, had engaged him to make a treacherous surrender of the island. But the conspiracy was discovered, the traitor hanged himself⁹⁸, and Demetrius incurred the mortification of losing at once a large sum of money, and all credit for good faith among his neighbours. To dispel the uneasiness occasioned by this disgrace, by the menaced hostility of Rome, and by misfortunes which, as we shall see, occurred in various parts of his empire, Demetrius indulged lavishly and habitually in the cordial which had soothed his early sufferings. To enjoy his drunken carousals unmolested by the intrusion of business, he built, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, a strong castle, fortified with four lofty towers, and shut himself up there with the companions of his revels, in careless oblivion of his crown and of his subjects⁹⁹. In an age when kings, though seldom qualified to be their own ministers, were still obliged, according to the fashion of the times, to answer petitions, to judge causes, and to assist personally at other political functions, the total seclusion of Demetrius from affairs, could not be tolerated with patience. His subjects complained that they wanted the protection of government, and a conspiracy was formed against him, in which Orophernes had the baseness to join. But this treasonable design was seasonably discovered; and of all

⁹⁷ Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 12.

⁹⁸ Id. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁹⁹ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 3. Conf.

Polyb. l. xxxiii. c. 14. & Athenæus, l. x. p. 440.

those

those concerned in it, Orophernes alone escaped death, because his person still seemed of importance for embroiling, when occasion offered, the affairs of Cappadocia¹⁰⁰. Such an occasion, however, failed to present itself; for Ariarathes, remounting his throne, continued to reign seventeen years undisturbed by foreign war or domestic sedition, the friend of peaceful industry, and the only Cappadocian prince who is celebrated as a patron of useful learning and elegant arts, which he was careful to propagate among his hitherto obscure and unlettered countrymen¹⁰¹.

The danger which Demetrius had so narrowly escaped did not correct his errors. He still remained shut up in his castle, leaving a free and open field for the plots of domestic insurgents, and his many foreign enemies; Ptolemy Philometor, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Attalus of Pergamus, above all, Heraclides, the disgraced treasurer of Babylon. With this incensed subject, now residing at Rhodes, the three kings entered into a correspondence, and encouraged him to raise up a rival to Demetrius, who, through their assistance and the disgust of his Syrian subjects, might precipitate that prince from the throne. Heraclides, accordingly, discovered a Rhodian youth¹⁰² named Balas, that seemed well qualified to personate a deceased son of the late Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Balas was acknowledged in that character by the confederate kings. He was afterwards sent to Rome, and well received by the senate. Fortified by such authority, and accompanied by an armed force, he sailed to Ptolemais in Syria, to claim his father's kingdom. The danger roused Demetrius from his castle of indolence: he put himself at the head of his guards, but many of his best troops had already joined the invader. In this extremity he had recourse to Jonathan, captain of the Jews, who having recently defeated Bacchides the Syrian general in Palestine, had obtained an honourable peace for the Macca-

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XXIII.

Peculiar
merit of
Ariarathes
VI.

Intrigues by
which the
impostor
Alexander
Balas mounts
the throne
of Syria.
Olymp.
clvi. 3—
clvii. 1.
B. C. 154—
152.

Jonathan
created high
priest of the
Jews.
Olymp.
clvi. 4.
B. C. 153.

¹⁰⁰ Justin, l. xxxv. c. 1.

¹⁰² Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 67. Tit.

¹⁰¹ Diodorus, Ecclog. iii. ex l. xxxi. p. 518. Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211.

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Death of
Demetrius
Soter.
Olymp.
clvii. 2.
B. C. 151.

Infamy of
Alexander
Balas.
Olymp.
clvii. 3—
clviii. 2.
B. C. 150—
147.

bees. But Balas, who had assumed the name of Alexander, also applied to the same chief for assistance, and obtained it by granting to him, in addition to his military command, the dignity of high priest of the Jews¹⁰³: a dignity which continued in the Asmonæan family upwards of a century, until the bloody usurpation of Herod the Great. Alexander Balas, encouraged by such powerful foreign assistance, and the good will of the Syrians themselves, hastened toward Antioch to encounter his adversary in battle. Fortune favoured him to the utmost of his wish, since Demetrius was defeated, put to flight, and, his horse plunging into a bog, intercepted and slain by his pursuers. He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign; leaving behind him two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, destined successively to fill his throne. These young princes owed their immediate safety to the precaution of sending¹⁰⁴ them, before the battle, to the free city of Cnidus on the coast of Caria: their enemies either knew not the place of their retreat, or attempted not to wrest them from it, in violation of the neutrality of that small but respectable commonwealth.

To fortify himself in his newly acquired kingdom, Alexander Balas asked in marriage Cleopatra, daughter to Ptolemy Philometor. His request was granted, and Ptolemy, sailing to Ptolemais or Acre, honoured the nuptials with his presence¹⁰⁵. The espousal of this princess was the only prudent measure in Alexander's reign of four years, during which he exhibited the offensive follies of an upstart, intoxicated with prosperity totally unmerited. At length, committing the government to ministers who abused his power and flattered his passions, he abandoned himself to a life of unbounded voluptuousness: Cleopatra was neglected; instead of a harem filled with the humble concubines of the east, the court of Alexander was crowded with the ostentatious courtezans of Greece, whose accom-

¹⁰³ 1 Maccab. c. x. Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Justin, l. xxxv. c. 2.

¹⁰⁵ 1 Maccab. c. x.

plishments, by emblazoning his profligacy, rendered his disgrace the more conspicuous ¹⁰⁶.

Meanwhile, Lesser Asia was disturbed by a long but obscure war between Prusias II. of Bithynia, and Attalus II. of Pergamus, which ended in the ruin of the former. This war, which dated from the first years of the reign of Attalus, and produced no decisive event, had been interrupted by the authority of Rome, the more friendly to the new king of Pergamus, because he had uniformly shewn his devotion to the senate, even after his predecessor Eumenes had incurred suspicion. But Prusias, affecting to renounce force, had recourse to fraud. On pretence of adjusting differences still unsettled, he proposed a conference with Attalus on their common frontier, to which each prince should come, attended with a thousand horsemen. Attalus consented; and bringing with him only the stipulated escort, had nearly fallen into the snare laid for him, since Prusias was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the whole strength of his kingdom, both cavalry and infantry. With such preparations he made a sudden inroad into the territory of Pergamus; and though repelled from the walled cities, ravaged the open country, deformed the sacred groves, plundered the stations of traffic with their adjacent temples, after he had worshipped or rather insulted the gods to whom they were consecrated, with libations and sacrifices, and all the puerile rites of the most abject superstition. Attalus sent news to Rome of this unexpected outrage, at the same time that he adopted vigorous measures for resisting the invaders, and for retaliating their injuries. With the assistance of many allied commonwealths in his neighbourhood, he speedily equipped eighty decked vessels, and scoured the Bithynian coast in its whole extent from Heraclea to the Thracian Bosphorus. Upon the arrival of Roman commissioners to settle the new disturbances in Asia, Prusias therefore shewed great solicitude to obtain peace, by consenting to surrender twenty of his

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War between
Prusias and
Attalus.
Olymp.
clvi. 1.—
clviii. 1.
B. C. 156—
148.

¹⁰⁶ Justin, l. xxxv. c. 2. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 592. Athenæus, l. v. p. 210.

decked

CHAP. XXIII. { decked vessels, to pay five hundred talents to Attalus, in atonement for his late depredations, and one hundred talents to the Greek cities in alliance with that prince. The terms were accepted; part of the fleet of Prusias became an accession to that of Attalus, and the debt was gradually discharged by annual instalments, as had been originally agreed on ¹⁰⁷.

Prusias conspires the death of his son Nicomedes.

But no treaty could long bind the dishonest craft of Prusias. After the defeat of his brother-in-law Perseus of Macedon, he had assumed the Roman pileus in the manner of emancipated slaves, and using the appropriate legal term, called himself the freedman of the Romans ¹⁰⁸. This servile adulation, though ridiculous to all around him, had a tendency to secure his territories from the grasp of the victorious republic. He was a buffoon, a traitor, and was prepared to become a parricide. His son Nicomedes having rendered himself obnoxious by his popularity, was sent to Rome, and soon followed by Menas, his father's ambassador, charged with the commission of assassinating Nicomedes, unless he obtained, through the influence of that young prince with the senate, a remission of the debt still due by Prusias to Attalus and his allies ¹⁰⁹.

The plot recoils on himself and Nicomedes II. reigns. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

But for the execution of his execrable purpose, Prusias had employed an improper instrument. The behaviour and looks of Menas, when in the presence of Nicomedes, made the latter suspect that the former had some secret to reveal to him. An explanation was desired and granted; and it was agreed between the son of Prusias and his ambassador, that their king's execrable plot should be made to recoil on his own head. They admitted into their conspiracy Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to oppose any reduction in the sum due to him, on the ground that it was a very scanty compensation for the damage which his territories had sustained. According to the plan concerted, these three persons left Rome separately, and sailed to Berenicè, a well known harbour of Epirus,

¹⁰⁷ Appian. Mithridat. c. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 44.

¹⁰⁹ Appian. ibid. c. 4.

which

which they had chosen as the fittest rendezvous. In this sea port, Andronicus had five hundred soldiers, and Menas four times that number, for Prusias, aware of the commotions that might arise on the murder of Nicomedes, had furnished his ambassador with an extraordinary escort. On the morning after his arrival at Berenicè, Nicomedes disembarked from his vessel, cloathed in purple, his head encircled with a diadem. He was met, according to concert, by Andronicus, who paid him the homage due to a king, and placed his soldiers as guards around him. Menas was then at hand to play his part in a drama, essential, as it seems, to the gaining over the two thousand Bithynians entrusted to him by Prusias. He pointed out to them Nicomedes invested with the robe of royalty. "We have now," he said, "two kings, and it behoves us well to consider to which of them it will be most prudent for us to adhere. This question, so important to our interest, will be best determined by examining which of them is most likely in the end to prevail, Nicomedes, the friend of the Romans, is now abetted, as you see, by the troops of Attalus; a prince of the greater weight in this contest, because of his neighbourhood to Bithynia. In that country itself, young Nicomedes is esteemed and beloved, whereas the worthlessness of old Prusias is despised and detested; let us therefore espouse what is in every view the better party." At this proposal joy gleamed in the eyes of the Bithynians. Menas immediately conducted them to profess their allegiance to the new king, and to enroll themselves in the number of his guards. With followers thus hearty in his cause, Nicomedes again embarked, sailed to the coast of Pergamus, was cordially received by Attalus, and, being powerfully reinforced by that prince, entered Bithynia and made himself master of the kingdom¹⁰⁹. He reigned thirty-seven years, the second Bithynian king of the name of Nicomedes; and was succeeded by his son¹¹⁰ Nico-

¹⁰⁹ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat c. 4—6.

grandson, viz. of Prusias, whose name has

¹¹⁰ Appian calls Nicomedes III. *ἡνῆρος*, dropped from the manuscript.

medes III.

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XXIII.

The follies
of Alexander
Balas excite
a rebellion
in Syria.
Olymp.
clviii. 1.
B. C. 148.

Apollonius
the principal
agent in it—
his motives.

medes III. who died seventy-five years before the christian æra, bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans.

In the same year that king Prusias was deposed and murdered¹¹¹, the throne of Alexander Balas began to totter. His total neglect of government, the uncontrouled cruelty of his ministers, and his open ostentatious profligacy, rendered him the object not only of hatred but contempt; a passion still more dangerous to kings. Several of his governors and generals began therefore to turn their eyes towards the son of Demetrius Soter, who, in the late revolution, had escaped, as we have seen, to Cnidus, and in the first stage of manhood gave indications of an active and energetic character. Being provided with a large treasure, which had been sent with him to the place of his retreat, the young prince, named Demetrius from his father, and soon distinguished by the title of "Nicator" conqueror, hired a considerable body of troops, particularly in Crete, and passing from thence to Cilicia, raised a rebellion in that province.

At the same time Apollonius, commanding in Cœlesyria, openly revolted from Alexander Balas, to whose government he had never been well affected. This general was the son of that Apollonius who had been principal minister to Seleucus Philopator, and who in the following usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes, being driven in disgrace from Syria, had died in obscurity at Miletus. But the younger Apollonius followed the fortunes of Demetrius Soter, the son of his father's protector, remained with him during his residence at Rome, and was one of the eight Syrians of distinction who accompanied him from that capital, when he returned to take possession of his kingdom¹¹². Upon the restoration of his fellow emi-

¹¹¹ His forfeit life, loudly demanded by the Bithynian nation, was not to be saved by the protection of the most venerated temple in Nicomedia, nor by an embassy from Rome in his favour; an embassy which, Cato said, wanted head, feet, and understanding, be-

cause it consisted of three persons, of whom one had his face hideously deformed by a wound; another walked lame, and the third was almost an idiot. Plutarch in Caton. Major.

¹¹² Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 19. & 21.

grant and patron, Apollonius was constituted governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, and found means of continuing in that office notwithstanding the usurpation of Balas. But he only watched an opportunity for serving the house of his ancient master, and probably had a principal share in planning the enterprize which young Demetrius was now carrying into execution. That prince at least had no sooner appeared in Cilicia, than Apollonius declared himself of his party, and was successful in strengthening it by the concurrence of all the inferior commanders in those parts. Jonathan alone, who had been invested by Balas with the priesthood of Jerusalem, maintained his fidelity unshaken, manfully opposing Apollonius and the rebellion which he fomented¹³. In a battle which ensued between them in the land of the Philistines, the Jews prevailed; gained possession of Azotus, and burned to the ground that idolatrous city, with the temple of Dagon and his worshippers. Notwithstanding this success of Jonathan, rather honourable to himself than useful to his liege lord, the affairs of Balas continued rapidly to decline. At the first breaking out of the rebellion, he had shut himself up in Antioch, committing the government of that city, and the imperial district around it, into the hands of two generals, Diodatus and Hierax, subject however, to the controul of Ammonius, his prime favourite and minister¹⁴.

At the same time messages had been sent to his father-in-law Ptolemy Philometor, requesting the timely assistance of that prince in support of a throne, which by his aid chiefly had been established. Ptolemy, with a degree of zeal worthy of a better cause, upon hearing how widely the flames of insurrection extended in Syria, entered that country with a powerful army, accompanied by a fleet not less formidable. The whole coast lay at his mercy, and he was ready to penetrate from Ptolemais into the inland country, when he discovered at that place a plot laid by Ammonius to take away his life.

C H A P.
XXIII.

Jonathan
captain of
the Jews—
his gratitude
and fidelity.
Olymp.
clviii. 1.
B. C. 148.

Ptolemy
Philometor
prepares to
defend Balas.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

¹³ 1 Maccab. c. x.

¹⁴ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. l. & Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

C H A P.
XXIII.

Deserts him
on discover-
ing the vil-
lainy of his
minister
Ammonius.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

Refuses the
crown of
Syria, and
determines
to reinstate
the rightful
heir.

This execrable villain, judging of Ptolemy's character by his own, believed that the Egyptian king would not have entered Syria with such mighty preparations unless he had purposed to make conquests for himself. He therefore determined, by an act of real treachery, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude, to anticipate in another an imaginary breach of faith, which his own guilty suspicions had created. Ptolemy apprised his son-in-law of the crime that was about to have been committed, and denounced Ammonius as its author, not doubting but condign punishment would be inflicted on him. But Alexander, with an infatuation altogether unaccountable, determined to protect, at every hazard, this guilty favourite, and thereby afforded just reason for concluding that he himself participated in the guilt. Provoked at this conduct, Philometor advanced towards Antioch, and having drawn to him from that place his daughter Cleopatra, sent messengers to Demetrius, offering to conclude with him a treaty not only of peace but of marriage. Demetrius thus finding an ally in the powerful invader who had come as an enemy, hastened to meet Ptolemy, and to make his acknowledgments for the high favours intended him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Antioch, the Greek citizens of that place, who were most of them also soldiers, mutinied against the tyranny of Ammonius; and that minister, no less cowardly than cruel, was slain in women's apparel, under which shameful disguise he had purposed to effect his escape. His master Alexander only avoided a similar fate by hastening into Cilicia, to put himself at the head of the troops who still made a stand for him in that part of the peninsula. Upon the flight of the usurper, the inhabitants of Antioch invited Ptolemy to mount the vacant throne; he was even compelled by their importunity to wear for a moment the double diadem of Egypt and Syria. But his strong sense of justice, the perfect disinterestedness of his nature, and his long habit of calmly looking into futurity, which taught him that the Romans would not view with complacency

cency this union of kingdoms, made him spare no pains to divest himself of too dangerous an accumulation of unjust and uncoveted honours. He assured the army and the people, that Demetrius, to whom he had married his daughter Cleopatra, was their legitimate sovereign. The injuries committed by them against the father of that prince, had been provoked by his own misconduct; but the son would forgive and forget them. Ptolemy also gave the strongest assurances that he would never cease his endeavours to render his son-in-law truly worthy of a crown; to guide, direct, and retain him in the path of his royal duties. He therefore conjured them to accept Demetrius for their sovereign, the kingdom of Egypt being quite sufficient for himself¹¹⁵. This generous proposal, urged with so much earnestness, was at length approved by the Antiochians, and the submission of the capital to Demetrius prepared the way for his acknowledgment in every part of the empire.

Alexander Balas, having joined his Cilician army, returned towards Antioch, to make one desperate effort for regaining the kingdom. Ptolemy and Demetrius hastened to encounter him; a sharp but unequal conflict ensued, in which Alexander, being put to the rout, escaped from the field with five hundred horsemen. Upon this victory Demetrius was saluted Nicator, the epithet which thenceforth distinguished him: and to complete his success, the head of Balas, who had fled to Zabdiel, an ally among the petty princes of Arabia, was brought to him five days after the battle¹¹⁶.

In this manner the crown of Syria passed from an usurper unworthy to live, to a prince, as we shall soon see, undeserving to reign. The only important event in the revolution, was the death of Ptolemy Philometor, who, by the falling of his horse in the time of action, was exposed to the darts of the enemy, and received a dangerous wound¹¹⁷, which in eight days terminated fatally, in the

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Battle of
Antioch —
confirms De-
metrius II.
Nicator in
Syria.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 46.

Death of
Ptolemy
Philometor —
his character.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

¹¹⁵ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12. Joseph. Antiq. l. xxxii. p. 519.
l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xi.

¹¹⁷ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 751. Tit. Liv. Epi-

¹¹⁶ 1 Maccab. c. xi. & Diodorus Eclog. ex tom. l. li.

CHAP. forty-second year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. While
 XXIII. influenced by the eunuch Eulæus, the first stages of his administration
 betrayed irresolution and weakness; but his character improved in
 vigour without losing its native mildness; and, considering the times
 in which he lived, and the scenes that necessarily engaged him, he
 exhibited a singular pattern of moderation and justice, of winning
 condescension and indulgent benignity. Amidst governments pro-
 digal of blood on the slightest ground of state policy, Philometor
 freely pardoned his worst enemies¹¹⁸; so that historians, too ready to
 estimate by political considerations only, the actions of kings, could
 ascribe to him no other fault but an excess of humanity.

The Jewish
 temple in
 Heliopolis.
 Olymp.
 clviii. 4.
 B. C. 149—
 to A. D. 75.

In the nineteenth year of Philometor's reign, a colony of Jews were
 established by him in the Egyptian nome Heliopolis, a district formerly
 possessed by their ancestors¹¹⁹. These Jews had accompanied Onias,
 son to the last high priest of that name, who, indignant at the pro-
 motion of the unworthy Alcimus, to the highest dignity of his
 country, sought that justice from Philometor which had been denied
 him by Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, or rather by the corrupt mi-
 nisters of that young prince. Philometor listened indulgently to the
 expatriated Jews, acknowledged Onias for their high priest, and al-
 lowed them to build a temple in Egypt, somewhat smaller indeed,
 but agreeing in other respects with the temple in Jerusalem¹²⁰. The
 industry and adroitness of many belonging to the Jewish colony,
 were employed by him in offices of trust and honour¹²¹; and the
 Jews approved their gratitude by asserting against his unworthy
 brother Physcon, the right of inheritance in his infant son. But
 Physcon, as will be shewn, prevailed in the civil war; and his re-
 sumption of power was marked by signal vengeance on the Jews, in
 the district Heliopolis¹²². Notwithstanding this and subsequent per-

¹¹⁸ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

¹¹⁹ See above, vol. i. p. 96.

¹²⁰ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6.

¹²¹ Id. Cont. Apion. l. ii. p. 1365. & seq.

¹²² Id. ibid. Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 593.

secutions,

secutions, these Jews continued to subsist with their national worship 220 years longer, until the emperor Vespasian commanded the demolition of their derivative or colonial temple: a mandate naturally connected with the destruction, only five years before, of the parent temple of Jerusalem; of the capital and government, and almost the nation of the Jews¹²³.

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¹²³ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 30.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Athenians renew their high Pretensions. — Delos declared a free Port. — Complaints of the Rhodians on that Subject. — War of Oropus. — Return of Greek Hostages from Rome. — Intrigues of Menalcidas, Callicrates, and Diæus. — War between the Achæans and Spartans. — Rebellion in Macedon. — Pretenders to that Kingdom. — Roman Commissioners outraged in Corinth. — Mummius Consul with Achaia for his Province. — Battle of Scarpheæ. — Diæus' Skill in Faction and Ignorance in War. — Battle of Corinth. — The routed Achæans throw themselves into that City. — Its Condition at that Time. Sack of Corinth. — Achaia reduced into a Province. — Public Services of Polybius.

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Transition to
the affairs of
the West.

THE accession of new kings in Syria and Egypt had been immediately preceded by the demolition of Carthage and Corinth, and the reduction of Africa and Achaia into the form of provinces. The operations terminating in these results, a rebellion in Macedon, and perpetual warfare in Spain and Liguria, had given for the space of twenty years sufficient occupation to Rome, and confined to negotiations and embassies her interference in the affairs of the great eastern continent. For the sake of perspicuity I have therefore examined apart the transactions in that quarter of the world: it is now necessary to resume the affairs of Greece and Macedon, intermediate countries, which experienced an important change of fortune, before the Romans again passed with armies into Asia.

The Atheni-
ans renew
their high
pretensions.
Olymp.
cliii. 3.
B. C. 166.

Amidst the ruin of the Etolians and Epirots, and the humiliation of the Achæans and Rhodians, states that for nearly two centuries had acted very different indeed, but all of them most conspicuous parts, the Athenians began once more to appear in the front of the picture.

Their

Their city, ennobled by unwithering renown in arms and liberty, still enjoyed the advantages that best console and compensate for the loss of the sterner virtues by which this renown was acquired. By the whole civilized world the Athenians were acknowledged to be pre-eminent in arts and letters, of which the Romans well discerned the value, and especially in philosophy, not as now, a barren speculation, but of which one system or another, even at Rome itself, began to be adopted as a rule of life by all who coveted distinction or aspired to elegance. In addition to the high consideration derived from their literary merit, the people of Athens had uniformly co-operated with consuls and pretors from the moment that they carried their legions beyond the Hadriatic; feeble auxiliaries, indeed, in the field, but useful abettors in negociation and intrigue, and heightening every other claim to favour by insinuating manners and skilful flattery. Accordingly, the year following the conquest of Macedon, and in the same year that a thousand principal Achæans were carried as hostages to Rome, the Athenians, presuming on the good will of their victorious allies, sent to request the senate that they might reinstate themselves in their antient dominion over the isles of Imbros and Delos. The senate readily acceded to their wishes, only desiring that Delos, situate so conveniently in the midst of the Ægean, might be declared a free port, open to the traffic of all countries, and exempt from the imposition of port duties¹.

In this proposition, the Romans, who were never greatly distinguished by their encouragement of commerce, seem to have principally had in view the infliction of a new wound on the Rhodians. That this, at least, was its effect, appears from an embassy sent by that unhappy people in the following year, wherein they remonstrated with the Romans on the harshness of their proceedings towards an ally long treated by them with equal respect and affection. They lamented that, by the emancipation of the Carians and Lycians, they

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Delos declared a free port.

Remonstrances of the Rhodians on this subject.
Olymp. cliii. 4.
B. C. 165.

¹ Polybius, l. xxx. c. 5. 7. 18. l. xxxii. c. 17.

were

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were deprived of their possessions on the continent of Lesser Asia, and shut up within their narrow island incapable of maintaining the crowds of merchants and artificers by which it was inhabited. From two cities of Caria alone, Caunus and Stratoniceæa, they had derived an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents. But a far severer blow to their prosperity was the declaration that Delos should be a free port, which had drawn the whole commerce of the neighbourhood to that island, and greatly reduced the customs and port duties of Rhodes, so that imposts formerly exceeding a million of drachmas², would not now let for a sixth part of that sum. The ambassadors, then, in a more elevated tone, and rising above the mean concerns of trade and pecuniary interest, declared that all these were but secondary considerations, since the deepest and most heart-felt grievance was the degradation and degeneracy of Rhodes. "We no longer dare speak freely in our assemblies. Our thoughts must be carefully weighed, and our expressions nicely selected. Not a word must escape us, that, by any latitude of acceptation, can be perversely construed into disrespect for the majesty of Rome. We lament, therefore, O senators! the loss of that happy constitution of government, and that bold independance of mind, from which the arts, the commerce, the navigation, and all the prosperity of Rhodes, originally flowed, and by which they were immemorially upheld." Notwithstanding these animated remonstrances, the ambassadors, mindful of their instructions, desired the name of ally for their country; a point essential to the prevention of greater calamities that perhaps yet awaited them, even the usurpation of their island and the demolition of their capital. For upwards of a century, they had been approved friends to the Romans, but never till now desired to be their allies. They well knew the burthens imposed by that title; but the care of their immediate safety made them regardless of remote and contingent evils. Humble as their request was, the senate

² A drachmas is valued at 7 pence 3 farthings.

did not soon or easily grant it : many friends to their island sued for them in vain : at length a decree establishing amity and alliance with the Rhodians was passed at the pressing instances of Tiberius Grachus³, father to the far-famed tribunes, Tiberius and Caius, and himself of a character that needed not the aid of faction to amplify and emblazon it.

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Shortly after this transaction, the Athenians, still presuming on the same favour with the great western republic, turned their views of aggrandisement towards Bœotia, a country highly obnoxious, since the cruelties⁴ committed on Roman citizens in the neighbourhood of the lake Copais. Not only the dominion, but the property of Haliartus, a city on that lake, had been the object of a petition from Athens ; but the demand, impudent in the extreme, had been denied by the modesty or policy of the senate. Without the formality of new embassies and requests, the Athenians ventured to commit depredations on the Bœotian frontier, particularly in the district Oropus : the Oropians complained to Rome ; and the senate decreed that the antient and venerable community of Sicyon should estimate the damage, and fix the pecuniary compensation. Still confident in their Roman protectors, the Athenians absented themselves on the day of trial : the Sicyonians, however, proceeding to business with impartial firmness, awarded a fine of five hundred talents. Instead of preparing to make payment of this sum, or offering the smallest apology for their delay, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome, composed of three persons, whose credit they thought would have resistless weight. They consisted of Diogenes, Critolaus, and Carneades⁵ ; respectively the heads of the Peripatetic, Stoic, and Academic schools. These philosophers were heard with equal admiration in public assemblies and in private circles. Senators of great eminence read, admired, and translated their discourses ; the young Romans, smitten with an enthusiasm for letters and eloquence, felt a new rival in their

The Athenians seize Oropus — their philosophic embassy to excuse it. Olymp. clv. 2. B. C. 155.

Their success at Rome.

³ Polybius, l. xxx. c. 1. l. xxxi. c. 7.

⁴ See above.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, l. vii. c. 14.

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breasts to the love of military glory : Cato alone opposed the general torrent : as yet, he despised Greek literature, in which he afterwards became a student ; he was unfriendly to innovation in matters of civil polity ; and he feared lest the respect acquired by Greek teachers might interfere with that exclusive veneration due to Roman magistrates⁶. At his earnest intreaty a day was at length fixed for giving an audience of leave to the ambassadors. They returned to Athens, after prevailing in one of the worst of causes : so that the success of his embassy illustrates the high eulogy of Carneades, “ that he never maintained a position which he did not establish, nor assail an argument which he did not overthrow⁷.”

Menalcidas
and Callicrates
bribed by the Oropians
to procure them
assistance.
Olymp. clvi. 4.
B. C. 153.

Encouraged by this decision of Rome, the Athenians, upon an ancient claim of sovereignty, threw a garrison into the city Oropus. Their garrison maltreated the citizens. The Oropians complained to the Achæan league, then comprehending all the states of Peloponnesus, although several of them had associated reluctantly, particularly Sparta. It happened, however, that the Spartan Menalcidas⁸, a profligate and corrupt man, was then pretor of Achaia ; and, as the diet of that country, out of respect for the Athenians, or rather for their Roman protectors, shewed unwillingness to interfere in behalf of the Oropians, that unfortunate people bribed Menalcidas with the promise of ten talents, on condition that he obtained for them the protection of Achaia against the crying injustice of Athens. Menalcidas, to gain the bribe, readily agreed to the condition, but doubted his own ability to fulfil it. He therefore applied to Callicrates, a man corrupt like himself, long the most conspicuous partisan of the Romans, and thereby as powerful with one portion of his fellow citizens, as he was odious to the other. Many years before this intrigue, upon the failure of an application for the release of their hostages in Italy, the patriots of Achaia testified the utmost resentment

⁶ Plutarch in Caton. Major.
⁷ Cicero de Orator. l. ii. c. 38.

⁸ Pausanias Achaic. c. 11.

against

against the traitor Callicrates, and his coadjutor Andronidas. Their names were branded with infamy in the public assembly; even boys, in their way to school, accosted them with reproaches; they were the objects of hisses and execration to the multitude; and during a festival in Sicyon, celebrated in honour of Antigonus Doson, an illustrious protector of the rising fortunes of Achaia, none of the actors or spectators at this national solemnity would use the baths frequented by Callicrates and Andronidas, until they had been carefully purged from the taint of impure contact with such abominable offenders against the sacred liberties of their country⁹. At length, in consequence of repeated embassies from the Achæans, and through the authority of Polybius, with his pupil and friend the younger Scipio, and the influence of Scipio with Cato the censor, the Achæan exiles, reduced from one thousand below the number of three hundred, were allowed to return home, after a captivity of seventeen years¹⁰. This incident had a tendency to dissipate the popular odium against Rome and her partisans; and Callicrates, whose credit was unrivalled with one party, grew an object of less abhorrence to the other. He consented to partake in the Oropian bribe to Menalcidas, and agreed to aid him in procuring a decree of the Achæan diet for assisting Oropus against Athens¹¹.

Return of
the surviving
Greek hos-
tages from
Rome.
Olymp.
clvii. 2.
B. C. 151.

This decree was obtained; but, before any measures had been taken for rendering it effectual, the Athenians, apprised of the intrigue, marched against Oropus, and joined, to their former depredations on the territory, the sack of the city itself. Menalcidas and Callicrates, in order to revenge this injury, recommended an immediate invasion of Attica. But they could not prevail with the diet,

Discord be-
tween Me-
nalcidas and
Callicrates—
The former
saved by
Diæus a third
traitor.

⁹ Polybius, l. xxx c. 20.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Caton. Major. & Polybius, l. xxxv. c. 6. The selfish policy of Rome began about this time to be the object of satire with the honest part of her own citizens. When the Greeks, after obtaining leave to quit Italy, requested Cato's intercession

for other favours, he said to Polybius, the bearer of this request "you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. Why would you go back to the den of the Cyclops in quest of your belt and helmet?"

¹¹ Pausanias, *ibid.*

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the deputies from many states, and especially the Spartans, fellow citizens of Menalcidas, strongly opposing men, who, they knew, were bent on pursuing their own vile interests through the dangers and blood of their country. Menalcidas meanwhile having obtained his ten talents from the Oropians, refused to share these wages of iniquity with his coadjutor Callicrates. The latter, provoked at having thus incurred, without pecuniary benefit, the resentment of the Athenians, and thereby risked his interest with Rome, watched an opportunity for revenge; and at the expiration of Menalcidas' pretorship, accused him capitally before the diet; the main article against him being his secret mission to Rome, with a view to procure the separation of Sparta from the Achæan league. On this emergency, Menalcidas applied to Diæus, his successor in office, and with the money which he should have paid to Callicrates, bribed this new traitor to save him from the hands of justice. Diæus, by availing himself of the intricacy of forms, the ambiguity of some legal terms, and the undue ascendancy which presiding magistrates too frequently exercised in Grecian tribunals, snatched Menalcidas from the condemnation which he justly merited: but his artifices for this unfair purpose were detected, exposed, and reprobated; and in order to divert the storm ready to burst on him, the pretor saw the necessity of finding for the multitude, some new employment at once important to their interests and gratifying to their passions¹².

Diæus selfishly involves the Achæans in a municipal dispute with Sparta. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

Sparta, notwithstanding the bloody seditions which had crowded it with slaves instead of citizens, still contained some portion of its ancient materials, the ferment of which agitated and gradually assimilated the mass. It had entered by compulsion into the Achæan league; its pride was much hurt at being levelled with the inferior cities of Peloponnesus; and, by an application to Rome, it had obtained an exemption in criminal matters from those popular tribunals to which other states in the confederacy were amenable. Diæus

¹² Pausanias Achaic. c. 12.

contended

contended that this exemption, unreasonable in itself, had never been confirmed by the senate; and encouraged his countrymen to exercise the jurisdiction which of right belonged to them, over the persons as well as property of treacherous friends, now more formidable than when they were open enemies. The multitude, ever greedy of power, began their impeachments of such Lacedæmonians as were obnoxious to them: on which infraction of the terms of the confederacy, the Spartans prepared to send an embassy to Rome; but the Achæans opposed to this design a law, forbidding any Achæan state to employ foreign agents or ambassadors without the general consent of the league¹³.

In this state of affairs, both parties foresaw the necessity of having recourse to arms; but the Spartans, as weaker in power, solicited privately several Achæan cities, reluctant confederates like themselves, and even Diæus, the actual general of the league, to interpose their good offices to prevent an immediate rupture. The states to which they applied, answered that they could not refuse sending their troops into the field, whenever the pretor of Achaia displayed his standard; and Diæus declared, on his part, that though he wished not to make war on Sparta, he had determined to punish some offenders belonging to that city, notorious disturbers of the public peace. The Lacedæmonian magistrates demanded that these offenders should be named to them. Diæus named twenty-four persons, men of principal note in the commonwealth. On this occasion, Agasithenes increased his reputation, already great at Sparta, by prevailing on the persons denounced to go into voluntary banishment to Rome, rather than furnish a pretext for an hostile invasion of their country. They had no sooner taken their departure than the Achæans condemned them to death; and sent Diæus, whose pretorship had just expired, together with Callicrates, to demand them as criminals from the senate. In that assembly Diæus, his colleague

Violent proceedings
against
Sparta.

¹³ Pausanias, *ibid*,

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Shameful
altercation
of Menal-
cidas and
Diæus in the
Roman
senate.

Callicrates dying on the passage, was confronted with Menalcidas, his former accomplice in villainy, but now commissioned by the Spartans to expose his machinations. In full senate, these unworthy ambassadors insulted each other with the utmost indecency of language. Their statements of facts were altogether contradictory, and the asseverations of the one were opposed by contrary oaths of the other. The senate imposed silence on both, and intimated its design of sending commissioners into Greece, who, having obtained due information on the spot, might make a fair adjustment of the difference. Before the appointment, however, of these commissioners, Diæus and Menalcidas hastily departed, and each with equal audacity assured his fellow citizens that he had fully succeeded in his business at Rome; Diæus affirming that the Lacedæmonians were in all cases alike, to be amenable to Achæan tribunals, and Menalcidas asserting that in no case whatever were the Achæans to exercise any jurisdiction over Sparta, which was in future to be totally separated from their league¹⁴.

Fruitless
campaign of
Damocritus
against Spar-
ta.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

In consequence of the falsehood maintained by Diæus, his countrymen prepared to take the field under Damocritus, their new pretor. In their march towards the frontier of Laconia, they were overtaken by some Romans then going into Asia, on a business which will be explained presently, who desired them to suspend their hostilities, and to wait the arrival of commissioners, already on their way from the senate. Neither the Achæans, nor their general, regarded this admonition; they advanced towards Laconia, while the Romans pursued their journey to the East. By this time the Spartans had taken the best measures in their power for repelling the invaders. But a battle ensued on their frontiers, in which, after the loss of a thousand brave youths, still animated by the example of better times, they were driven from the field, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of their capital. Damocritus, the Achæan

¹⁴ Id. *ibid.*

pretor,

pretor, had he acted with proper spirit, might have intercepted their retreat, or entered the place with the fugitives. The suspicion of treachery incurred by his remissness, seemed to be confirmed by his subsequent proceedings. No vigorous measures were adopted against the city itself; fruitless depredations on the territory occupied Damocritus during the remaining month of his pretorship. At the expiration, therefore, of his office, he was accused, found guilty, and amerced of sixty talents; and being unable to pay this fine, avoided personal punishment by banishing himself from Peloponnesus".

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Diæus, the head of the popular party, was chosen to succeed Damocritus. This was the second time he had been elected pretor, and as such intrusted with the command of the Achæan army. He would have prosecuted the war with eagerness, but his hands were for six months tied up in consequence of the following emergency. The Romans who, on their mission into Asia, recently interposed their endeavours to make peace, had been sent by the senate to tranquillise the confederates on that continent, and to keep them steady in their affections, amidst great disturbances that had arisen on the neighbouring shores of Macedon. The harsh conditions imposed on that country by Rome, and the severity encreasing from year to year with which these conditions were exacted, revived in the Macedonians the sentiments of their ancient loyalty. They sighed for their fair form of hereditary monarchy, where kings, limited by law, might assert national independence, and protect the different orders of the state against mutual injuries or insults. In this state of the public mind, a certain Andriscus, of Adramyttium in Troas, probably instigated by a party in Macedon itself, appeared in the courts of Asia, giving himself out for the still surviving son of the late Macedonian king Perseus. In Syria, however, the impostor was seized by order of Demetrius Soter, who, to gain favour with the

Rebellion in
Macedon—
Pseudophil-
ippus.
Olymp.
clviii. i.
B. C. 148.

" Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.

senate

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senate, sent him well guarded to Rome. But amidst the preparations for the third Punic war, Andrisus found means to escape from Italy, landed safely in Macedon, was welcomed by numerous partisans; the cities opened their gates; and the fortunate adventurer, under the name of Philip IV. usurped a crown which, he pretended, of right belonged to him. The Romans, intent on combating, not the power, but the despair of Carthage¹⁶, were satisfied to oppose this insurrection, by dispatching across the Hadriatic Scipio Nasica, who having summoned to his standard the allies in Greece, with difficulty restrained Philip from making incursions into Thessaly. In consequence of the report made by Scipio, the senate committed a small army to Juventius Thalna, who having landed on the Macedonian frontier, hastened to enter that country, and to pull Pseudophilippus, that king of the stage, as he called him, from the upstart throne which he had so insolently erected. But Thalna's own insolence exposed him to such fatal disgrace as generally results from contempt of an enemy. As he advanced into Macedon without due precaution, he was encountered and cut off with almost the whole of the troops which he commanded¹⁷.

He defeats
the Romans
under Juven-
tius Thalna.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

Is defeated
by Metellus,
and delivered
to him.
Olymp.
clviii. 2.
B. C. 147.

To repair this misfortune, the Romans expeditiously levied a consular army, for their citizens at this time amounted to 322,000 men liable to military service¹⁸. The two legions, with their auxiliaries, were commanded by the pretor Cæcilius Metellus, and in consequence of the mission into Asia above mentioned, Attalus II. of Pergamus equipped a considerable fleet to co-operate with his Roman allies. Upon arriving in his province, Metellus acted with that mixture of activity and caution which becomes a great general. While he adopted proper measures for quelling the rebellion in Macedon, he found time for attending to the latent disaffection in Greece, and by his order the Roman ambassadors destined for Asia had endeavoured,

¹⁶ Polybius, l. xxxix. Tit Liv. Epitom. l. ii. Florus, ii. 14. Orof. iv. 22.

l. xlix. & seq. Plutarch in Caton. Major.

¹⁸ Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xvii. c. 25. & Tab.

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. l. Zonaras. Vel- Capitolin.

in their way thither, to stop the progress of Damocritus in an expedition, which, as we have seen, proved highly disgraceful to himself. In the interval of time between this fruitless application to Damocritus and the second pretorship of Diæus, Metellus, in two bloody engagements, totally defeated the unworthy usurper in Macedon; for Andriscus, elated by the first success of his arms against Juventius Thalna, began, as if his power had thereby become impregnable, to indulge his odious propensities to rapacity and cruelty¹⁹. His instruments were fierce Thracians, who flocked to him for booty; but when he was worsted by Metellus, first in the neighbourhood of Pydna, and afterwards on the frontiers of Thrace, the fickle barbarians of that country shewed that they were allies only to his good fortune; and Byras, one of their chieftains with whom he sought refuge, made his own peace by surrendering his supplicant to the Roman general²⁰. In this posture of affairs, Metellus sent a message to Diæus, commanding him to suspend hostilities with Sparta. Diæus obeyed, and a truce was concluded between the Achæans and Spartans, until commissioners should arrive from Rome to adjust their differences.

A truce between the Achæans and Spartans.

But in agreeing to this arrangement, neither party was sincere. As Metellus prolonged his stay in Macedon, in consequence of events which will presently be related, Diæus applied to several subordinate allies in Laconia: exasperated their natural hatred against a proud, imperious capital; and prevailed on them to admit secretly, considerable bodies of Achæan troops, by means of which, when a fit opportunity offered, he might renew hostilities suddenly, and with decisive effect. But his rival Menalcidas, being raised to the generalship of Sparta, anticipated his perfidious designs, and persuaded the Spartans to commit the first infraction of the treaty. At his instigation they surprised and plundered Iafus, a Lacedæmonian

Infringed at the persuasion of Menalcidas. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

¹⁹ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 590.

pius et Valer. Maxim. vii. 5.

²⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. li. Zonaras. Eutro-

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He drinks
poison.Proceedings
of the Ro-
man com-
missioners at
Corinth—
outrages
committed
there.
Olymp.
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city, zealous for the Achæan league; but had no sooner perpetrated this crime, than they began to view with terror the punishment to which it exposed them. With regard both to men and money, they were far inferior to the enemy: the outrage of which they had been guilty must alienate their Roman protectors; they were ashamed at yielding rashly to the mad councils of Menalcidas, who, finding himself the object of general execration, had recourse to a dose of poison to elude public vengeance²¹. This wretched man who came to so wretched an end, had held the first rank in two, once illustrious, states; he thus had full scope for exhibiting his worthlessness; a contemptible general of Sparta, a profligate pretor of Achaia.

Meanwhile, the commissioners expected from Rome, arrived in Peloponnesus, headed by Aurelius Orestes. The magistrates of the Achæan states gave them a meeting at Corinth, to which place many deputies and many private persons proceeded, anxious to hear the decision of the great political cause by which Greece had been so long agitated. The persons bearing office in the different cities of Achaia assembled in the house that had been assigned, by public authority, for the reception of the Roman commissioners. There, Aurelius addressed them in a studied oration, expatiating on the good offices of Rome towards Achaia, and the sincere desire of his country to maintain its amicable relations with that confederacy. But, from the perpetual dissensions that arose among ill-assorted members of the league, there was a clear proof that it had been too widely extended, and that communities had been reduced under one government, whose tempers, manners, and municipal laws, rendered them unfit for any such intimate union. On this account, the happiness of Greece required that not only Lacedæmon, but Heraclæa, a colony of that city at the foot of mount Cæta, that Argos, Orchomenos, recently joined to Achaia, and even Corinth itself, should thenceforth form republics apart. Without waiting for the con-

²¹ Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.

clusion of his discourse, Diæus and the other Achæan magistrates abruptly took their departure, and rushing into the streets, summoned to an assembly all their fellow citizens of every description in Corinth. The purport of Aurelius' speech, when communicated to the multitude, provoked it to the utmost fury. The Lacedæmonians, as original authors of animosities likely to prove so fatal, were seized, buffeted, and subjected to every insult: all suspected to belong to that nation, by their long hair, the peculiar form of their garments, or even by their bare names, suffered the same outrages. The residence of the Roman commissioners, to which many fled for refuge, afforded not protection. The Romans themselves thought fit to consult their safety by flight; and such was the blindness of popular rage, that, when the tumult ceased, it was discovered that many persons belonging to other communities had been, through mistake, seized and maltreated as Lacedæmonians. These were set at liberty: the Lacedæmonians were detained in prison²².

Soon after this transaction the pretorship of Diæus expired, and he was succeeded by Critolaus, a man equally turbulent and equally profligate, and still more execrably ambitious, since he burned with desire to grasp into his own hands the whole power and patronage of his country, by involving her in a war to which neither experience nor reason promised a favourable issue. For this purpose, when new commissioners arrived from Rome, Critolaus indeed met them at Ægium, and agreed to summon a diet of the Achæans at Tegea. He even sent public orders to the several states for this purpose, but privately intimated to them his wish that those orders should not be obeyed. Accordingly, Sextus Julius and the other Romans, after long waiting at Tegea, were joined by Critolaus alone: he expressed his regret to them, that the deputies of the states, without whose presence no business could be done, had declined giving their attendance; but the regular meeting of the diet, he said, would happen in

New commissioners
from Rome.

Trifled with
and provoked by the
Achæan pretor.

²² Pausanias Achaic. c. 14. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

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Mummius
consul with
Achaia for
his province.
Olymp.
clyiii. 3.
B. C. 146.

The Pseudo
-Alexander
in Macedon,
defeated by
Metellus.

the course of six months, at which time all differences might be adjusted. Thus treated with derision, the Romans hastened homeward; they had come to Peloponnesus with pacific intentions, and having met on their way Theridas, commissioned by Achaia to the senate, with a view to extenuate the outrage recently committed at Corinth, they had brought him back with them to Ægium; and had there declared to this ambassador, to Critolaus, and the other principal magistrates of Achaia, that the senate had an earnest desire of keeping on good terms with their league, and would, on security being given for better behaviour in future, forget and forgive past injuries: but they returned to Rome, breathing very different sentiments²³. The Romans accordingly elected consul, with Achaia for his province, Lucius Mummius, an experienced but rough soldier, careless of the arts and literature of the Greeks, of which he was grossly ignorant, and who seemed on this account the better calculated to be the executioner of vengeance on that people²⁴.

But before Mummius transported his legions across the Hadriatic, the war began from another quarter. Metellus had hitherto been prevented from seconding his embassies by arms, in consequence of a second insurrection in Macedon, raised by a new impostor who succeeded to the pretensions of Andrisus. He made his stand on the eastern frontier of the kingdom, near the river Nessus, assuming the name of Alexander, as his precursor had usurped that of Philip; names which revived in the loyal Macedonians the remembrance of their ancient glory. Metellus followed him thither, defeated him in battle, dispersed his unhappy followers, but failed in his attempt to seize the person of the pretender, who escaped through the swiftness of his flight across the intricacies of mount Rhodopè, to the barbarous district of Dardania. After thus removing every obstacle to the re-

²³ Polybius, l. xxxviii. Pausanias Achaic. l. xxxv. c. 4. Florus, l. ii. c. 16. Vel-
leius, l. i. c. 13.

²⁴ Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 381. Plin.

duction

duction of Macedon into the form of a province, Metellus renewed his attention to the affairs of Achaia²⁵.

Critolaus, he found, had succeeded in rousing his countrymen to arms against Sparta, and against Rome itself, if she thought fit to espouse the Spartan cause. By procuring a law, that no debts should be recoverable until the end of the year, that demagogue had gained all the needy and profligate to his party. With an address still more refined, he had confounded in one class all those who deprecated a war, which their country was totally unable to support, with Callicrates, Andronidas, and other vile flatterers of the Roman power: men contemptible in life, and whose memories were still the objects of public execration. Through such base but too ordinary artifices, he had obtained a complete ascendancy in the Achæan councils, when Metellus, who was in a situation to march with a powerful detachment from Macedon, sent a new embassy to Corinth, hoping to terminate the dissensions in Greece by the mere terror of his arms. Cneius Papirius, with three other illustrious Romans, explained the object of their commission to the Achæan deputies assembled in that city. They spoke in the same moderate language that had been recently held by Sextus Julius at Ægium, and conjured the Achæans not to persist in measures which must forfeit the friendship of Rome, essentially useful to their country. By the deputies and still more by the surrounding crowd of mechanics and manufacturers, in which Corinth then abounded above all other cities, the modest expressions of the ambassadors were construed into symptoms of weakness or fear. Their own courage took fire, and vented itself in noisy clamour and petulant scurrility. The Romans, after suffering viler insults than those lately heaped on Aurelius Orestes in the same city, escaped in different directions to Lacedæmon, Naupactus, and Athens²⁶.

²⁵ Eutrop. cum Græc. Pæan. Metaph. p. 89. Zonaras, Velleius, Florus.

²⁶ Pausanias, *ibid*.

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His over-
tures reject-
ed by the
Achæans.
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clviii. 3.
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Having

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Their cause
abetted only
by the Bœo-
tians and
Chalcians.

Battle of
Scarphæa.
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Having thus obstructed every avenue to reconciliation, Critolaus summoned the Achæans to arms. He flattered them with the assistance of many republicks beyond Peloponnesus, and even of many kings. But the Bœotians and Chalcians alone appeared zealous in his cause. The former, as we have seen, had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to Rome, and their principal magistrate at this time was one Pythias, whose youth, spent in abominable profligacy, had prepared his old age for relishing the bloody amusements of sedition²⁷. Chalcis in Eubœa, again, continued still to retain the leaven of ancient hatred. It had served as the main arsenal of Philip in all his wars with the Romans.

Critolaus, with a numerous army from various cities of Peloponnesus, issued from the isthmus of Corinth, passed through Bœotia, and attacked Heraclæa at the foot of mount Cæta, a colony, as above observed, of Lacedæmon, and which, in imitation of its metropolis, had separated from the Achæan league. The siege of Heraclæa was commenced with vigour, but had not been long carried on, when news arrived that Metellus was marching through Thessaly. It was soon after known, that he had passed the Sperchius, which flows into the Malian gulph, about twelve miles from the straits of Thermopylæ. This was sacred ground, on which the Spartans had resisted the Persians, and on which, even in the declining age of Greece, the Athenians had repelled the Gauls. But Critolaus, instead of being encouraged by the inspiring scenery around him, hastily raised the siege of Heraclæa, and leaving the straits of Thermopylæ open, retreated southward through Locris. In that district, he was overtaken near Scarphæa by the Romans, and defeated with great slaughter. Above a thousand of his unhappy followers were made prisoners; nearly an equal number of Arcadians fled towards Bœotia, hotly pursued by the victors. Two reports prevailed concerning the death of Critolaus. It was said, that driven to despair by seeing the effects of his

²⁷ Polybius, l. xl. c. 1.

rash counsels, he had destroyed himself by poison. But, as his body was no where to be discovered, it is more probable that in attempting his escape, he sunk in the marine marsh between the Malian gulph and the roots of mount Cæta. The flying Arcadians were intercepted by Metellus in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa, and entirely cut to pieces²⁸.

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These repeated disasters did not terminate the war. Upon the death of a pretor in office, his place was, according to the Achæan laws, to be supplied by his immediate predecessor. Diæus thus obtained, for the third time, the command of his countrymen, and kept alive in them the frantic passions which he had originally helped to inspire. Many, who well foresaw the sad catastrophe at hand, were yet carried along by the torrent, and augmented its force. The whole of the men and money in Peloponnesus was put at the disposal of the Achæan pretor; the slaves, fit for war, were emancipated and armed; the women divested themselves, and even their young children, of their ornaments, to supply the exigencies of the public service; and, under the pressure of immediate hardships, unexampled privations, and intolerable exertions, the greater part lost sight of the fatal end in which all these voluntary sufferings were likely to terminate. The unskilfulness of Diæus, as a general, gave the finishing to his pernicious character. Although his army assembled at the isthmus of Corinth, fell short, even in point of number, of thirty thousand Romans, with whom he would have to contend, he absurdly weakened it by sending a detachment to defend the intermediate city Megara. Meanwhile, the enemy advanced from Cheronæa towards Thebes, and found the latter place reduced to a desert. Its citizens, fit to bear arms, had perished in the battle of Scarphæa; and their kinsmen, dreading the approach of the Romans, had fled in trepidation with their families and most precious effects. Metellus disdained to wreak vengeance on the aged and infirm, or the wretched

Diæus a third time pretor—his address in faction and inability in war.

²⁸ Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Pausanias, Achaic. c. 15.

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children abandoned to their feeble care. He desired even to spare the fugitives, and ordered his pursuers to make diligent search only for the seditious Pytheas, the main author of the calamities of Thebes. This wretch, the fit coadjutor of Diæus, escaped into Peloponnesus, but, being finally taken, suffered the punishment due to his crimes both as a magistrate and as a man. From Thebes, where the Roman soldiers were restrained from violence or plunder, Metellus proceeded towards Megara, the Achæans who guarded that city flying before him to the isthmus. But the terror which they carried with them there, did not alter the mind of Diæus and his adherents; who treated with scorn new messengers of peace whom Metellus, eager to finish the war, yet thought proper to send to them. On this occasion those unhappy Achæans, who had been compelled to bear arms in a cause which they deemed desperate, had the courage to make one last effort for changing the mad purposes of their countrymen. For this presumption they were arraigned as traitors; and as such, many of them suffered the cruellest and most disgraceful punishments. Those only escaped death, who had money enough to bribe Diæus; for such is the force of habit, that even on the edge of the precipice to which he had brought himself and his country, this wretched man continued as greedy as ever after the wages of iniquity²⁹.

Strange enthusiasm and unhappy delusions of the Achæans.

After suppressing this feeble opposition, the artifices of the Achæan chiefs operating on the enthusiasm of the assembled multitude, kept the passions of both soldiers and citizens, and all descriptions of persons in Corinth, in one and the same fatal direction; all disdained the equitable accommodation offered to them, and all panted with joy at the thoughts of encountering and vanquishing the enemy. But at a distance from this center of rebellion, there prevailed great differences in opinion. The Elians and Messenians, living along the sea coast of Peloponnesus, fancied every moment that they perceived the combined fleets of king Attalus and the Romans, ready to descend

²⁹ Pausanias, *ibid.* Polybius, l. xl. c. 2. & seq.

in vengeance on their defenceless shores. The small communities of Dymè, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, which formed the original germ of the Achæan league, and were ever foremost in promoting the interests of civil liberty and political independance, had lost all their bravest youths in the bloody battle of Scarphæa. This dreadful misfortune so recently sustained, filled them with deep anxiety and melancholy forebodings. They accused each other as the authors of the calamity that had happened, and of still severer evils that inevitably awaited them. Under this paroxysm of despair, many fled from their habitations, wandering they knew not whither: some went forth as if to denounce the enemies of Rome; others assumed branches of supplicatory olive, to appease the conquerors; though no Romans were at hand, either to hear accusations or to receive petitions; and others, still more felly frantic, became their own executioners, drowning themselves in wells, or throwing themselves from precipices. The greatest enemy of Greece must have melted in pity at such miserable infatuation and such horrid sufferings, especially of the Peloponnesians, a people actuated by the mild as well as manly virtues, and singularly adapted to the enjoyment of rural life in all its loveliness of contentment and innocence³⁰.

Meanwhile Mummius' fleet, accompanied by that of king Attalus, landed in the Crissæan gulph. His army amounted to twenty-three thousand infantry, with the ordinary proportion of horse, besides a body of Cretan archers, and a considerable reinforcement of Pergamenians, commanded by a general named Philopœmen; a name once connected with the meridian glory of Achaia, and now to be associated with the eternal sunset of that confederacy.

The first measure of the consul, even before his whole forces had joined him at the isthmus, was to order Metellus back into Macedon with the troops which he commanded. He then advanced within the isthmus, and encamped near a place called Leucopetra, and the

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Junction of
the Roman
forces under
Mummius
with those
of king
Attalus.

Battle of
Corinth.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
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³⁰ Conf. Polybius, l. xl. c. 3. & l. v. c. 106.

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pine-tree grove of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmian games, where the strait, fifteen miles in length, contracts to five miles in breadth, again opening as you approach Corinth and the immediate entrance into Peloponnesus. From his camp, Mummius sent forward a small party of auxiliaries, who, forming an advanced guard, might watch the motions of the enemy. But this duty was so carelessly performed, that the Achæans issued suddenly from Corinth, surprised the auxiliaries now posted a mile and a half before the Roman encampment, and carried back with them five hundred shields as trophies of their victory. Upon this slight advantage, the furious courage of the Achæans blazed more fiercely than ever. They determined immediately to come to battle, and in full assurance of success, their wives and mistresses, for Corinth abounded in courtezans above all other cities³¹, were planted as spectators of their prowess, on the towering eminences which Pindar³² called Nature's bridge, in the midst of the sea, for joining the states in the Peloponnesus with those of the northern continent. Before they approached in this new confidence, Mummius had quitted his camp, and formed his order of battle, with proper detachments both of cavalry and infantry, to be kept in reserve, and to assail the enemy's flanks in the time of action. In consequence of this judicious arrangement, nothing could be more natural than the event of the combat; by the attack in flank, first the Achæan cavalry, and then the infantry, were totally discomfited; most of the unhappy fugitives sought refuge within the walls of Corinth, but Diæus, their wretched leader, did not cease from his flight till he reached Megalopolis in Arcadia. There, his despair pursuing him, he murdered his wife, set fire to his house, and then, like Menalcidas, his rival in infamy, swallowed a dose of poison³³.

³¹ Aristoph. in *Thesmoph.* v. 655. & Strabo, l. xii. p. 559. He calls the prostitute Comana, a little Corinth.

³² Pindari *Nemcor.* Od, vi.

³³ Pausanias, *ibid.* c. 16. Polybius. l. iii. c. 32. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 2. Velleius, *Zonaras.*

Corinth, into which the routed Achæans had thrown themselves, contained ample resources for subsistence and defence. Its walls, indeed, exceeded eight miles in circuit, including those of the citadel. This citadel, which had never been taken without treachery, stood on a high hill south of the town, completely securing it on that side; and on the three other sides it was defended by strong and lofty ramparts³⁴. From these ramparts, a wall two miles long extended to the Crissæan gulph and the western harbour Lechæum; and another fortification, thrice that length, stretched in an opposite direction towards the Saronic gulph and the eastern harbour Cenchreæ; two valuable appendages, whose commerce and customs had immemorially formed the sinews of Corinthian opulence³⁵. The city itself boasted an antiquity of nine hundred and fifty years, and during the far greater part of that time had been the staple of general traffic, into which the timidity of Greek mariners, who feared doubling Malea and Tenarus the southern capes of Peloponnesus, poured the corn of Sicily, the silver of Spain, the perfumes of Arabia, the spices of India, the ivory of Ethiopia, the manufactures of Egypt, of Babylon, and of Carthage. The Corinthians, besides, had many curious productions, and many valuable manufactures of their own. It was their highest glory that they had moulded the awkward and unsafe vessels of antiquity into the convenient form of trireme gallees³⁶. The machine, by which the potter fashions the most common materials into usefulness and elegance, if not invented, had received its last improvements from their hands³⁷. Their fabrics of cloth were in general request, and they had contrived various combinations of the more precious with the baser metals, which being cheaper, and not less brilliant than gold itself, were employed by sculptors and carvers in the formation of that variety of cups,

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The routed
Achæans
throw them-
selves into
Corinth—
actual state
of that city.

³⁴ Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 262. & seq. form, History of Ancient Greece, v. i. c. 5. & Plutarch Apopth. Lacon. p. 215.

³⁷ Plin. N. H. xxxv. c. 3. & 12. Conf.

³⁵ Strabo, l. viii. p. 378. Oros. l. v. c. 3. l. vii. c. 56. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 303. Athen.

³⁶ Thucyd. & Diodor. See for their Deipn. l. i. p. 27.

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vases, and images in which the Greeks so much delighted³⁸. In works of more refined genius, and the higher kinds of sculpture and painting, the Corinthians were indeed surpassed by several of their neighbours. But riches had collected among them in vast abundance what their ingenuity had been unable to create; and no city, not excepting Athens itself, could shew a greater profusion of acknowledged master-pieces of art, than adorned the halls, temples, theatres, and private dwellings of the wealthy Corinthians. In addition to these circumstances, Corinth was famous from remote ages for the Isthmian games celebrated in its territory; and since its junction by Aratus to the Achæan league, had been regarded, for nearly a century, as the head of that illustrious confederacy.

Sack of
Corinth by
Mummius.

In a place amply provided with all the accommodations of luxury, it is not to be suspected that there should have prevailed any scarcity in point of necessaries. The magazines of Corinth were in fact well stored, and the Acro-Corinthus was impregnable. Yet such was the terror into which unexpected defeat threw its citizens, that many of them, at the approach of night, left the place in trepidation, in company with the trembling fugitives who had escaped from the field of battle. In advancing shortly afterwards to the gates, the consul was surprised to find them open and unguarded. Suspicious of an ambush, he did not enter them, it is said, till the third day, eager as he was to take vengeance on a place where Rome had been daringly and repeatedly insulted in the persons of her ambassadors. Among his first orders he commanded the males of military age to be collected in the spacious squares of the city, declaring that the Corinthians only, and the slaves whom they had armed in their defence, should be the objects of punishment. Having made this distinction in favour of strangers, abounding in a place which allured them with so many temptations, he subjected the captive Corinthians to military execution: their women and children were then dragged

³⁸ Plin. xxxiv. 2. xxxvii. 3. Florus, ii. 16.

from

from their concealments, and heaped together in crowds to be disposed of for slaves, to the numerous traders who, with a view chiefly to such articles, accompanied ancient armies. The soldiers were then conducted to a general depredation of opulence and of art, accumulated in public and private edifices through a long succession of ages. Having satiated rapacity, a blind revenge was next to be indulged against even inanimate objects: the walls of Corinth were demolished at the sound of martial music, and the city being in different parts set on fire, the flames at length united in one general conflagration, which burned so violently, that melted masses of various metals employed in works public or private, ornamental or useful, are said to have flowed down the streets in many mingling streams³⁹: an extravagant exaggeration to explain the origin of what is called Corinthian brass, which composition, though usually referred to this period, remounted, as we have said, to a far earlier date, and was the work not of chance, but of very ingenious contrivance.

After the demolition of Corinth, it was determined that Thebes and Chalcis, which had joined in the same cause, should share a similar fate. The Romans dismantled and despoiled these cities, and such examples of severity, amidst the wretchedness and despondency which generally prevailed, as we have just seen, in Peloponnesus, put an end to the Achæan league, and terminated the last war of Greece; a war madly undertaken, absurdly carried on, and both disgracefully and ruinously concluded, since shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten Roman commissioners arrived, according to custom, from the senate, to assist Mummius with their counsel, and to make with him the necessary arrangements for reducing Greece into the form of a province, and thereby subjecting in future that once illustrious country, to the arbitrary and most unjust sentences of Roman tribunals, the extortion of publicans, and the tyranny of

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Achaia reduced into a province—
extent of that name.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

³⁹ Plin. xxxiv. 2. Florus, ii. 16.

proconsuls.

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proconsuls. This province received the name of Achaia, because originally composed of the states belonging to the Achæan league, although it afterwards included not only Lacedæmon in Peloponnesus, which had separated from that league, but all the states beyond the isthmus, to the frontiers of Thessaly, history not condescending to notice the time or circumstances of the gradual extension. Thessaly, on the other hand, was ascribed to the province of Macedon, to which country, when it held the rank of a kingdom, the Thessalians had long been subject⁴⁰.

Polybius beholds the desolation of Corinth and the dishonour to its works of art.

The destruction of Carthage preceded about two months that of Corinth; and it is worthy of remark, that these cities, a century afterwards, were rebuilt in the same year by order of Julius Cæsar, and both of them repopled with Roman colonies⁴¹. The historian Polybius beheld at a short interval of time the smouldering ruins of both: for in the third or last Punic war, he had accompanied his friend Scipio Æmilianus, and continued during the whole course of it to be his principal adviser in every difficulty. Next to the general's, his glory was the greatest in the conquest of Carthage; a Greek writer of good credit even extols his fame above that of Scipio himself⁴². But his joy at the overthrow of this once proud capital, if such a mind could rejoice in victory bearing desolation in her train, was soon converted into deep sorrow at the sight of Corinth, the fairest ornament of Achaia, now prostrate in the dust. Contrary to his repeated admonitions, the Achæans had embroiled their affairs with Rome, and thereby provoked and precipitated their wretched destiny. Polybius' hasty departure from Carthage could not avail them: already Corinth was demolished; its surviving citizens, collected in half-dead heaps, waited the voice of the crier to be sold into perpetual servitude; its plundered magnificence and inestimable treasures of art were piled in huge masses of indiscriminate ruin, or scattered in disjointed fragments among the rude rapacious victors.

⁴⁰ Pausanias, Zonaras, Florus, *ibid*:

⁴¹ Dion. Cassius, l. xliii. p. 238.

⁴² Pausanias *Arcadic*. c. 30.

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Two master pieces of painting, Hercules tormented by Dejanira's empoisoned garment, and the Bacchus of Aristides, the perfection of which had passed into a proverb, Polybius saw degraded into dice boards, and rattling under the coarse hands of legionary soldiers⁴². The meanest of these soldiers, indeed, knew as much of painting as the consul Mummius. It is told that when he sent the most admired productions of Greece aboard the transports destined to convey them to Rome, he exacted a promise from the ship-masters that if they lost any part of the cargoes entrusted to them, they should restore new articles of the same kind and of equal perfection⁴³: and when upon a more discriminate examination of the booty, Aristides' picture of Bacchus had been rescued from the drunken gamblers, and sold by public auction to Philopœmen, king Attalus' general, for the value of five thousand pounds, Mummius suspected that some secret magical virtue must be contained in a small and frail work bearing so high a price: he accordingly gave orders that the sale should be cancelled, and the tablet transported not to Pergamus but to Rome⁴⁴. Pergamus, however, obtained its full share of the spoils, and continued to display them as its proudest ornaments at the distance of three centuries⁴⁵.

Grossness
and super-
stition of
Mummius.

Shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten commissioners, sent according to custom by the senate, arrived in Peloponnesus, to assist the general in settling the affairs of his province. A sentence of confiscation passed on the property of all concerned in a war which the Romans treated as a rebellion. An exception, however, to this harsh decree was made in favour of the children or parents of the deceased rebels. The estate of Diæus, and his house in Megalopolis, to which he had madly set fire, was ordered by the commissioners to be exempted from the general sale, and to be bestowed gratuitously

Roman com-
missioners in
Greece —
disinterested-
ness and pa-
triotism of
Polybius.
Olymp.
clviii. 3.
B. C. 146.

⁴² Polybius, l. xl. c. 7.

⁴³ Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 13.

⁴⁴ Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4.

⁴⁵ Pausanias, *ibid.*

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on Polybius, himself a native of that city. But Polybius scorned the invidious present, and persuaded many of his friends (for all were not alike adviseable) to decline advantages procured at the expence of their deluded and unhappy countrymen. The worth of his character appeared yet more conspicuously in repelling a strange accusation that had been urged by a nameless Roman before the consul and his assessors. This man, in the grossest abuse of victory, had classed Philopœmen and Aratus with the public delinquents in Peloponnesus, and arraigned them as state criminals. Though personal punishment could not be inflicted, he insisted that their anniversary honours ought to be abolished, and their statues, together with those of Achæus, their venerable precursor, pulled down and removed from Peloponnesus. He had prevailed with the judges; and the marble monuments of these illustrious pretors had already been transported to Acarnania on their way to Rome; but at the instance of Polybius the cause was reheard, and in his famous pleading on this occasion, the obligations of patriotism and honour were sounded by him in so high a strain, that the unworthy sentence was reversed, and men no longer branded as enemies to Rome, because they had been less zealous for the interests of that foreign commonwealth than for the safety and independence of their native country⁴⁶. By thus vindicating the fair fame of the dead, Polybius indirectly benefited the living. The statues of Philopœmen and Aratus, while they adorned every city of Peloponnesus, reminded the Achæans that they had once been a bold and free people; and the same glorious monuments could not fail to impose some salutary restraints on the Romans themselves, little influenced by justice, but still alive to shame and reproach.

His great
public ser-
vices to
Achaia.

The exertions of Polybius were directed to still more substantial services. The consideration which, through his authority with Sci-

⁴⁶ Polybius, l. xl. c. 7. & seq.

pio, he enjoyed with every Roman of worth or dignity, and his intimate acquaintance with the interests and feelings both of Achaia and of Rome, made his interference highly acceptable to the consul Mummius and his assessors, in the final arrangement of affairs.— Without any other commission than that conferred on him by the voice of public respect and admiration, he thus performed to general satisfaction the difficult and delicate task of adjusting the political relations between the two countries, in the manner best calculated to moderate dominion on the one hand, and to restrain rebellion on the other. The subsequent tranquillity of Greece was thought to attest the efficaciousness of his labours. With this testimony concurred that of his numerous statues in Pallantium, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Aca-cesus, and other cities of Peloponnesus, all bearing honourable inscriptions, and particularly that “Polybius formed the sole resource of his country, amidst calamities which she had incurred by rashly despising his advice⁴⁷.”

When his abilities were thus dexterously exerted, Polybius was in his fifty-sixth year, about which period of life the greatest proficient in the knowledge of human nature fixed the age best qualified for offices of government in point of talents, experience, and above all of temper. He lived to his eighty-second year, and died then in consequence of a fall from his horse⁴⁸. The last twenty years of his life were devoted to the composition of his history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us entire. The subject of it is to explain how, from the commencement of the second Punic war, the Romans in the course of fifty-three years made themselves masters of the world. In this expression, Polybius adopted the language of the times, confounding the habitable world with the limits of Roman dominion. Yet we shall see presently, that amidst the crimes and calamities of Greek kingdoms, a great Barbarian power arose in

His future
labours.

⁴⁷ Pausanias Arcadic. c. 37.

⁴⁸ Lucian. in Macrob.

C H A P. the east, which subsisted in vigour upwards of three centuries ; which
XXIV. always defied and repeatedly disgraced the Roman arms ; and which,
 having usurped the widest and richest division of Alexander's empire, will appear, through subsequent parts of the present work, in all the gorgeous pride of Barbaric splendour.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ptolemy Physcon and his Minister Hierax. — Diodotus' Intrigues in Syria. — Antiochus VI. — Confederacy of Pirates. — Their Traffick in Slaves. — Corruptions thereby introduced into Rome. — Diodotus, Emperor and King. — State of neighbouring Powers. — Mithridates V. of Pontus. — A greater Mithridates among the Parthians. — Their Manners and Institutions. — Destruction of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. — Reign of Mithridates II. of Parthia. — Contemporary Greek Kings, their universal Infamy. — Pergamus and Cyrenè bequeathed to the Romans. — Syria annexed to Armenia. — Reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus. — Arts and Letters.

THE battle of Antioch raised Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator, to the throne of Syria, on which his injustice and cruelty soon proved him unworthy to sit, and precipitated to an untimely grave his partner in victory, Ptolemy VI. surnamed Philometor, the most commendable in point of honesty and humanity of all the Greek kings of the east. By his wife and sister Cleopatra, Philometor left behind him an infant son, but had unfortunately carried into Syria the flower of the Egyptian army, whose presence in the neighbourhood of Alexandria would have been necessary to defend the rights of that ill-fated child against his uncle Ptolemy Physcon. This prince who, after disputing a great kingdom with his brother, had never been satisfied with the award of Cyrenè and part of Cyprus for himself, entered Egypt with a band of Cretan and other mercenaries, made his way by victories to Alexandria, gained admittance into that capital, forcibly¹ espoused the widow of his de-

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Ptolemy
Physcon re-
mounts the
throne of
Egypt.
Olymp.
clviii. 4.
B. C. 145.

¹ Sororem natu majorem communi fratri nuptam, sibi nubere coegit. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. i.

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minister
Hierax.

ceased brother, and, on the day of those abominable nuptials, stabbed the only child of Philometor in the arms of his mother Cleopatra².

This enormity formed a fit prelude to his bloody drama of twenty-nine years, a length of reign which reproaches the cowardice of his subjects. Yet tame and soft as the Egyptians in that age are described³, their oppressions would have recoiled on the tyrant, had not his good fortune procured for him the support of an artful and able minister. Under the impostor Alexander Balas, we have seen Hierax and Diodotus, two Syrian Greeks, commanding conjointly in Antioch. The former of these Greeks, upon the ruin of Balas, sought protection and employment in Egypt. Physcon, who knew the services of Hierax to one usurper, thought him a fit instrument for the purposes of another: he entrusted him with the chief direction of his affairs; and amidst the capricious cruelties of the prince, the government was upheld by the vigilance and energy of the minister⁴.

Diodotus'
intrigues in
Syria.

While Hierax acted this important part in Egypt, his former associate Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon "the luxurious," distinguished himself still more conspicuously in Syria. The order of succession to that kingdom had been confounded inextricably by the usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes; for the Syrians, through a mistaken loyalty, were inclined to constitute a title in consequence of a short possession, and to maintain a right of inheritance in him whose father, however unjustly, had worn the crown. In this manner, Alexander Balas, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, had dethroned the first Demetrius surnamed Soter; a new pretender deriving descent from Balas, might prove equally successful against the second Demetrius, notwithstanding his pompous title of Nicator. Diodotus, who well perceived the practicability of such a scheme⁵, contrived to get into his power a boy, the son of Balas, who had

² Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8. Joseph. cont. ⁴ Diodor. Excerpt. p. 597.
Apion. l. ii. p. 1365. & seq. ⁵ 1 Maccab. c. 12.

³ Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

been

been detained in the family of Zabdiel, the same Arabian prince, who betrayed and surrendered the father. With this instrument of seduction in his hands, Diodotus rejoiced at the accumulating follies by which Demetrius Nicator alienated all classes of his subjects, not excepting the army. Trusting solely to mercenaries collected chiefly from Crete and other Grecian isles, he disbanded the whole of the national troops, who had hitherto been kept even during peace, in constant and full pay⁶. Lathenes, the leader of his Cretans, trampled on the Antiochians and other inhabitants of the Syrian cities⁷. The Jews, a people inured to perpetual warfare, were provoked to arms by ingratitude and perfidy. To procure their aid during an insurrection in Antioch, Demetrius courted their high-priest and general Jonathan, with the promise of annexing to Judæa the three districts of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which then belonged to the Samaritans; and with the assurance of exemption thenceforward from all kinds of tribute. But having reduced the Antiochians by destroying, it is said, a hundred thousand of those industrious though occasionally turbulent citizens, he violated his engagements with the Jewish commander, and prepared to renew and aggravate towards that nation the worst outrages inflicted by his predecessors⁸.

At this crisis Diodotus appeared, proclaiming the son of Alexander Balas, and the grandson of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the rightful king of Syria⁹. He was immediately joined by many privy to his conspiracy, and gradually reinforced by innumerable malcontents from all parts of the country, who received their young king Antiochus VI. under the title of Epiphanes, inherited from his grandfather, and that of Bacchus, bestowed on him by his adherents to express his fine countenance and elegant figure¹⁰. Demetrius was obliged to fight for his kingdom. The loss of a battle near Antioch compelled

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Their success promoted by the ill-policy of Demetrius Nicator.

Diodotus proclaims Antiochus VI. Olymp. clix. 1. B. C. 144.

Demetrius defeated, shuts himself up in Seleucia Pieria.

⁶ Joseph. l. xiii. c. 8.

⁷ Diodor. Excerpt. p. 592.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. & Maccab. c. 11.

⁹ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68. Tit.

Liv. Epitom. l. lii.

¹⁰ These titles appear on medals: Josephus. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7. calls him *θεος*, meaning thereby the god Bacchus.

him

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Diodotus
gains the
Jews to the
interest of
Antiochus
VI.

Diodotus ex-
cites the
pirates a-
gainst the
maritime
cities of
Syria.
Olymp.
clix. 1.
B. C. 144.

him to abandon that capital. The neighbouring cities on the sea-coast still maintained their allegiance; and in the principal and strongest of them, Seleucia Pieria, he shut himself up with his mercenary guards, leaving the inland country to provide for its own defence, or submit to the enemy". It might be expected that Diodotus would have pursued his good fortune, laid siege to Seleucia, and, by taking his adversary in that place, have given a speedy termination to the war. But before the invention of gunpowder, the imperfection of battering engines left the art of attack far behind that of defence. Sensible that all attempts for making himself master of Seleucia would prove fruitless, Diodotus had recourse to other modes of warfare. To gain the Jews, in whose neighbourhood many cities adhered to the cause of Demetrius, he granted to them the toparchies or districts, which had been fraudulently withheld from them by that prince: he sent many honourable presents to Jonathan, and appointed his brother, Simon, commander of Antiochus' forces from the confines of Egypt to the *ladder* of Tyre, a mountain so called nearly midway between that city and Ptolemais. The Jews, on their part, extended their arms from the confines of Damascus, to those of the Nabathæan desert. They expelled hostile garrisons from Gaza, Bethsura, and Joppa". Only the heathen fortress of Jerusalem, which held out for Demetrius, still presented obstacles not to be surmounted by their prowess.

Another expedient which Diodotus adopted for distressing his adversary, was to cut off his indispensable resources in the maritime parts of Syria. Notwithstanding the perturbed state of the empire, Seleucia, Laodiceæ, Aradus, Tripolis, and Tyre, carried on a rich commerce by sea, nourished, as will be seen presently, by a great caravan trade through the central regions of Asia. For ruining this traffic, Diodotus armed pirates, chiefly Cilicians, and formed the harbour of Coracesium on the western frontier of Cilicia, into their

" Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lii.

" Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. c. 11.

common arsenal and stronghold. To this period, accordingly, history assigns the commencement¹³ of the great piratical confederacy in Lesser Asia, which grew up in the course of five years under the fostering care of Diodotus, and lasted seventy-two years until the Cilicians were defeated by Pompey, pursued to their inmost receptacles, and finally reduced to subjection, though not to desperation, by the conqueror, since he assigned to them lands to cultivate in the inland country, and effectually estranged them in future from their roving life and fierce predatory habits¹⁴.

From the æra of their formation by Diodotus, the piratical associations in Cilicia rendered themselves formidable. They not only swept the seas and deformed the coasts, but carried their baneful rapacity into the inland territory. Slaves constituted one of the principal objects of their pursuit, whom they were alike ready to acquire either by purchase or by robbery, such were the extraordinary profits attending this infamous traffic, especially after the conquest of Corinth and Carthage had greatly increased¹⁵ the demand for eastern slaves among the luxurious Romans. The warfare in Syria was thus exasperated by the desire of making prisoners, which were sure of a ready market in the central isle of Delos, where the Romans were the buyers, the Cilicians the sellers, and the persons of captive Syrians¹⁶ the unhappy merchandize. In Delos ten thousand Syrian slaves might find purchasers in a single day¹⁷. This infusion of Asiatic blood into Italy produced evils there, which Tiberius Gracchus in vain attempted to remedy. He was slain urging his agrarian law only ten years after the establishment of the slave market at Delos. The right of private property, of which Gracchus,

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Their formidable power.
—Slave-market at Delos.
Olymp. clix. 2.
B. C. 143.

Great corruptions thereby introduced at Rome, vain-

¹³ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668.

¹⁴ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 94 — And again,
96. Cur timeam? dubitemque locum defendere?
quamvis

¹⁵ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668, 669.

¹⁶ Jampridem in Tiberim Syrus defluxit
Orontes.

Natus ad Euphratem, molles quod in aures
fenestræ

Arguerint, licet ipse negem. Juvenal.

¹⁷ Strabo, ibid.

in

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ly opposed
by Tiberius
Gracchus.

Diodotus'
execrable
projects; the
murder of
his pupil
Antiochus
VI. Diony-
sus.

Prepares for
this measure
by destroy-
ing the faith-
ful Jonathan.

in his proposed partition of lands, was altogether careless, forms indeed the main pillar of civil society: yet it cannot be doubted that the accumulation of estates among the few, and the consequent abuse of exorbitant wealth, filled Italy with slaves instead of citizens; destroyed the habits of rural industry among the people at large; and, leaving only rich masters at the head of numerous and profligate servants, gradually rooted out those middle classes of men which constitute the best hopes of every well regulated commonwealth¹⁸.

The success which Diodotus acquired by his Cilicians at sea, and on land chiefly through his Jewish allies, encouraged him to the execution of a most execrable project. This was to destroy the youth whom he had set up under the name of Antiochus VI. and to assume in his own person the same royal prerogatives which he had exercised nearly two years for another. But an obstacle of no small moment still lay in the way. The Jews, and particularly their priest and general, Jonathan, had espoused with equal zeal and sincerity the cause of the young prince. Accordingly, Diodotus perceived the necessity of sacrificing Jonathan to his hope of destroying Antiochus with impunity. For this purpose, he decoyed the Jewish chief to an interview at Ptolemais, and there made him his prisoner, after putting to death a thousand soldiers by whom he had been escorted. Having thus got into his hands the ornament and defence of the nation, he prepared to invade Judæa with a great army, when, finding that Simon, the last of the Asmonean brethren, had assembled the people in their temple, and assumed, with general consent, the authority recently held by captive Jonathan, he sent notice to the Jews that their general had not been detained without good cause; that he remained however in perfect safety, and would be immediately set at liberty, provided Simon remitted a hundred talents which Jonathan owed to king Antiochus, and also surrendered the two sons of the latter as hostages. Though Simon saw the deceitfulness of this

¹⁸ Plutarch in Vit. Gracchor.

proposal,

proposal, he ventured not to reject it, lest he should expose himself to the imputation of indifference about his brother's freedom¹⁹. He therefore sent the money and the hostages; but no Jonathan came back in return. Diodotus, on the contrary, while he kept the Jewish captain in chains, approached Jerusalem with an army. Meanwhile the heathen fortress there, being hardly pressed by Simon, could not expect any assistance from Demetrius, who had quitted the stronghold of Seleucia for the more voluptuous city of Laodiceæ, and was there consoling himself amidst feasting and revelry, for the loss of half his kingdom. The Syrians, in their besieged fortress, contrived means therefore of applying to Diodotus, who hastened to their relief at the head of his cavalry. His progress to Jerusalem was interrupted by a heavy fall of snow among the mountains north of that city, which compelled him to retreat towards his winter quarters through the land of Gilead. At Bascama, in that district, his angry disappointment vented itself in the murder of Jonathan²⁰; and shortly afterwards in that of Antiochus Dionysus. To save appearances, the unhappy youth was subjected unnecessarily to the operation of cutting for the stone²¹: he died under the hands of a suborned surgeon; and Diodotus, with the name of Tryphon, assumed the diadem, joining to the title of king that of autocrator²² or emperor.

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Diodotus assumes the diadem as emperor and king. Olymp. clix. 2. B. C. 143.

This usurpation he successfully defended against the generals of Demetrius, while that thoughtless prince remained inactive at Laodiceæ, in the delirium of wine and pleasure. On an occasion when the forces of Demetrius, commanded by Sarpedon, made an inroad into the country between Tyre and Ptolemais, they were resisted and put to flight by Tryphon, at the head of his garrison from the

Inundation of the sea on the coast of Ptolemais.

¹⁹ 1 Maccab. c. xiii.

²⁰ Id. ibid.

²¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12.

²² *Αυτοκράτωρ*, habens per se imperium, peculiar to the coins of Tryphon, was the more

naturally adopted by him, because the initials of his name, as guardian to Antiochus VI., had already appeared on the coins of that ill-fated child.

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latter city. But the victors, while they urged the pursuit, were overwhelmed on the coast of Ptolemais by a sudden inundation, occasioned probably by the explosion of a submarine volcano²³, which, on the return of the waves, left many of them drowned in hollows of the shore, and mingled with vast quantities of fishes which the sea had disgorged. Tryphon was in the number of those who escaped this memorable disaster, the scene of which was quickly revisited by Sarpedon. He received the fishes as a present from heaven, and performed grateful sacrifices to Neptune, who, by seasonably intercepting the enemy²⁴, had averted the total destruction with which his discomfited army was threatened.

Simon independent
prince of the
Jews.
Olymp.
clix. 2.
B. C. 143.

Immediately on this event the Jews sent a crown of gold to Demetrius. He granted what he had no power to withhold, complete liberty to their nation, and contracted an alliance with Simon on terms of perfect equality. Shortly afterwards, the heathen fortress, overlooking the Jewish capital, surrendered; Simon, in a progress through the country, expelled many hellenizing rebels from Gadara, strongly fortified Bethsura on the southern frontier, and constructed the harbour of Joppa, a place forty miles from Jerusalem, which has continued to the present times the principal sea-port in Palestine. As he maintained in all things the character of independent sovereignty, assumed in his recent treaty with Demetrius²⁵, the Jews ceased to date their transactions by the years of the Syrian kings, for which they substituted those of their high priest and prince Simon; a mode of computation thenceforward perpetuated under his successors.

Tryphon's
golden victory
accepted
at Rome,
but the giver
treated contemptuously.

At the æra of the Jewish emancipation from the yoke of Syria, the kingdom of the Greeks, which had once extended from the Ægean sea to the Indus, was reduced within very narrow limits. The imperial district of Syria Proper, and Antioch the seat of go-

²³ Strabo mentions the fact, l. xvi. p. 758. p. 333. The words however may be differently translated.

²⁴ Ἰπποδῶν τρεπάρω. Athenæus, l. viii. ²⁵ 1 Maccab. c. xiv.

vernment,

vernment, were disputed between Demetrius II. Nicator, and the usurper Tryphon. To sanction his usurpation, and counterbalance the weight of the Jews, just thrown into the scale of his adversary, Tryphon sent a submissive embassy to the senate, breathing professions of unalterable fidelity, and conveying the present of a golden victory, weighing 10,000 aurei ²⁶, yet more precious for the workmanship than the materials. The Romans did not reject a gift which came in so auspicious a form, but agreeably to the favour which they had shewn to Antiochus Epiphanes, they caused the name of his supposed descendant, the murdered Antiochus VI. to be engraved on the statue of the goddess ²⁷. In this manner they showed their equal contempt for Tryphon and Demetrius Nicator, in whose civil war they had determined not to take any part.

The Syrian competitors were thus obliged to look around them for allies towards the peninsula of Asia Minor on one side, and the countries of Upper Asia on the other. It becomes necessary, therefore, to review the state of the Asiatic powers that had been dismembered from the empire of the Seleucidæ, in whose revolutions the fate of that much reduced dynasty continued thenceforward to be involved. Towards the front of the peninsula Attalus II. still reigned in Pergamus, but the enterprising activity of his youth began to be followed by an indolent old age, and he totally resigned himself to the guidance of his favourite and minister Philopœmen ²⁸. Nicomedes II. of Bithynia had dethroned, as we have seen, his father Prusias the hunter, a tyrant equally contemptible and odious. But the condition of the Bithynians was little mended by the exchange. Through the severity of his government, Nicomedes rendered himself so unpopular among his subjects at home, that he was unable to appear with any dignity abroad. While these princes were prevented by indolence or inability from interfering in foreign affairs,

The Syrian rivals Tryphon and Demetrius look around for allies — state of the powers of Asia.

Pergamus.

Bithynia.

Cappadocia praise-worthy pursuits of Ariarathes VI.

²⁶ About 8,000*l.* in value.

²⁸ See above, c. xxiv.

²⁷ Diodor. Excerpt. Legat. p. 679.

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Pontus,
Mithridates
V. father to
the brave
antagonist
of Rome.

A greater
Mithridates
of Parthia.
Olymp.
clii. 3.
B. C. 170.

His respect
for the arts
of peace.

very different causes confined Ariarathes VI. to his domestic concerns in Cappadocia. With unwearied diligence he improved the arts and industry of that wide inland country: the humanity and love of letters which he inspired into the upper classes of his people, did not disqualify them for war, but promoted among them dispositions and habits essential to the best enjoyment of peace, and highly favourable to the preservation of it with all their neighbours²⁹. To the north of Cappadocia the yet obscure kingdom of Pontus had been fortified and extended by Mithridates V. a prince of merit and address, who appears to have held a peaceful dominion over many Greek cities on the Euxine; particularly Sinopè, the mother and queen of these cities, in which his far famed son Mithridates VI. Eupator was born and educated³⁰.

But fifty years before this extraordinary prince began to reign towards the eastern shores of the Euxine, a king of the same name, and of a character not less enterprising, had assumed dominion over the eastern shores of the Caspian. This was Arsaces Mithridates I. son of Priapatus, and the fifth king of Parthia³¹, who mounted the throne shortly before the persecutions and rapacity of Antiochus Epiphanes had excited discontents or rebellions in most of the provinces of Upper Asia³². From this time forwards, the Parthian Mithridates, in a reign of thirty-seven years, contemporary with eight Syrian kings or usurpers, had extended his authority from the Euphrates to the Oxus. The vast central province of Media, between the Caspian and Persian gulph, formed a province of his empire³³. His armies frequently encamped on the great Assyrian plain; but this respectable prince, who retained no mark of his Scythian ancestry but dauntless courage and rapidity of conquest, carefully restrained his fierce horsemen from entering the industrious and populous cities in Babylonia, particularly Seleucia, then containing

²⁹ Diodor. Eclog. iii. ex l. xxxi. p. 518. c. 6.

³⁰ Strabo, l. xii. p. 545.

³¹ He was the fifth Arsaces. Justin, l. xl.

³² Trogus in Prolog. xli. Orosius, v. 4.

³³ Justin, ubi supra.

upwards of six hundred thousand inhabitants. The Parthians were compelled to pitch their tents on the opposite or eastern side of the Tigris, at a place afterwards called Ctesiphon, which thus from a camp gradually rose into a great city ³⁴.

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Before the reign of Mithridates in Parthia, the Greek kingdom of Bactria had subsisted fourscore years under two princes of the name of Theodotus, under Euthedemus the Magnesian, and his son Menander, all of whom deserved renown in the arts of war and peace. But the stream of their conquests flowed either to the remote regions of India, or to the unknown deserts of Scythia. With India they also were connected by a profitable commercial intercourse, of which the cities built by Alexander in the region of Paropamisus and on the Indus subsisted ³⁵ as convenient links. Mithridates of Parthia protected, encouraged, and extended arrangements, in consequence of which his own kingdom of Parthia or Khorosan traded on one hand with Bucharra, the Bactria and Sogdia of the ancients, and on the other with Lesser Asia and Syria. In the great fairs of Bactra and Maracanda, the merchants of northern India exchanged the spices and gems of Hindostan for the gold of Ethiopia and the silver of Spain. The Caspian gates, as we have above seen, formed the main link of communication between northern and southern Asia; and in the neighbourhood of these gates the cities of Heraclæa and Alexandropolis, founded by Alexander the Great, became important staples; while Hecatompylos, at no great distance ³⁶, in the Proper Parthia, rose to a great capital, the proud seat of the Arsacidæ, indebted for its embellishments to commerce not less than to conquest.

His connection with Bactria — state of that kingdom.

During the reign of Mithridates, the Parthians maintained a friendly connection with the Bactrians, until Eucratidas, the fifth king of Bactria, was treacherously slain by his son and successor of

Mithridates levies war on the parricidal son of the Bactrian king.

³⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

³⁶ According to Pliny, 133 Roman miles

³⁵ We shall see below, that these staples flourished to a much later period. from the gates. N. H. l. vi. c. 15.

the

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the same name. To avenge the blood of his ally, Mithridates levied war on the parricide, and having stripped him of some of his provinces, and reduced him to repentance and submission, accepted this humbled prince in the number of his tributaries, still leaving to him his royal title, since the Greek king of Bactria was dethroned and destroyed by an irruption of Scythians ten years after the death of the Parthian conqueror. To the praise of this conqueror it is recorded, that he was, also, an able legislator. He collected, examined, and compared the institutions of all the various countries which either ambition or curiosity had engaged him to visit. From the whole number he selected, and established among the Parthians whatever appeared most congenial to their character and most conducive to the public interest. His justice and clemency were not less celebrated than his military skill and valour³⁷.

In his old age unable to restrain the fierce passions of his people—the composition of Parthian armies.

Yet this respectable prince, as he declined into old age, was unable to restrain the evils inherent in all great Asiatic monarchies. According to the principles uniformly adopted in that quarter of the world, the dominant nation, whether Assyrians, Scythians, Medes, Persians, or Parthians, always disdained to live on the foot of equality with the other subjects of the same common sovereign. They spurned the obligations of justice towards those whom they deemed naturally and essentially their inferiors. This tyranny of nations over nations, unceasingly prevalent in Asia, exerted itself with unusual violence in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Mithridates, who, as he had succeeded to the throne in advanced manhood, must have then been verging to the extremity of old age. But his Parthians were in the highest bloom of youthful prosperity. They had been formed, as we have seen, from a mixed assemblage of Scythian or Slavonian tribes; each tribe consisting of warriors and horsemen slaves to their chieftains, and of miserable peasants, who sometimes

³⁷ Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. p. 597.

served

served on foot, but who were of no account in the state or army³⁸. With the growing prosperity of the empire, those military slaves continually augmented by purchase and propagation as well as by conquest, and were trained by their masters to war and horsemanship not less carefully than their own children: the chieftains or nobility vied with each other in bringing to the standard of their king well disciplined squadrons, at once their property and their pride; so that Parthian armies amounting to fifty thousand cavalry, sometimes did not contain four hundred freemen. Uncouth as such institutions may appear to the civilized nations of Europe, they long prevailed in modern times among the Mamelukes in Egypt³⁹: and the founder of the Russian greatness, when he set himself to improve an empire comprehending the original seats of the Parthians, found an army of 300,000 men, composed of slaves of the nobility⁴⁰. Although we have seen that agriculture and commerce were not neglected by the humbler subjects of Mithridates, yet the flower of his nation is described as constantly employed either in hunting parties or in military expeditions, and always on horseback, even in the streets of their cities. On horseback they visited, feasted, and celebrated all their public solemnities. Besides the equestrian archers who fought flying, and wearied out an enemy by often renewed assaults, they had heavy cataphracts or cuirassiers clad in the steel of Margiana, a province immediately eastward of Parthia, armed with long lances⁴¹, and bearing a wonderful resemblance in all points with the chivalrous warriors of the middle ages. In those ages, the insti-

³⁸ Posidonius vel Trogius Pompeius apud Justin, l. xli. c. 3. Conf. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. The same manners prevailed in the middle age: the flower of the Slavonians fought on horseback. Leo. Imperat. Tactic. & Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. ii. & l. iii. passim. Suidas in the word Σιγος says, the Parthians collected the long reins of their bridles into a knot or heap, which they threw at their enemies, and rode off with them thus entangled. In imitation

of this, the Slavonian infantry made use of long ropes, with which they often caught their adversaries in a running noose. Procop. ibid. Conf. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 17. & Mauricii Strategicum, l. xi. c. v. p. 273. et seq. edit. Sheffer. Upsal, 1664.

³⁹ Pocock Prolegom. ad Abulphar. p. 7.

⁴⁰ Schmidt's Russische Geschichte.

⁴¹ Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 126. & seq. & Justin, l. xli. & xlii. passim.

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tutions of knighthood, in which combatants entered the lists on horseback with extraordinary splendour, displaying more extraordinary address and valour, is said by an eminent historian to have occasioned the predilection for cavalry so long prevalent in modern Europe⁴². But as this predilection appeared still more conspicuously, and continued still longer among the Parthians, it ought to be regarded, not as the consequence, but rather as the cause of knighthood, and other corresponding distinctions, since in Parthia those only could wear the ring, the cincture, and the clasp, to whom the king assigned such ornaments as rewards for equestrian dexterity⁴³. Among this warlike people, collected from rude clans into a great nation, some honours also appear to have been hereditary. There was an officer who acted as a sort of deputy to the king in marshalling the cavalry, and who was entitled by his birth to crown every new sovereign. This officer was named the Surena⁴⁴: his dignity devolved from father to son: when Parthia was governed by weak princes, the power of the Surena proportionally rose in the scale; and from his right of officiating at the ceremony of coronation, we shall find examples in which he presumed to dispose of the monarchy.

Their love
of finery and
ostentation.

In adorning themselves and their horses, the Parthians, as they advanced in opulence, shewed the utmost extravagance of Barbaric finery⁴⁵. Their dress consisted in the tiara, the double tunick, and

⁴² Robertson's Reign of Charles V. vol. i. p. 103. 8vo edit.

⁴³ Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 2.

⁴⁴ Dion. Cassius. Plutarch in Crasso. Ammianus Marcellius, l. xxii. & l. xxx.

⁴⁵ Julian in Panegy. Constant. He says they assumed all the magnificence of the Persians, wore the Median robe, were cloathed in gold and purple; and assigns for the reason, το μη δοκειν αφεσαναι Μακεδονων, αναλαβειν δε εξ αρχης βασιλευσιν. "They wished to have

themselves considered not as Parthians, who had revolted from the Macedonian empire, but as Persians ancient lords of Asia." In that quarter of the world, indeed, the victors have generally conformed to the customs of the more civilised vanquished: the luxury of the Parthians was borrowed from the Persians, as that of the Persians from the Medes, and that of the Medes from the Assyrians. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. c. i. Diodorus, l. v. c. 45.

the

the large pantaloons inclosing the legs and thighs⁴⁶, and defended towards the extremities with buskins of red leather, often studded with pearls. On public occasions they assumed the *candys*, which the Medes had borrowed from the Assyrians; a floating, resplendent robe, whose lateral openings allowed free motion to the limbs, and displayed the richness of their inward attire embroidered with gold, and dyed of various colours⁴⁷. Their cinctures, bespangled with gems, are compared by the poets to the flowery meadows of Sicily⁴⁸. Bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings, were ostentatiously worn by men⁴⁹: whereas women could derive but little pride from female ornaments, being debarred from all public assemblies, and condemned to that humiliating servitude⁵⁰ which universally takes place wherever polygamy prevails. Yet the sternest dominion of husbands or masters, the kings of Parthia often exercised over the bravest warriors and proudest nobles. Whoever among them offended the king had his head and right hand severed from his body⁵¹. Terror was the principle of the government; ignorance, presumption, ferocity, and unbridled luxury were the national characteristics; and a people, who obeyed only through fear, could not fail to domineer without mercy, when, having become the great paramount power in Asia, they were entitled, according to received maxims in that quarter of the world, to spurn all nations as their vassals.

The Greeks and Macedonians, from the contrast of persons and manners, were the most exposed to the vexations of those tyrants, and the least calculated patiently to endure them. They communi-

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Parthian
polygamy,
despotism,
and tyranny
of nations
over nations.

Demetrius
Nicator's
campaign
and captivity
among the

⁴⁶ The *αναζυγίς*. Vid. Hesych. ad voc. Sarabara, and the reverse of a gold medal of Augustus, with the legend "Signis receptis," apud Vaillant Histor. Arfacid. p. 176.

⁴⁷ Chares Mytelenens. apud Athen. l. iii. Justin, l. xl. c. 4. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

⁴⁸ Claudian de Raptu Proserpinæ, l. ii. v. 94.

⁴⁹ Chares & Marcellin. ibid.

⁵⁰ Justin, l. xli. c. 3.

⁵¹ Strabo, l. xv. p. 734. Conf. Posidonius apud Athen. Deipn. p. 192. The philosophic historian Posidonius had treated copiously of Parthian customs and manners. From him and Apollodorus of Artemeta have been handed down many notices remaining on that subject. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 466. Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. & Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.

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Parthians.

Olymp.

clix. 4.

B. C. 141.

Marries

Rhodoguna

daughter to

Mithridates.

His queen

Cleopatra

forms the

design of

marrying his

younger

brother.

Olymp.

clx. 1.

B. C. 140.

cated their grievances to each other, and to the barbarous satrapies among which they were scattered. At length they excited the will to rebellion, and in looking around for a leader to render it successful, bethought them of Demetrius Nicator, while that prince was no less eager to regain the provinces severed from the kingdom of the Greeks, and to recover, through the resources with which they were calculated to furnish him, the undisturbed possession of Syria, the imperial domain of his ancestors. Leaving therefore his queen Cleopatra to maintain the war at home against the usurper Tryphon, he hastened across the Euphrates to put himself at the head of the insurgents in Upper Asia. Several battles are said to have been gained by him; for the voluntary retreats of the Parthians were probably construed into victories. But the incidents related of his campaign are few and contradictory, though the issue of it is certain, that he was taken prisoner by the Parthians, and retained by them ten years in a loose and honourable captivity⁵². The mild treatment of such a dangerous invader originated in the humanity and policy of Mithridates; since, among the last actions of his life, was the marriage of Demetrius with his fair daughter Rhodoguna, and his sending the Syrian king to reside in Hyrcania, with every accommodation and indulgence that could console him for the loss of liberty, and soothe his fallen fortunes⁵³.

The captivity of Demetrius gave a new turn to affairs in Syria. Tryphon, as if his own power had thereby been established on a firm footing, began to throw aside the disguises which he had hitherto worn, and to play the tyrant with open and frontless audacity. The better and wealthier part of the Syrians therefore threw themselves into the scale of Cleopatra, the wife of the captive prince, and the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor; but a daughter, whose unprincipled selfishness strongly contrasted with the honesty and disinterestedness

⁵² Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7. Justin, c. 14. & Orosius, l. v. c. 4. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. ⁵³ Id. ibid.

of her father. She had secured herself from the insults of her enemies within the impregnable stronghold of Seleucia Pieria. Her husband indeed had contracted a new marriage in Parthia; but this act had been performed by a prisoner who had no will of his own. Cleopatra was the mother of two sons born to the hopes of the empire. Notwithstanding these obstacles in the way, she looked with desire towards the younger brother of her absent husband⁵⁴, who had been educated, as we have seen, in the secure and respectable commonwealth of Cnidus, and who, as he grew to manhood had, by his spirit and liberality, rendered himself popular in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and the intermediate isles.

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Cleopatra exhorted this prince, who was afterwards known in history by the name of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, "the hunter", to hasten to Syria with all the mercenaries that he could levy, to claim the vacant throne of which she doubted not to put him in possession; at any rate to share her bed and fortunes. Antiochus entered into her views, with all the eagerness of youthful ambition. What his own fortune, though ample, was unable to supply, might be furnished to him by the still wealthy Syrians. He landed at Seleucia with an army composed chiefly of Greeks, attacked Tryphon, whose party was now reduced to extreme weakness, drove him from the open country, and shut him up within the fortrefs of Dora, on the coast of Samaria⁵⁶.

He assumes
the title of
Antiochus
VII. Sidetes.
Olymp.
clx. 2.
B. C. 139.

He defeats
Tryphon.

Before arriving in Syria, Antiochus had obtained the friendship of Simon, high-priest and prince of the Jews. Simon accordingly sent towards Dora a supply of troops and warlike engines, with a view to gratify his ally. But Antiochus, in the tide of his prosperity, now needed not such auxiliaries. The Jews, it seems, to secure their newly declared sovereignty, had applied to the Roman senate, and the senate, always ready to protect small states against more powerful

Transactions
with the
Jews.

⁵⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

⁵⁶ 1 Maccab. c. 15. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii.

⁵⁵ Plutarch Apophth. from the Syrian c. 7.
word zidah, to hunt.

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Pursuit and
murder of
Tryphon.
Olymp.
clx. 3.
B. C. 138.

neighbours, had written to the principal kings in the East, to respect the independence of their friends and confederates⁵⁷. In the list of princes to whom these letters were addressed, we find Ptolemy VII. of Egypt, Attalus II. of Pergamus, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, Mithridates V. of Pontus, Mithridates I. of Parthia, and Demetrius II. of Syria. The name of Demetrius could not fail to prove offensive to a brother who had usurped his throne. The assistance of the Jews was accordingly rejected by Antiochus, who, with his Greek forces alone, assaulted and took Dora. Tryphon escaped by sea to the neighbouring stronghold of Orthosias in Phœnicia; Antiochus invested and made himself master of that place: but his victim again eluded his grasp by scattering money, it is said, in the way of the horsemen who were sent in pursuit of him⁵⁸. He reached in safety Syrian Apamæa, near to which, in a castle called Secoana, he had been born and educated. On this his natal ground, he either laid violent hands on himself, (for his story is differently told), or was put to death by his pursuers⁵⁹. He had reigned two years in the name of a boy, Antiochus VI., and four years in his own. The few places which held out for him, speedily opened their gates to Antiochus VII. now husband of Cleopatra, and undisturbed master of the kingdom.

Antiochus
VII. pre-
pares for an
eastern expe-
dition.

It was natural for a young prince, whose designs had advanced during two years on a flowing tide of prosperity, to think no undertaking too great for his abilities and good fortune. Mithridates I. king of Parthia, had died full of years and honour. His son Phra-hates II. succeeded to the throne. He continued to treat Demetrius with the indulgence hitherto shewn to that captive prince: but the pride and presumption of the Parthians knew no abatement. Antiochus conceived hopes of levying war with more success than his brother, against that tyrannical nation. He had an army of Euro-

⁵⁷ 1 Maccab. c. xiv, xv.

⁵⁸ Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 13.

⁵⁹ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 70. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

pean Greeks at his disposal, of which his brother had been destitute; and the unceasing vexations of the enemy would procure for him formidable auxiliaries among the nations of Upper Asia. But before his preparations were in readiness for marching to the East, it was recommended to him to disarm the Jews, a stubborn domestic foe. This undertaking was committed to his general, Cendebæus, who commanded on the sea coast. Simon was prevented by old age from taking the field; but his sons, Judas and John, approved themselves able protectors of their nation⁶⁰; and the freedom of Palæstine had less to fear from open enemies than from concealed traitors.

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The leaven of hellenising brethren still subsisted in the country, and even in the family of the high-priest, whose son-in-law, Ptolemy, (for this apostate had assumed a Greek name), at an entertainment given in the castle of Jericho, where he commanded as governor, assassinated Simon, together with two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias. The emissaries of the murderer hastened to Gadara, to take off John, the only remaining son of Simon, after which Ptolemy hoped, in right of his wife, and by the good will of Antiochus, of whom he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal, to appropriate all the opulence and honours belonging to the Asmonæan family. But the vigilance and dexterity of John defeated his machinations, and obtained for himself⁶¹ the office of high-priest and general, which his father had filled, eight years, with unblemished integrity and conspicuous abilities.

Assassination
of Simon and
his two sons.
Olymp.
clxi. 2.
B. C. 135.

Meanwhile, Antiochus, as if he had been privy to and approved the blow struck by the execrable Ptolemy, invaded Judæa, and besieged the capital. The king, however, who was rather prompted by those around him, than himself hearty in the war, and who burned with impatience for his Parthian expedition, listened to proposals of peace from the Jewish high-priest. A tribute was imposed on those

The third
son John
Hyrcanus
tributary to
Antiochus
VII.

⁶⁰ Josephus Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xv.

⁶¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xvi.

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cities and districts which Simon had added to the proper territory of Judæa; and John, who in the course of the Parthian warfare, was shortly to be distinguished by the epithet of Hyrcanus, accompanied at the head of his countrymen the standard of Antiochus into Upper Asia⁶².

Antiochus' army, his march into Upper Asia and victories. Olymp. clxii. 2—3. B.C. 131—130.

Immense preparations had been made for this eastern warfare, and the army was the most numerous and the most splendidly equipped of any that had taken the field since the brilliant years of Antiochus III. surnamed the Great. The fighting men amounted to eighty thousand, and their followers of all descriptions exceeded three times that number. Historians expatiate particularly on the bulky retinue of vice and folly by which the camp was encumbered; musicians, dancers, stage players, buffoons, and all those beautiful outcasts or alluring warblers of the female sex, who subsisted by the prostitution of their talents and of their persons⁶³. The gold and silver, the resplendent tissues and costly luxuries, many of them brought from the extremities of the east and south, which enriched the tents and tables of the Syrians⁶⁴, afford a convincing proof that incessant but petty wars had not entirely suspended the extensive commerce carried on through central Asia. Notwithstanding partial examples to the contrary, industry and the arts were exempted from merciless depredation, and temples, the safeguards of peaceful intercourse, were in general respected by invading conquerors. In proceeding to Mesopotamia, Antiochus pursued the northern route, and being joined by many Babylonian malcontents, crossed the Tigris into Aturia, watered by two rivers, fancifully called, as we have seen, the Wolf and the Boar. On the former of these rivers, the Parthians had assembled in great force under Indates, the commander entrusted on that side with the defence of the empire. After two partial encounters, a general en-

⁶² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. 10. Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 1. c. xvi.

⁶⁴ Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 210. & l. x.

⁶³ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 10. Orosius, l. v. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540.

gement ensued; the Barbarians were put to the route; a Greek trophy adorned the banks of the Lycos⁶⁵; where Antiochus halted the first two days of Pentecost, at the request of John, the Jewish priest and general; a condescension which indicates that the Jews, as on many former occasions, had conspicuously signalised their prowess in this decisive victory. On nearly the same ground Alexander had finally vanquished the Persians. Equally triumphant, Antiochus hastened into Media, and received its willing submission. As he approached the Caspian sea, Phrahates and his Parthians fled before his victorious arms; and the general of the Jews being sent with his detachment into Hyrcania, immediately contiguous to that sea, made so rapid a conquest of the country, that the epithet Hyrcanus, is said thenceforward, by way of honour, to have adhered to his name of John⁶⁶.

After these events, all is confusion or obscurity in the reign of Antiochus the Hunter. His forces, however, we may discern, were cantoned into numerous and small parties⁶⁷ over the vast countries which they had overrun. In their winter quarters, the commanders, and particularly a general of the Greek name Athenæus, indulged them in the utmost licence of rapacity and cruelty. They were attacked on all sides at once, with as seasonable co-operation, as if a conspiracy had been formed against them by the victims of their oppression. Phrahates, with such troops as had accompanied his flight, returned to avail himself of the misfortunes of the enemy. He encountered Antiochus as that prince hastened to remedy the disorders produced by the misconduct of his generals; and the Syrian king was either slain in battle⁶⁸, or put to death after defeat⁶⁹. or died in despair by his own sword⁷⁰, or threw himself headlong down a pre-

Cause of his
reverse of
fortune.

⁶⁵ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 8.

⁶⁶ He is called, however, Hyrcanus by way of anticipation before this expedition; the name, as we have seen, was before known among the Jews, and the origin of it is doubtful. Vid. Dodwell de Cyclis Dissert. ix.

⁶⁷ Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit.

p. 603.

⁶⁸ Joseph. ubi supra.

⁶⁹ Euseb. Chronic. Conf. Athenæus, l. x.

p. 439.

⁷⁰ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

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Slain in
attempting
to rob the
temple of
Nanæa on
mount Zag-
ros.

Irruptions of
Scythians.
Olymp.
clxii. 3—
clxiv. 1.
B. C. 130—
124.

Extinction of
the Greek
kingdom of
Bactria.
Olymp.
clxiii. 3.
B. C. 126.

cipice". These, and a still greater variety of contradictory reports, mutually discredit each other; and the evidence of more authentic history concurring with that of Syrian coins, proves that Antiochus still lived and reigned the year following his defeat by Phrahates, and was slain two years afterwards in an attempt to rob the temple of Nanæa.

This obscure goddess should seem to have held her seat among the defiles of mount Zagros. Antiochus, on pretence that he came to betrothe her, entered the temple slightly accompanied, to receive her accumulated opulence by way of dower. But the priests of Nanæa having shut the outward gates of the sacred inclosure, opened the concealed doors on the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting their mutilated remains without the walls, thus awfully announced to the Syrians who waited his return, the disaster of their king, and the terrific majesty of the goddess⁷².

The circumstance that enabled Antiochus to rally, after he had been discomfited by Phrahates, was a sudden irruption of Scythian Nomades. A horde of those Scythians, we are told, had been invited into the service of Phrahates to counteract the Syrian invasion⁷³. They came, however, too late; and, on this account, their stipulated pay was denied them. But independently of this ground of quarrel, the shepherds in *Turan* always hung, as in ambush, over the husbandmen in *Iran*; and when an opportunity offered, were ready to pour down on them in merciless desolation. On the present occasion Phrahates II. and his follower Artabanus II. were in the course of four years their successive victims; and in the middle point between the destruction of these princes, the Greek kingdom of Bactria was, in the year 126 before the Christian æra, finally demolished and swept away by Scythians from beyond the Jaxartes, divided into various tribes, under various uncouth appella-

⁷² Ælian. *Histor. Animal.* l. x. c. 34.

⁷³ 2 Maccab. c. i.

⁷⁴ Justin, l. xlii. c. 1.

tions⁷⁴. This desolating irruption is attested in the annals of China⁷⁵ as well as in those of Greece; a coincidence in remote sources of information the more satisfactory, because the learned author who first communicated the Chinese testimonies appears to have been wholly ignorant that they confirm notices in Strabo the Greek geographer⁷⁶.

The eastern dependencies of Bactria subsisted to a much later period under the government of Greeks. The district of Badakshan, two hundred miles east of Bactra or Balk, was governed by a family claiming descent from Alexander the Great even to modern times: and the hilly country of Bijore, the Bazira of Alexander, contained a tribe which, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, continued to boast the same origin⁷⁷. How far the most civilized nations of Asia were indebted to those Greeks in matters of literature and science, it is not easy to determine. Some astronomical instruments, found anciently in China, and placed in the cities of Pekin and Nankeen, are said to have been of a construction unfit for use in those places, but to have been accurately formed for the 37th parallel, the latitude of Balk or Bactra⁷⁸. As the ancient history of the Hindoos is wholly involved in fable, no satisfactory information can be obtained from that source. Yet whoever considers their abstract philosophy, so unlike to all other productions of their own genius, and so similar to metaphysical refinements, often growing out of the Greek tongue, will be inclined to suspect the originality of the Hindoos in these nice speculations, and to refer their high literary attainments to a later period than that usually assigned them⁷⁹.

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Far later
subsistence of
the eastern
dependencies
of Bactria.

⁷⁴ Tachari, Sacaurauli, &c. Strabo, l. xi. p. 511.

⁷⁵ Monfr. de Guigne's Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript. vol. xlii. 8vo edit.

⁷⁶ Strabo, ibid.

⁷⁷ See Rennell's Memoir, 3d edit. p. 161. 166. 201.

⁷⁸ Barrow's Travels in China, p. 290.

⁷⁹ Compare the speculative doctrine of the Hindoos as stated in the Ayeen Acbery, translated by Mr. Gladwin, with the account of Greek philosophy in History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 32. and in my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative works, with supplement.

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Mithridates
II. of Par-
thia, or Ar-
faces IX.
Olymp.
clxiv. 1.—
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 124—
88.

In the invasion of Parthia, the Syrians had fought for conquest, and were defeated; but the Scythians, though victorious, aimed only at plunder. Having satiated their rapacity, they marched homeward; and when the passing hurricane had spent its force, Mithridates, a name propitious to Parthia, on succeeding to his father Artabanus, collected the strength of his nation, and again consolidated his kingdom. This second Mithridates rivalled the first in the length and splendour of his reign⁸⁰. It lasted thirty-six years; in the course of which time he recovered the former possessions of the empire, and even extended them on the side of Armenia, and is therefore distinguished on his coins and in history by the title of Great; a title, thus bestowed on the restorer, which with more propriety might have been conferred on the founder of the Parthian greatness. A hundred years before the reign of Mithridates II. in Parthia, Antiochus III. of Syria assumed, for a similar reason, the same boastful appellation; but of all the kings who either in ancient or modern times have been denominated Great by their contemporaries, the title, when not melted into one word with the name, has uniformly adhered to the Great Alexander only: his matchless glory alone sustaining the weight of so lofty a distinction.

Demetrius
II. remounts
the throne
of Syria.
Olymp.
clxii. 3.
B. C. 130.

The invasion of Parthia by Antiochus VII. which ended in the death of that enterprising prince, was the last attempt made by any of the Seleucidæ for restoring the splendour of the Syrian monarchy. His brother Demetrius II. escaped from Parthia, amidst the convulsions of that kingdom, and recommenced a reign of four years, equally turbulent at home and inglorious abroad. John Hyrcanus returned also from the East. The interests of his country were ever uppermost in the mind of Hyrcanus; and from this period he continued to govern the Jews twenty-two years, with a policy not less glorious than his prowess in combating the Parthians⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Justin, l. xlii. c. 2. & Porphy. in Græc. Eusebian.

⁸¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17, 18.

Shortly before Antiochus' expedition into Upper Asia, Attalus II. king of Pergamus, died of old age, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, fell in the field of battle, and Hierax, the able minister of Egypt, perished by the cruel arts of his master⁸². From this time forward, in Syria, in Egypt, and in every other Greek kingdom, there was a rapid degeneracy in character still more than in fortune; and the corruptions by which all of them were undermined before their final ruin, justifies the boldest but most disgusting of all metaphors by which royal vices have been branded⁸³.

Attalus III. of Pergamus was either a madman at the time of his accession, or driven afterwards into madness by his execrable crimes. He was the son of Eumenes, elder brother to the late king, and in gratitude to that prince, named as heir by Attalus II. in preference to his own children⁸⁴. But he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he stained his palace with the blood of his nearest relations and the best friends of his family⁸⁵. He then secluded himself from public view, totally neglected the care of his person, and assuming a sordid habit, spent his time in cultivating a garden stored with poisonous plants, which he sent as presents to those who had the misfortune to be numbered among his friends⁸⁶. From such a prince, no attention could be expected to affairs foreign or domestic. His mercenaries, and those who commanded them, were masters of the kingdom. When Attalus grew tired of gardening, he betook himself to the occupation of a founder. His last production in that line was a brazen monument to his mother Stratonice, for he affected the title of Philometor, and perpetrated some of his worst cruelties on pretence of revenging the murder of that princess, who had died through the infirmities incident to old age. In casting the monu-

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XXV.

Contemporary and subsequent Greek kings — their universal infamy.

Frantic reign of Attalus III. of Pergamus. Olymp. clx. 3 — clxi. 4. B. C. 138 — 133.

⁸² Athenæus, l. vi. p. 252. erroneously ascribes the murder of Hierax to Ptolemy Philometor, who never put to death any, even of his worst enemies. Polyb. l. xl. c. 12.

⁸³ The last of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ were worms and venomous reptiles growing

out of the carcase of Alexander's once flourishing empire." Plutarch in Alexand.

⁸⁴ Plutarch. de Fratern. Amor.

⁸⁵ Diodor. Excerpt. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 601.

⁸⁶ Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

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The Perga-
menian
usurper
Aristonicus
—he defeats
Licinius
Crassus.
Olymp.
clxii. 3.
B. C. 130.

ment of Stratonice, the heat of the weather conspiring with that of the work, is said to have thrown him into a fever, which destroyed him in seven days, after he had named the Romans for his heirs⁸⁷.

Of this strange destination the sedition of the Gracchi, which then raged at Rome, prevented the senate from adopting proper measures immediately to avail itself. Aristonicus, whom his partisans called the son of Eumenes, profited by the delay. This pretender, born from the daughter of an Ephesian musician, had never been acknowledged either by his supposed father Eumenes, or by his uncle Attalus Philadelphus, or by his brother Attalus Philometor. Yet hatred to the Romans, and aversion to a foreign yoke, made many among the Pergamenians desire him for their king⁸⁸. His cause was warmly espoused by the Phocæans; he seized the stronghold of Leucæ, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; success multiplied his adherents; the Thracians, greedy of plunder, flocked to his standard; he acquired a fleet and army; and, though opposed at sea by the Ephesians, and at land by forces from Pontus, Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries in alliance with Rome, he in little more than a twelvemonth made himself master of all the principal cities in the kingdom. At length the Romans, who had hitherto counteracted him only by embassies to their allies, sent into Asia Licinius Crassus with an army. This consul, odious by his severity and rapacity, was surprised, defeated, and made prisoner in the neighbourhood of Elæa, the principal sea-port of Pergamus. His presence of mind, however, saved him from the disgrace of falling into the cruel hands of the victor. By piercing the eye of a Thracian, who conducted him to Aristonicus, he provoked the barbarian to dispatch him with his dagger⁸⁹.

Is defeated
and sent to
Rome by

Perperna, successor to Crassus, did not allow the enemy long to enjoy his triumph. He attacked him unexpectedly in the dis-

⁸⁷ Justin, *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646.
& Plutarch in Tiber. Graccho.

⁸⁸ Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

⁸⁹ Tit. Liv. *Epitom.* l. lix.

⁹⁰ Frontin. *Stratagem.* l. 4. c. 5. Florus,
l. ii. c. 20. Valer. Maxim. l. iii. c. 2.

trict of Stratoniceæ, besieged him in that city, into which he had thrown himself after the rout of his army, compelled him to surrender at discretion, and sent him in chains to Rome⁹¹. The Phocæans, his abettors, narrowly escaped a fate not less dreadful. They had strenuously assisted Antiochus the Great; they had supported the claims of the impostor Aristonicus. The senate, exasperated by these provocations from so small a state, had determined totally to extirpate their name and nation. But the warm interposition of Massilia in Gaul, a colony of Phocæa, and which had hitherto subsisted on the most friendly footing with Rome, had the glory of saving the former republick from destruction, and of rescuing the latter from the disgrace of committing a most execrable enormity⁹². The Romans, indeed, at this time, must have been familiar with crimes, since the war being again kindled after the departure of Perperna, Aquillius, who succeeded to him as consul, submitted to the infamy of reducing several Pergamenian cities, by poisoning⁹³ the fountains which sent them their only supplies of fresh water. Besides Nicodemus II. of Bithynia, whose assistance seems to have been of little importance, both Mithridates V. of Pontus, and Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, contributed their best services towards annexing Pergamus to Rome. They were both of them respectable princes, and wanted not penetration to discern the ambition of the great Western republick, but discerned also their inability to resist it. The king of Cappadocia perished in the defeat of Crassus; the king of Pontus shared the victory of Perperna, and was rewarded by the senate with the gift of some districts in Phrygia⁹⁴, the resumption of which by the Romans afforded, as we shall see hereafter, matter of bitter complaint to Mithridates VI. Eupator, his immediate successor.

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Perperna.

Olymp.

clxii. 3.

B. C. 130.

⁹¹ Conf. Florus, l. ii. c. 20. Plutarch in Tiber. Graccho. Velleius Paternulus, l. ii. c. 38. Valer. Maximus, l. iii. c. 4.

⁹² Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

⁹³ Florus, l. ii. c. 20.

⁹⁴ Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

The

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XXV.

Parricidal
murders of
Laodicè
queen regent
of Cappado-
cia.
Olymp.
clxii. 4.
B. C. 129.

The rewards due to Ariarathes, consisting in some contiguous portions of Lycaonia and Cilicia, were bestowed on his family; a flourishing family of six sons, under the guardianship of their mother Laodicè, who, by the will of her husband, was left regent of the kingdom. But this flagitious woman, with a view to retain power, poisoned five of her sons before they attained the age of majority. The sixth was saved by the interposition of his relatives, and the loyal solicitude of the Cappadocians⁹⁵. Upon the conviction and punishment of his unnatural mother, Ariarathes VII. assumed the government⁹⁶, and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Mithridates V. of Pontus⁹⁷, named also Laodicè, a name, as we shall see hereafter, ever inauspicious to the fortunes of Cappadocia.

Brutality of
Ptolemy
Physcon.
Olymp.
clxi. 4.
B. C. 133.

During these transactions in Lesser Asia, Ptolemy Physcon pursued his mad career in Egypt with such intolerable cruelty, that his subjects were at length driven into rebellion. We have seen his bloody marriage with his brother's widow Cleopatra. This princess was repudiated to make room for the daughter of her first marriage named also Cleopatra, whose chastity Physcon first corrupted before he thought fit to raise the harlot to his bed⁹⁸. With scenes, however abominable, confined within the walls of the palace, his subjects cared not to interfere; even his open violations of those laws which protect personal security, had been endured without resistance by the multitude, while the higher ranks in Alexandria, among whom the philosophers and men of letters are particularly specified, betook themselves to a voluntary banishment into those countries of Asia and Europe, where the Greek being the prevailing language, their talents and industry might procure them a livelihood. Yet Ptolemy's profligacy and brutality had not obliterated the remembrance that the patronage of letters formed the hereditary distinction

⁹⁵ Justin, *ibid.*

⁹⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

⁹⁷ Justin, *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 1. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

of his family. He had studied under the critic Aristarchus⁹⁹, he admired the philosopher Eudoxus, his liberality had been unbounded towards the sophist Eparetus. He himself affected the praise of literary accomplishments; and could find amusement in acquiring them, amidst pursuits of the most contrary nature¹⁰⁰. Accordingly he is said to have regretted the irksome solitude to which his tyranny had reduced him, and to have spared no pains either to bring back the fugitives, or to attract to Alexandria new inhabitants of a description not less respectable¹⁰¹.

While he was thus employed in repeopling his capital, commissioners came to him from Rome, sent, according to the policy of that state, to inspect at proper intervals the affairs of allied kingdoms. The commissioners consisted of the younger Scipio, of Mummius and Metellus, all three persons of the highest dignity, and Scipio, in public estimation, the first man in his country. In their reception, and the entertainments which accompanied it, the king displayed all his magnificence, and made professions of unbounded respect¹⁰². Notwithstanding his unwieldy corpulency, he accompanied the commissioners on foot, that they might view the ornaments of the city; on which occasion Scipio whispered into the ear of the philosopher Panætius, the only friend who attended him in this voyage, "the Egyptians have to thank us for giving their king the exercise of walking¹⁰³". The person of Ptolemy is represented as a fit receptacle for the monstrous mind that inhabited it¹⁰⁴. He was of a short stature, a deformed countenance, and in the enormous trail of his belly resembled rather a hog than a man; his body was of immeasurable compass, and he covered it with garments so thin and transparent, that they seemed only calculated to display his disgusting nakedness¹⁰⁵. Such a king even the Egyptians failed not to contrast with the mo-

The younger Scipio in Alexandria -- his striking contrast with the king. Olymp. clxi. 4. B. C. 133.

⁹⁹ Athenæus, l. ii. p. 71.

¹⁰⁰ Id. l. xiv. p. 654.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁰² Diodorus Excerpt. p. 629.

¹⁰³ Plutarch Apophth.

¹⁰⁴ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549.

¹⁰⁵ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

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The Alexandrians in arms against Ptolemy, who flies to Cyprus. Olymp. clxii. 3. B. C. 130.

His repudiated wife Cleopatra mounts the throne.

He procures the assassination of his elder son, and beheads the younger.

Ptolemy recovers Egypt notwithstanding.

deity and dignity of Scipio; and the remonstrances of the illustrious Roman seem to have procured for the people, his admirers, a considerable mitigation in their sufferings. But shortly after the strangers had left him, Ptolemy renewed his barbarities. The Alexandrians murmured and began even to threaten resistance. To disarm their vengeance, he caused a sudden massacre of their young men, in the place of public exercise. This enormity inspired the citizens with fury. They flew to arms, attacked and overpowered his mercenaries, and were in hopes of destroying him in the conflagration of his palace, when they learned that, in company with his queen the younger Cleopatra, and his son Memphites by the elder, he had embarked for Cyprus, the most considerable of his dependancies¹⁰⁶.

By the voice of the Alexandrians, which was not opposed in any part of the kingdom, the elder Cleopatra was set on the throne of her abdicated husband. This was an event which Ptolemy had not foreseen. He doubted not but one of his sons by that princess would have been named for his successor. Memphites the younger he had therefore carried with him to Cyprus. The elder, whose name is unknown, was his viceroy in Cyrenè. This unfortunate viceroy was sent for, and landed in Cyprus only to meet the hand of an assassin¹⁰⁷. Upon intelligence of his murder, the Alexandrians testified their rage against the tyrant by destroying his statues; an act which he ascribed to the resentment of the queen regent, for the loss of her son. As in this point of maternal affection she had shewn herself vulnerable, the monstrous father cut off the head of her younger son Memphites, a boy in his fourteenth year, and inclosed it in a casket, that it might be delivered to the mother on the anniversary of her birth-day¹⁰⁸.

The horrid present changed a day of rejoicing into melancholy lamentations, which, beginning from the palace, filled the city of

¹⁰⁶ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix. Orofius, l. v. c. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 602. Valer. Maxim. & Tit. Liv. ibid.

Alexandria¹⁰⁹. The inhabitants resumed arms under Marfyas, whom the queen had constituted her general, determining with one accord to resist the invasion of Physcon, who, they were informed, had reinforced his armament in Cyprus, and collected a large body of mercenaries in order to recover his capital. These forces landed in Egypt, under Hegelochus, who, having provoked Marfyas to battle, put his army of Alexandrians to the rout, and made captive their commander. In this extremity, however, the queen regent, now shut up in Alexandria, applied to Demetrius II. king of Syria, who had married, as we have seen, her eldest daughter, informing him of the murder of her two sons, and assuring him that if he could bring any considerable body of men into Egypt, he might make himself master of the kingdom. Demetrius complied very unseasonably with this proposal; for his bad government had rendered him odious to the Syrians, and his marriage with Rhodoguna in Parthia had mortally offended his queen. Confident, however, in the strength of his mercenaries, and especially of some bodies of Greeks recently returned from their Parthian warfare, he neglected the rising sedition at home, marched towards the Egyptian frontier, and laid siege to Pelusium¹¹⁰. But before he had gained possession of that key to the country, the citizens of Antioch and Apamea, still infected with the leaven of Tryphon's party¹¹¹, broke out into open rebellion. Lest their example might be followed throughout the kingdom, Demetrius raised the siege of Pelusium, and hastened back into his own dominions; upon intelligence of which movement, the queen regent of Egypt embarked with all her treasures, and sailed¹¹² to Ptolemais in Syria, where her daughter, wife to Demetrius, had long held her residence. By the flight of his rival from Alexandria, Physcon recovered possession of that

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standing the
opposition of
Demetrius
Nicator.
Olymp.
clxiii. 1.
B. C. 128.

¹⁰⁹ Diodor. *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* l. xiii. c. 9.

¹¹¹ This can be the only meaning of Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. *Antiochenfes primi, duce*

Tryphone, &c. Tryphon was slain twelve years before.

¹¹² Joseph. *ibid.*

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Phyſcon
abets againſt
Demetrius
the impoſtor
Alexander
Zebina.
Olymp.
clxiii. 1.
B. C. 128.

Demetrius
defeated in
battle and
ſlain in Tyre
at the inſti-
gation of his
wife—her
views.
Olymp.
clxiii. 3.
B. C. 126.

capital; the moſt determined of his oppoſers had all perished in the field; and, as if he had wiſhed to obliterate the memory of his paſt cruelties by an act of ſingular clemency, he pardoned the captive Marſyas, a general taken in arms at the head of his enemies¹³.

Meanwhile, the rebellion, begun in Syria, continued to make progreſs; although the inſurgents moſt diſgusted with the pride and cruelty of Demetrius, had not agreed among themſelves whom to ſubſtitute in his ſtead. Amidſt their indeciſion or contrariety, Phyſcon ſent, at the head of a part of the ſame victorious troops who had recently triumphed in Egypt, a youth, named Alexander Zebina¹⁴, in reality ſon to a broker of Alexandria, but who was inſtructed to give himſelf out for the ſon of Alexander Balas, and therefore grandſon to Antiochus Epiphanes, to which branch of the Seleucidæ many Syrians ſtill adhered with the warmth of compaſſion, or the obſtinacy of prejudice. Reinforced by men of this deſcription, and other Syrian malcontents, Zebina met Demetrius in the field. A deciſive battle was fought near Damascus. The mercenaries of the king were put to the rout, and, when he himſelf eſcaped to Ptolemais, he found the gates of that city ſhut againſt him by the two Cleopatras, his wife and mother-in-law. The former was actuated on this occaſion by a motive leſs excuſable, as her ſubſequent behaviour too clearly indicates, than the reſentment of offended love. She had born two ſons to Demetrius, juſt growing into manhood, under whoſe name, upon the deſtruction of her huſband, ſhe hoped to be called by a party to aſſume the reins of government. When Demetrius therefore fled from Ptolemais to Tyre, and was ſtill received by the citizens of that place as their ſovereign, Cleopatra ſpared no pains to exaſperate the Tyrians againſt him. Her machinations proved ſucceſſful. Even reſpect for Tyrian Hercules, in whoſe temple he took

¹³ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 603.

¹⁴ Joſeph. ibid. Juſtin, l. xxxix. c. 1.
Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Zebina is a Syrian

nickname, denoting a bought ſlave. Por-
phy. Fragment. Eusebian.

refuge,

refuge¹¹⁵, was unable to save his life, justly forfeited indeed to his injured subjects, but most wickedly destroyed by his wife's profligate ambition¹¹⁶.

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The local circumstances of Syria highly favoured Cleopatra's purposes. A country of mountains, and valleys, and innumerable strongholds, was not to be conquered by the issue of a battle. Though Zebina, who assumed the title of king Alexander II. was master of the field, and had entered into strict alliance¹¹⁷ with Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, yet many fortified cities, now that the odious Demetrius was no more, declared for the legitimate succession of his elder son Seleucus, and spurned the impostor whom Ptolemy Physcon endeavoured to set over them. In this manner the kingdom of Syria came to be divided into two hostile states, which, during five years, balanced each other; one admitting the pretensions of Alexander II. and the other asserting the rights of the sons of Demetrius. The elder of these sons, Seleucus V. had scarcely borne his title a single year, when he was assassinated by the hand of his mother¹¹⁸, to whom too much independence of spirit had rendered him obnoxious. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus VIII. who assumed the epithets of Philometor and Epiphanes¹¹⁹, but who is known in history by his nickname of Grypus, or hook-nose¹²⁰. During the first three years of his reign, Grypus maintained the shew of unbounded deference for the will of his mother, and co-operated with her, by intrigues rather than arms, against Alexander II. their common enemy. By bribes and promises, Alexander's garrisons were corrupted: his officers deserted; several cities rebelled, particularly the important stronghold Laodicea, at the foot of mount Libanus.

Civil war of
five years in
Syria.
Olymp.
clxiii. 3—
clxiv. 3.
B. C. 126—
122.

Seleucus V.
assassinated
by his mo-
ther.
Olymp.
clxiii. 4.
B. C. 125.

¹¹⁵ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1.

¹¹⁶ Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

¹¹⁷ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 9.

¹¹⁸ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxix. Appian. de
Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

¹¹⁹ The former epithet appears in Por-
phyry and Josephus above cited: the latter
on coins.

¹²⁰ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. & Joseph. l. xiii.
c. 9.

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Clemency of
Alexander
II. Zebina.

Alexander shewed considerable ability in counteracting the machinations of his adversaries; but still more signalized his clemency in pardoning such traitors as the chance of arms, at any time, put into his hands. On regaining Laodicea, he spared even Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, three of his confidential friends who had confederated to betray him. This forgiving disposition proved highly conducive to his affairs. Through love for his mildness and benignity, many, who well knew him for an impostor, were yet zealous to abet his usurpation¹²⁰.

War suddenly
levied on
him by Pto-
lemy Phys-
con—his
death.
Olymp.
clxiv. 3.
B. C. 122.

The misfortunes of Alexander proceeded from a quarter the least suspected, the same hand which had raised him being suddenly exerted to pull him down. Ptolemy Physcon, with the caprice natural to his character, entered into an alliance with Grypus¹²¹, and gave him in marriage Tryphæna, one of three daughters born to him by his niece Cleopatra. The nuptials were celebrated with due pomp. Tryphæna brought for her dower a reinforcement of her father's mercenaries. Alexander was driven to the necessity of fighting a battle, in which he was entirely forsaken by his good fortune. He fled with a slender train from one city to another, and endeavoured hastily to collect such supplies of money as would procure for him a comfortable retreat in Greece, in which country, then enjoying undisturbed quiet under the government of Rome, he had purposed to lead a life of philosophy and happiness, bidding for ever adieu to the empty pursuits of ambition. But, with a view to this design, he was tempted to lay hold of rich treasures in one of the temples at Antioch. The priests raised the cry of sacrilege. A tumult ensued; Alexander fled precipitately, and, to escape his pursuers, betook himself to unfrequented paths, among which, being encountered by a band of robbers, who recognized him, he ended his life by poison¹²².

¹²⁰ Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 603.

¹²¹ Physcon found Zebina less subservient to him than he expected; history assigns not any particular ground of offence.

¹²² He feared, the banditti, to make their own peace, would surrender him to Antiochus. Diodorus Excerpt. p. 604. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.

Thus died Zebina, the son of a broker of Alexandria, who, for nearly six years, had filled the throne of the Seleucidæ. C H A P.
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The destruction of this rival infused new boldness into Grypus, and determined him to rebel against the haughty dictates of his mother. To cure this wound to her ambition, Cleopatra had recourse to the most nefarious practices. Besides her son by Alexander Balas, slain in childhood by Tryphon, and her two sons by Demetrius II. Nicator, the elder of whom she had murdered, and by the younger of whom she now thought herself slighted, she had a fourth son still remaining, the fruit of her marriage with Antiochus VII., Sidetes; and who, being sent by her for education and security to the republick of Cyzicus in the Propontis, is, from this circumstance, distinguished in history by the epithet Cyzicenus, joined to the hereditary name of Antiochus¹²³. As Cyzicenus was several years younger than his brother Grypus, Cleopatra doubted not to find in him more unbounded compliance with her will; she determined therefore to cut off the one, to make room for the succession of the other. With this execrable purpose, she offered a poisoned cup to Grypus, as he returned warm from exercise. But apprized of the treachery, her son begged leave to pledge her; and when she refused to drink, produced the evidences of her guilt, and forced her to swallow the mortal draught¹²⁴. Thus perished Cleopatra, wife to three kings; the mother also of three, who reigned in her lifetime; and of Cyzicenus, a fourth, who mounted the throne of Antioch eight years after her death.

During this period of eight years, Syria enjoyed profound peace at home and abroad. The limits of the kingdom were indeed greatly contracted, but Antiochus VIII. Grypus, reigned without a rival; and, in this cessation of foreign wars and domestic sedition, distinguished himself only by the luxury of his entertainments and the splendour of his festivals. The games which he celebrated at Daphnè,

Antiochus VIII. Grypus reigns quietly eight years in Syria. Olymp. clxiv. 4— clxvi. 3. B. C. 121— 114.

¹²³ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

¹²⁴ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

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the Olympia of Syria, rivalled those exhibited half a century before his time, by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Grypus had also assumed this boastful title: and, like the first who wore it, is portrayed on his coins under the figure of Jupiter stretching forth garlands of victory. History has handed down the name of Apollonius among the lying flatterers whom he pampered, and that of Diogenes, a philosopher of Babylon, among the unfortunate victims of truth spoken with uncourtly freedom¹²⁵.

Death of
Ptolemy
Physcon—
Intrigues of
his widow
and niece.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 4.
B. C. 117.

Meanwhile, Cyzicenus, the half-brother of Grypus, as he advanced into manhood, became the object of jealousy and persecution. The dangers which he apprehended to his person, seemed to leave him no alternative between a crown and a grave¹²⁶. We know not what resources he might derive from the private inheritance of his father Antiochus Sidetes; but that unfortunate prince, the last of the Seleucidæ who shewed any love for glory, had left many partizans in Syria; and the circumstances of a neighbouring kingdom tended at this juncture to reinforce their numbers. Ptolemy Physcon had reigned twenty-nine years in Egypt, without exhausting the patience of his subjects by his bloody tyranny, aggravated by beastly profligacy. He died unmolested in his bed, bequeathing the kingdom of Cyrenè to a natural son, Ptolemy *Apion*¹²⁷, that is, the slender, a nickname directly opposite to that imposed on the *swollen* father. To his queen Cleopatra, Physcon left his kingdom of Egypt, ordering her to associate in the government whichever of her two sons, Lathyrus or Alexander, she thought fit to prefer¹²⁸. The queen had as little maternal feeling as her ruthless sister, whose monstrous cruelties have recently deformed the annals of Syria. But ambition made her prefer the younger of her sons for a partner in power; and to prevent opposition on the side of his brother Lathyrus, she had contrived to

¹²⁵ Athenæus.

Mithridat. c. 121.

¹²⁶ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.

¹²⁸ Pausanias, Attic.

¹²⁷ Id. l. xxxix. c. 5. Appian. de Bell.

send this prince, before his father's death, as viceroy into Cyprus, an employment considered by him only as an honourable banishment. The Egyptians, and particularly the citizens of Alexandria, espoused the interest of Lathyrus, and loudly demanded that notwithstanding the capricious destination of Physcon, and the unjust option of Cleopatra, the legitimate heir to their monarchy should be called to govern them. Cleopatra yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and, before consenting to the coronation of Lathyrus, at Memphis, required him to repudiate his present wife, and marry her younger sister¹²⁹. Of these successive wives of Lathyrus, both daughters to Cleopatra, the elder is only known by that appellative common to so many Egyptian females of the royal blood; the other was named Selenè, and being a woman, as will appear from her subsequent history, of singular address and spirit, was probably on that account selected by the queen-mother, to whom she was totally devoted, as the fittest instrument for governing the mind of Lathyrus.

With this queen-mother, the Jews established in Egypt had long been peculiar favourites. Two individuals of that nation, Chelcias and Ananias¹³⁰, sons to the high-priest of Heliopolis, were her counsellors and generals, and the prime directors in all her affairs. They represented to her that their countrymen in Palestine, so often insulted by the Syrian kings, were in danger of a new invasion on the part of Antiochus Grypus. To avert this evil, it was necessary to abet the cause of Cyzicenus. The divorced Cleopatra, now useful to the views of her mother, was therefore sent into Syria, to become the bride of that prince, with a body of troops from Cyprus for her dower¹³¹.

Among the first incidents in the warfare which followed, and which is very imperfectly related, Cyzicenus gained possession of Antioch; and, after defeat in an engagement, made good his retreat to that city, in which, as a place of safety, he left his newly married

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Ptolemy
Lathyrus.Cyzicenus
takes the
field against
his brother
Grypus.
Olymp.
clxiv. 4.
B. C. 113.Horrid ex-
ecutions of
Cleopatra
and Triphæ-
na respec-
tively wives.¹²⁹ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.¹³⁰ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.¹³¹ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

wife.

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to the rival
brothers.
Olymp.
clxv. 1.
B. C. 112.

wife. But while he rallied his broken forces, Grypus assaulted and recovered Antioch. Triphæna attended Grypus in this expedition. The eldest daughter of Physcon, Triphæna, had now at her mercy an aspiring sister, who in marrying a pretender to her husband's throne, had presumed to become her rival. In the rage of wounded pride, she thirsted for Cleopatra's blood; and when Grypus warmly opposed this fell purpose, she thought his expressions keener and stronger than any that *his* cold compassion was likely to dictate. She imperiously demanded that her rival in love as well as in power should be subjected to her vengeance. Her impious orders were more impiously executed; since Cleopatra, being pursued into the most venerated sanctuary of Antioch, her arms, while they clasped the divinity of the place, were hacked in pieces by the ministers of her ruthless sister¹²². The mangled princess expired in imprecations for vengeance against prophaned religion and parricidal murder. Her prayer was heard; for shortly afterwards Cyzicenus, having reassembled his forces, gained a decisive victory. Tryphæna was taken in the rout, and sacrificed to the offended manes of Cleopatra¹²³: Grypus retreated to Aspendus in Pamphylia; while his victorious antagonist, under the title of Antiochus IX. Philopator, established his authority over the greater part of Syria¹²⁴.

Cyzicenus —
his vile
amusements.

His ascendancy in power only displayed the worthlessness of his character. Equally careless of the affairs of war and government, the new king of Syria indulged in the lowest pleasures, and delighted in the basest society. The intervals of gross bodily gratifications were filled up by listening to the jests of buffoons and beholding the tricks of jugglers. Puppets and automata¹²⁵ formed a favourite amusement. His most royal sport was hunting, but even this was

¹²² Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

¹²³ Id. *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69. Conf. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 10.

¹²⁵ Diodorus Excerpt. p. 606. Hero, the

scholar of Ctesibius who lived down to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, composed two books on the subject of Automata. — The skill of philosophers was thus made subservient to the childish amusements of tyrants.

pursued

purfued capricioufly and vilely. He would often rife in the night, and fall into the field with a few of the meaneft attendants. He thus narrowly miffed, on repeated occafions, paying the forfeit of his folly to boars or panthers ¹³⁶.

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While Cyzicenus was thus idly employed in Syria, Grypus, in lefs than twelve months after his retreat, returned from Pamphylia with an army which the proper application of the treasures transported with him rendered numerous and formidable. Such at leaft it appeared to his brother, who abandoned to him the principal divifion of the kingdom, and retreated into Cœlefyria. Grypus, fenfible of the difficulty of penetrating into this intricate territory, liftened to a compromise founded on a treaty of partition. According to this treaty ¹³⁷, the Greater or Upper Syria, with its capital Antioch, was refigned to Grypus. Cyzicenus was thenceforth to reign at Damafcus in Cœlefyria, two hundred miles diftant from the refidence of his brother.

Treaty of
partition be-
tween him
and Grypus.
Olymp.
clxv. 2.
B. C. 111.

The vaft dominions of the Seleucidæ had been gradually reduced, as we have feen, to a fingle kingdom. That kingdom was now divided between two hostile brothers, and even their refpective fhares had fuffered great defalcations. In the northern part of the country a diftinct ftate had fprung up in Commagene ¹³⁸, the diftrict contiguous to the Euphrates. On the fea coaft, the cities of Tyre and Sidon had refumed their ancient independence ¹³⁹; and, in the South, the Jews, under the bold and able Hyrcanus, were formidable enemies to the new kingdom of Damafcus, on the territories of which they had already made deep encroachments. To extend their fuccefs to the original limits of the Holy Land, Hyrcanus, in the twenty-fixth year of his adminiftration, fent his two fons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, to lay fiege to Samaria ¹⁴⁰. This place, long rival to Jerufalem, was now chiefly inhabited by Syrian Greeks, and

The territo-
ries of the
brothers cur-
tailed by
their neigh-
bours.

¹³⁶ Id. ibid. p. 607.

¹³⁷ Joſephus, l. xxx. c. 10. & Porphyry.
Fragment. Eufebian.

¹³⁸ Appian de Bell. Mithridat.

¹³⁹ The *αὐτονομία* attested on medals.

¹⁴⁰ Joſephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

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XXV.

Siege and
capture of
Samaria,
Olymp.
clxvii. 4.
B. C. 109.

Aristobulus
king of the
Jews.
Olymp.
clxviii. 2.
B. C. 107.

Ptolemy
VIII. La-
thyus de-
throned by
the cruel ar-
tifices of his
mother.
Olymp.
clxviii. 3.
B. C. 106.

seemed to Antiochus Cyzicenus the firmest bulwark of the possessions still remaining to his family in Palestine. He therefore hastened to the defence of Samaria, but being defeated in battle, he implored the aid of his neighbour Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Egypt conjointly with his mother. Lathyrus, without consulting that princess, sent to him a reinforcement of six thousand men. But this succour not answering his expectation, he retired impatiently to Tripoli, leaving his forces under the command of Callimander and Epicrates, of whom the former was slain, and the latter corrupted. Through the treachery of Epicrates, Scythopolis and other strongholds fell into the hands of the Jews. Samaria surrendered after standing a year's siege¹⁴¹. Its inhabitants were enslaved; the city was desolated and demolished; and the Jews thus obtaining secure possession of the neighbouring territory, Aristobulus, who in little more than twelve months succeeded to his father Hyrcanus as high priest, assumed the royal diadem, and was the first king that reigned in Palestine in the course of nearly five centuries after the sad æra of Babylonish captivity¹⁴². His dominions did not entirely comprehend the three districts of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, since several cities on the sea coast which, amidst the distractions of Syria, had thrown off the yoke of that kingdom, either erected themselves into republics, or submitted to domestic tyrants. In the number of the former Ptolemais deserves particular mention, on account of transactions which will presently be related.

The assistance which Lathyrus had afforded against the Jews, provoked much resentment in his mother. She determined to precipitate him from the throne, and to advance in his stead her younger son Alexander, then governing in Cyprus. For accomplishing this design, she had recourse to a stratagem equally cruel and perfidious. Her eunuchs sallied from the palace of Alexandria streaming with blood, and imploring the aid of the citizens against Lathyrus, "whom,

¹⁴¹ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

¹⁴² Ibid. c. 13.

at the price of their wounds, they had hardly been able to restrain from the crime of parricide." An insurrection followed; the palace was assaulted; Lathyrus, informed of his danger from the enraged multitude, secretly escaped by sea, while his brother, as had previously been concerted, arrived from Cyprus, and took on him the government ¹⁴³.

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The revolution in his favour had been effected, however, merely through the deluded passions of the capital, and was not generally abetted either by the state or army. Lathyrus having failed to Cyprus, was acknowledged in that island; and the forces sent to reduce him, immediately came over to his party. Master of Cyprus, and of an army thirty thousand strong, he watched an opportunity of returning by force into Egypt. Under these circumstances Aristobulus, king of the Jews, after a reign of two years, was succeeded by his brother Alexander Jannæus, who determined to reduce the independent cities on his sea coast. He began by besieging Ptolemais. The citizens of that place, while they availed themselves of the strength of their walls, looked around for foreign assistance. The Syrian brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus had renewed hostilities with each other, and neither of them could be expected to befriend Ptolemais, which had revolted from their family. In Egypt Cleopatra, who allowed to her son Alexander only the name of king, considered the interests of the Jews as her own. Some feeble aid might be afforded to Ptolemais from Sidon and Gaza, cities which had formed themselves into republics, and from Dora and Cæsaræa, then called the tower of Straton; which two places, under a chief named Zoilus, had asserted independance, and were resolved to maintain it against both Jews and Syrians. But the chief hopes of the besieged city rested in Ptolemy Lathyrus, who, upon the first invitation, sailed with a powerful armament to its relief. The magnitude, however, of this armament, rendered its assistance suspi-

Ptolemy IX.
Alexander.
Lathyrus
still master of
a great
army.
Olymp.
clxviii. 3.
B. C. 106.

He is invited
into Syria to
oppose the
army of the
Jews.
Olymp.
clxviii. 4.
B. C. 105.

¹⁴³ Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

CHAPTER.
XXV.

Battle of
Asochis—
horrid mas-
sacre suc-
ceeding it.
Olymp.
clix. 1.
B. C. 104.

cious; and Demænetus, a favourite demagogue, assured his fellow citizens, that, on pretence of defending Ptolemais against the king of the Jews, Lathyrus had come with no other view than that of conquering it for himself. Upon his arrival on the coast, the Jewish army had raised the siege; but the gates of the city were kept shut against its deliverer. Stung with this affront, Lathyrus embraced the hostile resolution that had been unwarrantably ascribed to him. One part of his army he left to besiege Ptolemais, while the other, which he commanded in person, marched against the king of the Jews ¹⁴⁴.

To this latter measure he was instigated by Zoilus, styled tyrant of Dora, and by the citizens of Gaza; and further stimulated by the treachery of the Jewish king, who, while he implored peace from Lathyrus, secretly negotiated a war against him with Cleopatra, his mother and most relentless enemy. But this perfidy recoiled on the traitor. Lathyrus pursued him into Galilee, ravaged that district, took and plundered Asochis, and totally defeated the collected forces of the Jews in a great battle on the banks of the Jordan. The conqueror urged his advantage with blood-thirsty vengeance against a people peculiarly obnoxious to him. Thirty thousand, another report says fifty thousand Jews, perished in the rout; and the blunted weapons of the pursuers dropped from their wearied hands before they hearkened to the cries for quarter. Even the harmless villages on the Jordan, teeming with women and children, escaped not the merciless havock. Lathyrus ordered them to be desolated with shocking, and almost incredible, circumstances of cruelty ¹⁴⁵.

Ptolemais
successively
besieged by
three mutu-
ally hostile
armies.

Meanwhile, Cleopatra had assembled a great army under the Jews Chelcias and Ananias, her favourites and generals, that they might march to the assistance of their countrymen. She herself sailed to Ptolemais, still besieged by part of the forces of Lathyrus. Her arrival caused the siege to be raised; but the Ptolemæans, as sus-

¹⁴⁴ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 12.

¹⁴⁵ Id. *ibid.*

picious of Cleopatra as under like circumstances they had formerly been of her son, refused to open their gates to this new deliverer. Cleopatra, with the assistance of Ananias, determined to vanquish their obstinacy. Ptolemais was blocked up by sea, and invested by land ¹⁴⁶; so that in the course of three years the same city was assailed by three mutually hostile armies.

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Another division of the queen's forces marched under Chelcias to the encounter of Lathyrus. But the Jewish general dying in this expedition, Lathyrus availed himself of the confusion or despondency thereby produced in the enemy, to advance hastily towards Egypt, hoping to find its frontier garrisons so much drained by the forces sent into Palestine, that they would be unable to resist him. Being disappointed, however, in this expectation, he thought proper, before his mother's forces could resume a position for intercepting him, to return towards Gaza, and to throw his army for the winter into that friendly stronghold. Meanwhile Ptolemais surrendered to Cleopatra. Her hostile son had not ventured to keep the field. She was absolute mistress in Palestine. Alexander Jannæus came to her with his presents, thanking her for the deliverance which she had wrought for him, and craving the continuance of her protection. On this occasion, Cleopatra's Greek courtiers exhorted her to seize the person of the Jewish king, and to take possession of his country. But the influence of Ananias ¹⁴⁷ prevented her from listening to advice, with which, odious and infamous as it was, Cleopatra might easily have complied without disgracing her character. Having concluded a treaty with Alexander, she continued in Palestine to watch the motions of her son, nor thought of re-entering Egypt until that prince had sailed for Cyprus.

Surrenders
to Cleopatra.
Olymp.
clix. 3.
B. C. 102.

Upon her return to Alexandria, Cleopatra treated her younger son Alexander with such indignity, that he fled secretly from her presence, determining thenceforward rather to lead a private life in

Ptolemy IX.
Alexander
abdicates.
Olymp.
clix. 4.
B. C. 101.

¹⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

C H A P.

XXV.

The designs
of Lathyrus
and Cizice-
nus defeated
by female
manage-
ment.

Ptolemy IX.
reinstated by
his mother.
Olymp.
clix. 4.
B. C. 101.

Ptolemy
Apion be-
queathes
Cyrenè to
the Romans.
Olymp.
clxx. 4.
B. C. 97.

exile, than to bear the empty name of king in his native country ¹⁴⁸. About the same time she learned that a common enmity to the Jews had occasioned a close friendship between Lathyrus and Antiochus Cyzicenus. A treaty was in fact concluded between these princes at Damascus, by which the former was to be assisted by the whole disposable force of the latter, in a new attempt to re-enter the kingdom from which he had been expelled by the cruel artifices of his mother. To ward off this blow, Cleopatra sent into Syria her daughter Selenè, the wife whom she had first forced on Lathyrus, and of whom she had afterwards as forcibly deprived him. This princess, a dexterous and ready instrument of Cleopatra's ambition, was to marry Grypus, the perpetual rival of Cyzicenus, and by exciting a new war between the brothers, to create such troublesome employment for the younger in Syria, as should prevent him from assisting Lathyrus in his projected invasion of Egypt ¹⁴⁹. The intrigue succeeded to Cleopatra's wish, and Lathyrus' enterprize was again disconcerted. But his mother, as she saw the Alexandrians, the most unruly portion of her subjects, unwilling to obey her government, unless supported by one or other of her sons, was reduced to the necessity of recalling the younger from his voluntary abdication ¹⁵⁰. He yielded with reluctance to the conditions with which she flattered him; foreseeing that he should be again mortified by affronts or encompassed by dangers.

Amidst increasing disorders in Egypt and Syria, Ptolemy Apion died childless at Cyrenè. He was on the father's side brother to Lathyrus and Alexander; but the animosities between these princes, their odious or contemptible characters, and the profligate ambition of their mother Cleopatra, who tyrannised over the one after persecuting and expelling the other, made Apion overlook the claims of both, in the destination of his kingdom. By a formal testament,

¹⁴⁸ Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxviii.

¹⁵⁰ Justin, *ibid.*

he declared the Romans his heirs, as the ancient or most respectable allies of Egypt, of which Cyrenè, since its conquest by the first Ptolemy, had been regarded as a dependancy. The Romans, still stunned by the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri, and soon afterwards called to engage in the Marfic and Mithridatic wars, did not think proper for twenty years to avail themselves of this bequest in their favour, otherwise than by declaring the Cyrenæans a free people, exempt from every foreign jurisdiction, and subject only to such regulations as might best suit and please them¹⁵¹. In consequence of this measure, dissensions arose between the capital Cyrenè and the four other communities originally forming the Pentapolis, at the same time that each city and district in the country became a prey to domestic factions. To remove these evils, the Romans, as we shall see, at a time more convenient, reduced Cyrenaica into a province.

Antiochus Grypus had not been long united to Selenè, when he reaped the bitter fruits of that marriage in renewed hostilities with his brother. He was assassinated soon after by Heracleon, a vain courtier, who, intoxicated with the honours heaped on him, aspired to supplant his master¹⁵². But Cyzicenus hastened to Antioch, and, for a moment, joined that kingdom to his own of Damascus. His pretensions were speedily disputed by his nephews, the five sons of Grypus, the eldest of whom, under the name of Seleucus VI. Nicator, challenged him to battle, and obtained a decisive victory. Cyzicenus either perished in the combat¹⁵³, or was slain after it by orders of the conqueror¹⁵⁴; or, according to another report, died by his own hands¹⁵⁵, unable to brook his disgraceful defeat by so young a prince, against whose father he had sustained an equal warfare for the space of eighteen years.

C H A P.
XXV.

Murder of
Grypus.
Olymp.
clxx. 4.
B. C. 97.

Death of
Cyzicenus.
Olymp.
clxxi. 2.
B. C. 95.

¹⁵¹ Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxx. & Plutarch in Lucull. c. 13.

¹⁵² Porphyr. Fragment. Trogi. Pomp. Prolog. l. xl. Conf. Josephus Antiq. l. xiii.

¹⁵³ Id. ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

¹⁵⁵ Porphyr. Fragment.

Antiochus

C H A P.

XXV.

The war
continued
between
their respec-
tive sons.

Seleucus VI.
burned to
death.
Olymp.
clxxi. 4.
B. C. 93.

Antiochus
XI. drowned
in the Oron-
tes.
Olymp.
clxxi. 4.
B. C. 93.

Antiochus Cyzicenus left only one son, who, from his zeal and success in avenging his father's death, is entitled Antiochus X. Eusebes¹⁵⁶. Through the boldness of a courtesan, enamoured of his beauty, he escaped the dangers to which the victory of Seleucus exposed him. The partizans of his family, and the money which, according to the Syrian custom, had been placed in deposit for his use, made him master of Apamæa, and drew to him an army with which, in his first battle, he had the good fortune completely to vanquish his adversary, and to drive him into ignominious flight towards the mountains of Cilicia. In an unseasonable attempt to extort money from Mopsuesta, a Cilician city, which still acknowledged a loose dependence on the Syrian monarchy, the fugitive Seleucus provoked a conspiracy of the citizens, and, either perished by his own hand¹⁵⁷, or was burned to death with his attendants in a gymnasium or palace, which, upon his first coming to Mopsuesta, had been generously assigned for his dwelling¹⁵⁸.

When Seleucus thus perished, two of his brothers, Antiochus and Philip, twins, were on the northern frontiers of Syria; and two younger brothers remained, according to the usage of their country, in safe custody at Cnidus, that they might escape the dangers of the times. The twins, to their respective names of Antiochus XI. and Philip I., added the common epithets of Epiphanes and Philadelphus, and thus united in titles of honour as they had been in their birth, prepared to assert a joint sovereignty over their paternal dominions. Their first care was to avenge the cruel death of their brother on the incendiaries of Mopsuesta. With forces hastily collected from the remains of his scattered army, they marched into Cilicia, surprised Mopsuesta, massacred the inhabitants, and, to satiate their undistinguishing rage, spent much precious time in razing the obnoxious city¹⁵⁹. After this fruitless exploit, they joined their par-

¹⁵⁶ The pious, viz. towards his father.

Syr. c. 69.

¹⁵⁷ Porphy. Fragment. Eusebian.

¹⁵⁹ Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69,

¹⁵⁸ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13. Appian de Reb. 70. Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

tizans in Syria, and, soon coming to a battle with their adversary, Antiochus X. Eusebes, were defeated on the banks of the Orontes. In passing that river on horseback, Antiochus XI., one of the twins, was drowned¹⁶⁰; the fourth king of Syria that had suffered violent or accidental death, in the course of less than five years.

His brother Philip made a skilful retreat, and was enabled by the following occurrence again to take the field. Antiochus Eusebes had taken to his bed Selenè, formerly wife to Ptolemy Lathyrus, who considered the new espousals of this princess as an affront to himself. To revenge it, he drew from his retreat in Cnidus, Demetrius, the fourth of the brothers, and enabled him to take possession of Damascus, where he assumed the diadem under the title of Demetrius III. Eucærus¹⁶¹, an epithet denoting the seasonableness of his appearance in arms. The alliance of the two brothers rendered them more than a match for Antiochus Eusebes, their common enemy. He was compelled to cross the Euphrates, and to crave protection from the Parthians, who, under the great Mithridates II. had extended their conquests to the eastern bank of that river. Through their powerful interposition, Antiochus Eusebes triumphed in his turn over the brothers now unhappily disunited, and Demetrius III. being made prisoner by a Parthian general, was carried into the upper provinces of that empire, where he died in captivity¹⁶².

The commotions in Syria however were not yet at an end; for the last of the five Syrian brothers, afterwards stiled in history Antiochus XII. Dionysus, upon learning Demetrius' detention in the East, asserted his right of succession to the vacant throne of Damascus. The favour of the citizens and other inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, enabled him to maintain this pretension for two years against his cousin german Antiochus Eusebes, against his brother Philip, and against the rapacious Arabs in his neighbourhood, who had been long lying in

C H A P.
XXV.

Philip I. and
Demetrius
III. Eucæ-
rus.
Olymp.
clxxii. 1.
B. C. 92.

Demetrius
III. carried
into Parthia.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

Antiochus
XII. Diony-
sus.

¹⁶⁰ Porphy. Fragment.

¹⁶¹ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

¹⁶² Conf. Joseph. ibid. & Excerpt. ex His-
tor. Niccol. Damasc.

C H A P.
XXV.

Killed in
battle with
the Arabs.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 4.
B. C. 85.

wait to grasp the spoils of an oppressed and distracted kingdom¹⁶³. At the end of this period, Antiochus XII. Dionysus, having forced his way through Palestine in spite of the opposition of Alexander Janæus king of the Jews, fell in a desperate battle with the Arabs: most of his followers were cut in pieces¹⁶⁴: and the natives of Cœle-Syria despairing of protection from Antiochus Eusebes, or from Philip, still engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, called to the throne of Damascus, Aretas¹⁶⁵, an Arab chief, who had benefited by his long residence in the neighbourhood of Syria, to make acquirements in arts and letters, extremely rare among his Nabathæan countrymen¹⁶⁶.

Annexation
of Syria to
Armenia.
Olymp.
clxxiv.
B. C. 84.

Moved by this example, the inhabitants of Antioch and other Syrian cities, long weary of the crimes and calamities of the Seleucidæ, began to look around for some foreign dynasty, more able to defend, and more worthy to govern them. An attentive review, as will be shewn presently, of the state of neighbouring powers, made them choose for their protector and sovereign, Tigranes king of Armenia¹⁶⁷. Amidst the disorders immediately preceding this election, Philip I. should seem to have perished, since his name thenceforth disappears from history. Antiochus Eusebes saved himself by flight, and continued to lurk in an obscure corner of Cilicia¹⁶⁸. His queen Selenè, of a bolder spirit, occupied some strongholds in Commagene. The troops and treasures with which she was accompanied, enabled her to defend her possessions for a dozen years, and to educate in splendour two sons, whose history will afterwards be related¹⁶⁹.

Ptolemy IX.
Alexander
murders his
mother.
Olymp.
clxxii. 4.
B. C. 89.

Shortly before Syria thus passed from the dominion of the Seleucidæ, a new tragedy in Egypt reinstated Ptolemy Lathyrus in the throne. His brother Alexander grew weary of holding the bare name of king, while Cleopatra usurped the sovereignty.

¹⁶³ Id. *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Josephus, l. xiii. c. 14.

¹⁶⁵ Id. c. 15. Conf. Strab. l. xvi. p. 751.

¹⁶⁶ Id. *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 581.

¹⁶⁷ Justin, l. xl. c. 1. Conf. Appian de Reb. Syriac. c. 48.

¹⁶⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.

That

That princess perceived his impatience of submission, and, in order to punish it, determined to have recourse to measures familiar to her age and family. But while she hesitated between the bowl and the dagger, Alexander anticipated, by the latter, her fell purpose¹⁷⁰. Her murder was no sooner known, than the Alexandrians flew to arms. Cleopatra was deserving of many deaths, but she ought not to have fallen by the hand of her son. That son too, it was said, as he resembled in person the abominable Phylcon, had shewn that, if successor to his power, he would rival his monstrous tyranny. Apprised of the vengeance which threatened him, Alexander fled beyond seas; and Lathyrus was recalled from Cyprus, to take on him the government. He had hardly resumed it, when his expelled brother having possessed himself of much treasure, which their common mother and grandmother had deposited against future emergencies in the secure island of Còs, collected a mercenary armament, and made successive and equally fruitless attempts for re-entering Egypt and Cyprus. Alexander was pursued by Lathyrus' fleets under Tyrrhus and Chæreas, and finally captured and slain by the latter of these commanders¹⁷¹.

Is slain in a war with his brother Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus. Olymp. clxxiii. 2. B. C. 87.

From this time forward Lathyrus reigned five years undisturbed by foreign or domestic enemies, until the last scene in his administration was deformed by a rebellion of the antient capital Thebes, and of the once imperial nome or district surrounding it. By the removal of the seat of government, first to Memphis, three hundred and fifty miles north of Thebes, and afterwards to Alexandria on the sea-coast, the great primeval metropolis of Egypt had been gradually falling to decay. What the hand of time carried on slowly and insensibly, the havock of war now suddenly completed. After enduring a desperate siege for three years, Thebes was taken by the enraged conqueror, and by him stripped of every removeable monument of its antient

His subsequent reign. Olymp. clxxiii. 2—clxxiv. 3. B. C. 87—82.

¹⁷⁰ Pausanias, Attic. c. 9. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

¹⁷¹ Porphyry, Fragment. Græc. Eusebian.

C H A P.
XXV.

His daughter Berenice married to Alexander II.
Olymp. clxxiv. 4.
B. C. 81.

grandeur¹⁷². This is the last recorded event in the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Soter, nicknamed Lathyrus¹⁷³, it is thought, from a mole resembling the lathyrus or vetch, on his face. He died, bequeathing the isle of Cyprus to a natural son, known only by the common appellation of Ptolemy, and leaving Berenice, his sole legitimate offspring, to inherit his kingdom of Egypt. The reign of Berenice had scarcely lasted six months, when Sylla, the Roman dictator, gave¹⁷⁴ her a husband and a murderer in Alexander II. her cousin german, the son of that Alexander who had been the supplanter, the antagonist, and finally the victim of her father Lathyrus. Three years before Sylla set this vassal on the throne of Egypt, the Syrians, as we have seen, had submitted to Tigranes king of Armenia. Thenceforward the pure Greek kingdoms, and even the Greek commonwealths of the East, in respect of any real independence, might be regarded as extinct: but a memorable war of twenty-seven years¹⁷⁵ had begun in the peninsula of Asia, which was to decide whether the Romans, or a new power, half Grecian and half barbarous, that had hastily sprung up on the Euxine, should be master of Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Achaia; in a word, of all the dominions of the great Alexander on this side the Euphrates.

State of arts and letters.

The period of fifty years preceding this obstinate conflict, was an age of weakness and disgrace, rather than of positive or general misery. The rancorous animosities among the Greek kings proved ruinous to themselves, and those partisans who abetted them from personal interest, unmixed with the smallest infusion of public principle. Their hostilities, whether foreign or domestic, were carried on by small bodies of men raised among their immediate dependants. Cities were defended against them by their walls, and temples protected by their sanctity. Their petty wars suspended not the labours of agriculture, nor interrupted the operations of com-

¹⁷² Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

¹⁷³ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. N. H. l. ii. c. 67.

¹⁷⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 102.

¹⁷⁵ Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 26. He says thirty years, in round numbers.

merce :

merce: the native productions of the soil every where abounded, and far fetched objects of luxury were diffused through the most remote parts of the empire: so that the last unworthy races of Alexander's successors, while they lost much territory and many subjects, should seem to have been incapacitated, by their unworthiness itself, from inflicting deep wounds on the countries still acknowledging their authority. The inhabitants of these countries still prosecuted arts, sciences, and letters; and their Greek kings, contemptible in other respects, still encouraged them in this favourite career, congenial to their name and nation. Physcon, the worst of all the Ptolemies, studied so assiduously¹⁷⁶ under the grammarian Aristarchus, that he himself deserved the name of Philologer¹⁷⁷. He wrote twenty-four books of historical commentaries. His name is numbered among the criticks who laboured on the text of Homer¹⁷⁸; and he spared no pains to enrich the Alexandrian library with the most authentic and correct manuscripts that could possibly be procured. This laudable undertaking, however, was disgraced by the capricious tyranny natural to his character. All ships arriving in his dominions were searched: the books found in them were seized¹⁷⁹: copies were made by the king's transcribers, and given in return for the detained originals, which were carefully deposited in the Serapeon, a library which Physcon is thought to have founded¹⁸⁰ in the noble temple of Serapis¹⁸¹. From the Athenians, Physcon obtained the works of their three great tragic poets, upon depositing a pledge of fifteen talents, that the same manuscripts should be restored to them: he disgracefully forfeited his pledge¹⁸², about three thousand pounds in value. This zeal for augmenting his library was heightened by rival-

¹⁷⁶ Athenæus, l. xxiv. p. 654.

¹⁷⁷ Epiphan. de Ponder. & Mensur. p. 182.

¹⁷⁸ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549. & l. xiii. p. 576.

¹⁷⁹ These books he distinguished by the inscription, *ἐκ πλοίων*, "from ships." Galen. Comment. ad Epidem. Hippocrat. l. ii.

c. 23.

¹⁸⁰ It was long posterior to the library of Bruchion, and called fantastically its daughter. See above, vol. i. p. 486.

¹⁸¹ See above, vol. i. p. 498.

¹⁸² Galen. & Epiphan. ubi supra.

C H A P. ship with Eumenes II. of Pergamus ¹⁸³. To prevent that prince from
XXV. multiplying his volumes, Ptolemy forbade the exportation of papyrus
from Egypt: the invention of parchment in Pergamus was the fruit
of this invidious prohibition ¹⁸⁴.

Historians. Under princes so careful about the works of the ancients, contem-
porary authors abounded, whose names are incidentally mentioned
by Strabo, chiefly, and Athenæus, but of whose merit there is no
longer an opportunity to judge. The class of travellers ¹⁸⁵ and geo-
graphers ¹⁸⁶ was particularly numerous: there were also historians of
their own times, whose loss is deeply to be regretted. Chance has
preserved, from the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, three books of the
mythological library of Apollodorus of Athens; but his contemporary,
Apollodorus of Artemita, had treated of the Parthians and Bactri-
ans ¹⁸⁷; Artemidorus of Ephesus, and Menecrates of Nyfa, had illus-
trated the history of Bithynia ¹⁸⁸: the same subjects were discussed
more elaborately by the great Posidonius of Rhodes ¹⁸⁹: All these
works have perished; and with them much interesting information
concerning nations and countries of great relative importance in the
age in which those historians flourished.

Poets.

For reasons formerly assigned, eloquence, truly Attic ¹⁹⁰, was little
cultivated or known: but good taste in poetry was not yet extinct,
as appears from the idyls or little poems of Moschus and Bion, breath-
ing love and pleasure, beautiful throughout, and adorned with many
touches of exquisite delicacy. Moschus, as well as Ptolemy Physcon,
was a disciple of Aristarchus ¹⁹¹: his young friend Bion died before

¹⁸³ Reges Attalici cum egregiam biblio-
thecam ad communem delectationem insti-
tuisent, tunc item Ptolemæas infinito zelo,
&c. Vitruvius de Architect. l. vii. in Præfat.
Conf. Plin. l. xiii. c. 11. Mox æmulatione
circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemæi & Eume-
nis, &c.

¹⁸⁴ Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

¹⁸⁵ By sea as well as land: witness the in-
numerable περιπλοί. See above, vol. i. p. 628.

¹⁸⁶ Mnaseas of Patræ, Demetrius & Me-
trodorus of Scepsis, &c. Strabo, Plin. Ste-
phan. de Urb. & Athenæus passim.

¹⁸⁷ Strabo, l. xi. p. 516.

¹⁸⁸ Plutarch in Theseo. Conf. Strabo,
l. xvi.

¹⁸⁹ Athenæus passim.

¹⁹⁰ See above, vol. i. p. 629.

¹⁹¹ Suidas & Euseb. in Chronic.

him,

him, and Moschus laments his premature loss in strains equally pathetic and poetical. In the succeeding reign, Sositheus¹⁹² carried off the palm of tragedy: Anaxipolis¹⁹³ was admired in comedy: other Greek poets perpetuated their delightful art in much perfection down to the Augustan age; witness Parthenius of Nicæa, the master of Virgil¹⁹⁴, and whose lost work, under the same Greek title, is said to have given birth to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid¹⁹⁵.

The cultivators of arts and sciences were scattered over innumerable cities in the three divisions of the world. But Athens, Rhodes, and Alexandria maintained a decided pre-eminence. The literary glory of Athens resulted chiefly from the still subsisting schools of Plato and Aristotle¹⁹⁶. Rhodes was renowned for the stoic Panætius, the companion, as we have seen, of Scipio Æmilianus, in his embassy to Egypt, and whose lost work on "Offices" Cicero professes to imitate¹⁹⁷. Apollonius, also of Rhodes, was the most distinguished scholar of Panætius¹⁹⁸; and Posidonius, a native of the same city, in which he continued to reside, was the greatest ornament of the following age, as a stoic philosopher, an historian, and a geometer¹⁹⁹.

Geometry, and the branches of knowledge depending on it, are those stubborn sciences which cannot easily recede; they greatly flourished in Rhodes and in Alexandria. Nor was Athens unwilling to exchange the fame of eloquence for that of geometry, even before she had been confounded and degraded, with other Greek cities, into the form of a Roman province. Archimedes' two noblest treatises²⁰⁰

¹⁹² Suidas ad Voc.

¹⁹³ Plin. l. xiv. c. 14.

¹⁹⁴ Macrobius, Saturn. l. v. c. 17. Conf. Aulus Gellius, l. xiii. c. 26.

¹⁹⁵ The ἀλλοιοποιεῖς of Antigonius should seem to have been a work of the same nature.

¹⁹⁶ By means of these schools, propriety of sentiment and good taste in writing was better upheld in Athens than in any other Greek city. Cicero de Fin. l. v. c. 3. & seq.

¹⁹⁷ Cicero de Offic. passim.

¹⁹⁸ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 65.

¹⁹⁹ Suidas ad Voc. Conf. Cicero de Natur. Deorum, l. ii. c. 34, 35. & Lucian. in Macrob.

²⁰⁰ "On the sphere and cylinder, and "on spiral lines." These admirable treatises inscribed to one friend, contain investigations left imperfect by the premature death of another. This was Conon of Samos, whom Archimedes again praises in his Quadrature of the Parabola, and of whom we have above spoken, p. 4.

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Philosophers.

Mathematicians.

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are dedicated to Dositheus, a young mathematician of Athens. This Dositheus forms the link between Eudoxus and Hipparchus, of whom we shall speak presently, as an improver of astronomy; while his contemporary, Apollonius of Perga²⁰¹, acquired the title of the great geometer²⁰², a title which the ingenuity and subtlety displayed in his conic sections will be found amply to justify. Hipparchus, who closely followed Dositheus and Apollonius, made observations in his native city Nicæa in Bithynia; at Rhodes²⁰³, capital of that island; and especially at Alexandria; during the reigns of the Ptolemean brothers Philometor and Physcon, from the 154th to the 163d Olympiad²⁰⁴. In Hipparchus, indeed, the Alexandrian school may be said to have reached its highest glory. He greatly improved the system of excentric spheres first proposed by Eudoxus; and Pliny says, though probably with much exaggeration²⁰⁵, that he predicted the courses and aspects of the sun and moon for 600 years. For determining precisely the length of the solar year, he chose one of his own observations of the summer solstice, compared with a similar observation of Aristarchus of Samos made 145 years before. He found that the solstice came round twelve hours sooner than it ought to have done, on the received supposition that the year contained 365 days and 6 hours. This palpable precession of the equinox in point of time, he divided among the sun's 145 annual revolutions, and thereby reduced the duration of the solar year by the space of five minutes²⁰⁶: an ingenious method still of universal use in astronomy. This precession of the equinox in time, or *retrocession*²⁰⁷ of the equinoctial points in space, he ascribed to a con-

²⁰¹ Pappus Mathemat. Collect. 1. vii. p. 251.

²⁰² Proclus & Pappus, 1. vi. & Phot. Biblioth. p. 190.

²⁰³ Suidas and Strabo.

²⁰⁴ Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. 1. iii. c. 2.

²⁰⁵ N. H. 1. ii. c. 26. His whole encomium is hyperbolical and gigantic. "Hipparchus performed a task that would have been daring in a god: he bequeathed to his

successors an inheritance in the heavens: none has so well proved the congeniality of man with the sublimest objects in nature, and that the human mind is an emanation of the divine."

²⁰⁶ Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. ubi supra.

²⁰⁷ So called the motion being from east to west, that is, contrary to the order of the signs of the Zodiac.

trary motion of the firmament from west to east, and treated of this phænomenon in his famous work, now lost, on the falling back ²⁰⁸ of the equinoctial and solstitial points. To these important discoveries he is said to have been led by the appearance, in his time, of a new star. This suggested to him the inquiry, whether the firmament underwent variations in its fabric; towards the solution of which question, he determined to ascertain the number and position of the stars, and to leave a complete picture of the heavens for the contemplation of posterity. This picture was delineated by him on a solid sphere, which should seem to have been left by Hipparchus in the Museum of Alexandria ²⁰⁹, with a projection of it on a plain surface, as more convenient than a large globe for examination and conveyance ²¹⁰. His success in numbering the stars is mentioned with raptures, by a writer zealous for the fame, but too inattentive to the labours of this great astronomer ²¹¹. In making his catalogue of the stars, Hipparchus described their relative position in the heavens according to their distances in degrees from two great circles of the sphere. This happy contrivance he transferred from astronomy to geography ²¹², and first described the habitable earth by the degrees of longitude and latitude, according to the method now universally adopted. He was the inventor also of trigonometry ²¹³; but indefatigable in labour, and passionately fond of truth ²¹⁴, he was not over-hasty in digesting his numerous works; so that the glory both of his astronomy and geography was reaped at the distance of three

²⁰⁸ Περὶ τῆς μεταπτώσεως τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ ἰσημερινῶν σημείων. Syntax. Magn. l. ii. c. 2. By comparing Hipparchus' observations with his own, Ptolemy found the precession of the equinoxes in the space of 265 years. He therefore concluded their movement to be 1° in 100 years; but the doctrines of Ptolemy are well known, and fall not within the limits of the present work.

²⁰⁹ Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. vii. c. 1.

²¹⁰ Synesius de Don. Astrolog. inter Oper.

Synthetic.

²¹¹ Plin. l. ii. c. 12. & 26.

²¹² Strabo, l. i. p. 7. Conf. l. ii. p. 131. Neither Strabo, nor Pliny, who speaks so highly of Hipparchus, adopted his clear and concise mode of geographical description.

²¹³ Theon. Comment. at Synt. Magn. l. i. c. 9.

²¹⁴ Syntax. Magn. passim. & l. iii. c. 2.

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centuries, by his great follower Ptolemy, in the mathematical school of Alexandria²¹⁵. Of the intermediate mathematicians²¹⁶ between these luminaries of science, we have very imperfect accounts; for the Greek, and still more the Roman writers, from whom such biography might have been expected, were exclusively attentive to ethics and politics, to arms and eloquence²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ Agathem. Epitom. Geograph. l. i. c. 6. & Proclus Hypotyp. Astron. posit. The only work of Hipparchus, now remaining, is his commentary in three books on the Phænomena of Aratus. It is entitled, "On the Phænomena of Eudoxus and Aratus," the reason for which see above, vol. i. p. 615.

²¹⁶ The name even of Hipparchus does not occur either in Seneca or in Plutarch, though the former might have been expected to speak of him in his "Natural Questions," and the latter in his "Sentiments of Philosophers concerning Nature." Cicero names Hipparchus but once, and that casually as an opposer of Eratosthenes's Geography. Epist. ad Aytic. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Strabo,

l. i. p. 7. The Romans, as Cicero says, Tusculan. l. i. c. 1. confined their study in mathematicks to such operations of measuring and numbering as were indispensable in the affairs of ordinary life.

²¹⁷ The age of Geminus, author of the Element Astronom., is uncertain: Sosigenes, as we shall see, enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Kalendar; Theodosius, noticed by Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. & Vitruv. l. ix. c. 9. has left Mathematical Elements of Spherical Astronomy; still the classic book on the subject. Two less important treatises ascribed to him, *περί φυσικῆς καὶ ἡμετέρας*, and *περί οὐρανίων*, contain geometrical demonstrations of the different phænomena resulting from differences of local habitation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Political State of Asia. — Four Powers interposed between the Romans and Parthians. — Mithridates Eupator. — First Stages of his Reign. — Sylla's Embassy. — Nicomedes III. of Bithynia. — He plunders the Greek Cities on the Euxine. — Forbearance of Mithridates. — His Treaty with Tigranes of Armenia. — Success in all Parts of the Peninsula. — Massacre of the Romans there. — Sylla takes Athens. — Defeats the Pontic Generals in Greece. — Concludes Peace with Mithridates. — Triumphs over his domestic Enemies.

A CENTURY before the Christian æra, the political state of Asia, and still more the characters of those who bore sway in that continent, announced a long and fierce conflict, likely to be maintained by no less obstinacy of emulation than vigour of military resources. In the vast tract of territory between the Euphrates and the Indus, Mithridates II. of Parthia having restored and consolidated a powerful empire, reposed on his laurels at Hecatompylos in an honourable old age, and with the title of Great, which foreigners as well as natives bestowed on him'. At the western extremity of Asia Minor, the Romans had for thirty years been masters of the kingdom of Pergamus, but had been prevented from greatly extending their dominion eastward, by the seditions of the Gracchi², a war of five years with Jugurtha³, the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri⁴, not to mention the necessity of perpetual operations on the side of Macedon against the untamed Thracians and Illyrians, and perpetual warfare in Spain against the spirit of stubborn inde-

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Political state
of Asia, and
characters of
its sove-
reigns.
Olymp.
clxx. 1.
B. C. 100.

The Par-
thians.

The Ro-
mans.

¹ Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.

² Plutarch in Vit. Gracchor.

³ Salust. de Bell. Jugurth.

⁴ Plutarch in Mario.

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pendence or indignant rebellion⁵. Having surmounted all these obstacles, Rome was ready to direct the strength of the West against the riches of the East; and though in consequence of the change of manners formerly explained, her senators were no longer characterized by proud simplicity and incorrupt dignity, and her citizens had sadly degenerated from their ancient frugality and honesty⁶, yet the pursuit of vast public interests was calculated to conceal the personal ambition and insatiable avarice of the great, and perpetual exercise in arms, encouraged by rewards and promises, and flattery, served in some measure to supply in the multitude the want of those nobler principles of patriotism and true honour, and that founder military discipline, which had long made the legions invincible.

Four powers
interposed
between
them.

Mithridates
VI. Eupator
his pursuits
in youth.

Between the dominions of the Romans and Parthians, four independent kingdoms intervened; on the side of the former, Bithynia and Cappadocia; and on the side of Parthia, the far greater powers of Pontus and Armenia. Mithridates V. of Pontus, six years after he had assisted the Romans in the conquest of Pergamus, was slain⁷ by domestic treachery in the Greek city Sinopè, his favourite residence. He left behind him a son in his thirteenth year, Mithridates VI. Eupator, memorable for a reign of sixty years, of which the former half, obscure as it is in history, appears to have been a fit preparation for the splendour that followed it. Even in the earliest youth, being of a character that scorned submission, and that was prompt to rebel against the most legitimate authority, he rendered himself so obnoxious to his mother and tutors, that they determined on his destruction⁸. But the various snares which they

⁵ Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 21. & l. xxviii. c. 12.

⁶ Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus, speaks of the honesty of the Romans even forty years after this period, and contrasts it with the dishonesty of the Greeks; but this is the language of the bar, studious not of what is true, but of what is useful to the cause in hand.

⁷ Strabo, l. x. p. 477.

⁸ Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1. & seq. His careless abridgement ill supplies the place of Trogus Pompeius; and the latter, did his work remain, could not compensate for the lost history of the great Posidonius, who must have treated fully of the reign of Mithridates. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. 214. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753. & Lucian in Macrob.

laid for him all redounded, it is said, to his advantage or glory. When encouraged to mount too mettlesome horses, he learned to tame their fiery spirit; when assailed more secretly by poison, he took precautions for rendering it harmless, and at length invented the famous Mithridate⁹: in danger of assassination in his apartment, he lived seven years without knowing the confinement of walls, spending his whole day in the chace, and sleeping in the open air in the midst of companions attached to his fortunes, and rivals of his manhood. By this mode of life he hardened his body, which nature had cast in the finest mould of heroic beauty¹⁰, into a fit companion for a mind enterprising and fervid, filled with lofty hopes, and bent on noble purposes, in the prosecution of which he was alike indefatigable and fearless. In a sudden return to Sinopè, from the banks of the Thermodon, he cut off the enemies by whom his youth had been endangered, not sparing his mother¹¹, the accused murderer of his father, and who had long thirsted for the blood of her only son. To compensate by respect for one parent his stern punishment of the other, he assumed the title of Eupator, as if his highest boast consisted in the fame of his father's virtues. Of his two sisters, the elder Laodicè had been given in marriage to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia; he himself, according to the fashion of eastern kings, espoused the younger, who bore the same common name; an appellation as frequent in Pontus as Cleopatra in Egypt: while the historians of both countries often conceal from us the proper names by which even royal personages were distinguished.

Shortly after this marriage, Mithridates having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wife, undertook, with a few chosen friends, a long journey through the various regions of Asia. Being at peace with his neighbours, he had an opportunity of examining at leisure the strength and the weakness of all the different states in that continent;

His travels,
and reflections
made
thereon.

⁹ Plin. N. H. l. xxv. c. 2. & c. 6.

¹¹ Appian. *ibid.* Conf. Memnon. apud

¹⁰ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 112.

Phot. c. xxxii. p. 727.

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the strength likely to resist his arms, the weakness that tempted his ambition. On the side of the East and of Parthia, he saw but a doubtful conflict; the North and the West offered to him more tempting prospects. The Scythians beyond the Euxine were not at that time united under any one warlike khan or chieftain; and the states of western Asia, though nominally allies to Rome, were most of them jealous of that power, and all of them mutually hostile to each other. The kingdom of Pergamus, and the annexed districts in Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Phrygia, with which, and many others, the Romans ceased not to enlarge it, felt all the oppression of provincial government, which continually grew more intolerable with the encreasing vices of Rome; the rapacity of generals, the extortion of publicans, the tyranny of the equestrian order, which, by a strange solecism in polity, united the financial administration in the provinces with the supreme judiciary power both at home and abroad. The great designs, with which his travels are said to have inspired Mithridates, were in danger of being blasted on his return to Pontus by female perfidy. Laodicè had brought forth a son, of whom it was impossible that he should be the father. To escape the punishment of her adultery, she tendered to her husband a poisoned cup¹²; but Mithridates, apprised both of her perpetrated and intended crime, crushed the viper in his bosom, and turned to pursuits that easily obliterated in his ambitious mind this scene of domestic horror.

His Greek
subjects on
the Euxine
— their ser-
vices.

From the fruitful dales, watered by the Iris and Thermodon, the dominion of Pontus had been extended, in the last reign, to Heraclæa and Trapezus, two Greek cities on the Euxine, about five hundred miles asunder, by means of which, and the many intermediate places of the same description, Mithridates was furnished with instruments well qualified to second his views, either in arts or arms. Throughout his whole reign the Greeks were his ministers

¹² Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 3.

and generals, as well as his engineers and architects; the companions of his activity and the amusers of his idleness¹³. Their services were peculiarly useful in disciplining his Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, many tribes of whom were called Leuco-Syrians, because, being a mixed race of Syrians and Thracians, they differed conspicuously in their complexions from the southern and darker Syrians on both sides the Euphrates.

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With an army which added the tactics of Greek infantry to the rapid evolutions of Paphlagonian¹⁴ cavalry, and which he had taught to keep the field in all seasons, Mithridates, in successive expeditions, reduced the neighbouring nations on the Euxine, particularly the industrious Colchians, so renowned in the traditions of antiquity, and then advanced northward to the small but respectable kingdom in the Tauric Chersonesus. In this remote peninsula, he received the submission of a successor, and probably a descendant of that Leucon who, in the age of Demosthenes, annually supplied the Athenians with 400,000 bushels of corn¹⁵. From the Greek colonies which adorned the northern banks of the Euxine, and which extended themselves three hundred miles inland from the mouths of the Borysthenes and the Tanais¹⁶, the invader encountered not any memorable resistance. The fiercer Scythian tribes at first unsuccessfully opposed, and afterwards reinforced his arms. How far he carried his conquests on this side, history does not record; but it is mentioned to his praise that, as Alexander discovered the East, and the Romans the West, so the North was first explored and made known by the victories of Mithridates¹⁷. His dominions, when he first interfered with the Roman allies in Lesser Asia, stretched 2,000 miles in length¹⁸. They consisted of twenty-four nations, speaking

His extensive
northern
conquests.

¹³ Strabo, l. x. p. 557. & l. xiii. p. 609. 610. & passim.

¹⁴ The whole of Paphlagonia had been added to Pontus by Mithridates V. Vid. Oration. Mithridat. ad exercitum, apud Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 4. & seq.

¹⁵ Demosthen. in Leptin.

¹⁶ Herodot. l. iv. c. 104. Conf. Strabo, Plin. Dionys. Perieget.

¹⁷ Strabo, l. i. p. 14.

¹⁸ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498.

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Variety of
languages in
Caucasus—
its cause.

as many different languages, of all which the tenacious memory of Mithridates made him a complete master¹⁹. This latter circumstance is the only thing extraordinary in the report. For the district of Caucasus alone, the towering isthmus between the Euxine and Caspian, has been noted both in ancient and modern times for a still greater variety of dialects. This tract of country, which Mithridates often pervaded as a conqueror, connecting geographically Sarmatia and Scythia with Assyria and Persia, is the high road of communication through which the exuberant populousness of the North has continually flowed, to repair the wasteful luxury and corroding effeminacy of the South. At Dioscurias, the general emporium of Caucasus, Strabo speaks of seventy, some writers said a more incredible number of nations and tongues; so that this isthmus or passage between the two great divisions of the eastern continent, should seem to have retained specimens, as it were, of the various passing tribes in their successive migrations²⁰.

The Pontic
ambassadors
treated with
contumely at
Rome.

Olymp.
clxix. 4.
B. C. 101.

Mithridates, having in some measure consolidated his obscure, barbarous empire, long pondered his own strength before he ventured upon a more splendid theatre of action. His natural wish was to extend his empire to the Grecian sea; but, in this design, he must encounter the Romans, and before them their allies in Cappadocia and Bithynia. That he might interpose in the affairs of these kingdoms, without creating jealousy, or at least without rousing immediate opposition, he sent ambassadors loaded with gold to Rome, where the events of the Jugurthine war (for we shall see that such transactions escaped not his vigilance), were sufficient to assure him that all was venal. On one occasion the activity of faction disconcerted his intrigues. The people at large, who were apprised of many acts of delinquency in their superiors, began to view all their proceedings suspiciously, nay malignantly; and the party-spirit or

¹⁹ Plin. l. vii. c. 24. l. xxv. c. 2. Aulus Gellius, l. xvii. c. 17.

²⁰ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 278.

envy of Saturninus, afterwards a fit accomplice of the bold and bloody Marius, hurried him into undistinguishing resentment against the ambassadors of Pontus, whom, as bearers of the king's bribes, he treated with the utmost contumely. It belonged to the senate to take cognizance of such outrages against the law of nations. Upon complaint of the ambassadors, Saturninus was therefore tried by the senate; but such was the concourse of persons who espoused his cause, that his judges durst not condemn him. The favour of the multitude raised him soon afterwards to the tribunate²⁰.

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This unseasonable occurrence did not divert Mithridates from his purpose. His sister Laodicè, wife to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia, had borne to that prince two sons, then in early youth. Should their father die, the king of Pontus, as guardian to his nephews, would become master of Cappadocia. Ariarathes was removed through the agency, it was believed, of a certain Gordius, instigated, according to report, by Mithridates to the treacherous murder of his sovereign²¹. But in his design of taking on him the government of Cappadocia, the author of the crime found himself thwarted by the bold spirit of his sister Laodicè, who asserted her right of administration during the minority of her son; and to obtain a powerful abettor of this pretension, gave herself in second marriage to the aged Nicomedes II. who, for nearly half a century, had filled the neighbouring throne of Bithynia. This transaction, intercepting the fruits of his iniquity, enraged Mithridates against Nicomedes, and still more against Laodicè and her sons.

Mithridates' machinations against Cappadocia thwarted by his sister Laodicè.

He immediately took the field with a great army, for Nicomedes could muster 50,000 foot, and 6,000 horse. Mithridates, however, overcame all difficulties, except the unalterable loyalty of the Cappadocians to their hereditary kings, descendants of the satrap Anaphas, who had assisted Darius Hystaspis in overturning the usurpation of the magi; and whose high-born line had been wonderfully²² preserved

He allows his nephew to reign there on condition that Gordius should be reinstated in power.

²⁰ Appian. Dion. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxix.

²¹ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

²² See above, vol. i. p. 234.

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Mithridates
invades Cap-
padocia,
murders his
nephew
Ariarathes
VIII. in a
parley.

from destruction under the bloody grasp of Perdiccas, the immediate successor of Alexander the Great. Wishing to associate and subdue the Cappadocians, not to extirpate them, the conqueror allowed them to place the elder of his nephews on their vacant throne, requiring, as the only condition on their part, the recal and reinstatement of Gordius, who had been banished, as he gave out, on groundless suspicions²³.

But Ariarathes VIII. made no haste to bring back a man stained with the foul imputation of treasonable murder; and when urged on this subject by his uncle, put his kingdom in a posture of defence, and trusted to the affectionate zeal of his people. To answer this defiance, Mithridates entered his frontier at the head of 80,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, together with an alarming train of 600 armed chariots, winged with scythes, to sweep the Cappadocian plains. Notwithstanding this formidable force, his adversaries did not decline an engagement. Both armies were arrayed for battle, when Mithridates, sensible of the havock that must be made among a people whom he already grasped as his property, summoned his nephew to a parley. As a preparation for this conference, persons were sent, according to the usual practice in such cases, to make sure that neither of the opposite chiefs carried with him any concealed weapon. Mithridates had a dagger artfully hid in his girdle, which, being handled with little ceremony by those sent to search him, he desired them to take care lest they should discover an instrument, not of death but of life; and having inspired confidence by this coarse jest, avoided the detection of the flagitious villainy which he meditated, and which in the moment after he inhumanly perpetrated²⁴. The assassination of their youthful and beloved king, in the presence of both armies, instead of rousing the Cappadocians to revenge, filled them with consternation. They threw down their arms in dismay, and submitted to the victor.

²³ Justin, *ibid.*

²⁴ *Id.* *ibid.*

But from this effect of sudden terror they as suddenly recovered, when Mithridates, having quitted their country, left them in the hands of his lieutenants. The younger brother of Ariarathes VIII. to elude the dangers of the times, had, according to a custom which we have often noticed, been deposited in safe custody in one of the islands or walled cities of Lesser Asia. A revolt of the Cappadocians enabled him, under the name of Ariarathes IX. to mount the throne of his ancestors. But his reign lasted only a few months, for Mithridates, descending from the heights of Caucasus, whither his affairs had called him, defeated and dispossessed this unfortunate young prince, who died of grief in exile²⁵; and with him ended the long line of Anaphas, which, either as hereditary satraps or as kings, had governed Cappadocia 440 years.

During the transactions above recorded, Laodicè, through the protection of her husband, escaped her brother's vengeance. Exasperated now, in her turn, by the cruel destruction of her children, she concerted with Nicomedes a scheme for depriving Mithridates of the fruits of his multiplied crimes. A youth of obscure descent, but of a graceful figure and winning behaviour, was taught to personate a third son of Ariarathes VII. and Laodicè, and was conducted to Rome by his mother, under an escort of Bithynians, to claim assistance from the senate against the murderer of his father and brothers, and the usurper of his kingdom. To counteract this intrigue, Mithridates employed Gordius, whom he found equally well qualified to second either his craft or his cruelty, and sent him at the head of a splendid embassy, to convince the Romans that a child only eight years old, and really his own son, whom he affected to treat as king of Cappadocia, was the only surviving descendant of the illustrious Ariarathes VI. the civiliser of his country and the faithful ally of Rome, in the Pergamenian war. The senate, however, was not the dupe of such artifices. Since the time that Pergamus had been re-

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Despair of
Ariarathes
IX. and ex-
tinction of
the long line
of Cappado-
cian kings.
Olymp.
clxxi. 4.
B. C. 93.

Laodicè the
queen-mo-
ther sends a
suppositious
son to Rome
to claim his
father's
kingdom.

Mithridates
counteracts
her intrigues
by falsehoods
equally au-
dacious.

²⁵ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 2.

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duced into a province, the Lesser Asia was filled with Romans under a variety of characters, civil as well as military, and engaged in various pursuits both of a public and private nature, though the class employed in commerce seems to have been incomparably the most numerous. From the reports of their countrymen settled in the East, the Romans knew what to think of the impositions that would have been practised on them by Laodicè and her brother; and could not enough admire the frontless impudence of both. In contempt of their fictitious kings, the senate therefore declared the Cappadocians a free people, and gave orders for intimating this decree to all persons concerned in it²⁶.

The Cappadocians acknowledge their unfitness for enjoying liberty.

Chuse Ariobarzanes for king.

Sylla sent from Rome to secure his

The first opposition to a measure apparently so laudable, came from an unexpected quarter, that of the Cappadocians themselves. They confessed, that liberty was not a fit present for them, because they were not in a situation rightly to enjoy it. "In a commonwealth like Rome, long engaged in important transactions at home and abroad, there flourished many able and enlightened citizens, qualified to rule over each other in vicarious succession, and who had been trained by habit to command with temper, and obey with dignity. Such was not the condition of Cappadocia, a country still rude and undisciplined, but whose inhabitants, ignorant of other matters, yet knew enough of themselves to be convinced that they could not live without a king." The Romans, not a little astonished at this rejection of freedom, a blessing in their eyes so precious, gave intimation that the people of Cappadocia should choose themselves a king from their own nation. They chose Ariobarzanes, a person recommended by his nobility, his opulence, and his equity: for though a party clamoured for Gordius, the friend of Mithridates, yet the great majority of the Cappadocians regarded this candidate with horror²⁷.

To confirm Ariobarzanes in his high dignity, the senate employed Sylla, who had been pretor the preceding year at Rome, and had

²⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

²⁷ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 5.

distinguished

distinguished his pretorship by combats of lions and other wild beasts from Africa²⁸. This reminded the Romans of the Numidian war, of which Sylla had carried off the chief glory by the capture of Jugurtha²⁹. He was naturally pointed out, therefore, for an expedition in which he might have to encounter a prince as bold and crafty as Jugurtha, and far more powerful. But Mithridates, whose designs had been long meditated, did not think proper to risk their ultimate success by too sudden a disclosure of them. The affections of the Cappadocians running in a strong current for Ariobarzanes, he allowed him with little, and that only a secret opposition, to be established on the throne.

Sylla should seem to have made a progress with the new king through his dominions, since he appeared with him on the Euphrates, which separates Cappadocia and Armenia. On the banks of this river, a Parthian ambassador came to the Roman pretor, offering the friendship of his master, old Mithridates II. This was the first transaction between the Romans and Parthians, nations destined to war for three centuries with each other. Sylla received Orobazus, for that was the stranger's name, with much courtesy, except that in his tent he took his own seat between the Cappadocian king and the Parthian ambassador, thus claiming, in his quality of Roman magistrate, the most honourable place. For submitting without remonstrance to this degradation, Orobazus, upon his return home, was punished capitally, as a traitor to the dignity of his country. Yet his fault admitted extenuation on the principles at all times acknowledged in the East; for a soothsayer and physiognomist in his suite, on carefully observing Sylla, declared it as a matter of inevitable necessity that this Roman should attain unrivalled pre-eminence, and that the more he considered him, the more he was astonished that he had not already reached the highest pinnacle of fortune³⁰.

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peaceful ac-
cession.
Olymp.
clxxii. 1.
B. C. 92.

Sylla's pro-
gress with
Ariobarza-
nes, and en-
counter with
a Parthian
ambassador
on the banks
of the Eu-
phrates.

²⁸ Plutarch in Sylla.

²⁹ Salust. Bell. Jugur.

³⁰ Plutarch in Sylla.

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Tigranes II. of Armenia is persuaded by Mithridates to invade Cappadocia and dispossess Ariobarzanes. Olymp. clxxii. 3. B. C. 90.

The principal opposition which Sylla encountered in settling the government of Cappadocia arose, not from the inhabitants of that country, but from their neighbours the Armenians. This latter people, we know not for what reason, warmly espoused the interest of Gordius. Their king, Tigranes II. had long resided as a hostage in Parthia, but upon the death of his father of the same name, a lineal descendant of Artaxias, the founder of their monarchy, the son was restored to his birth-right on condition of ceding to the Parthians a large district in Armenia, denominated the seventy vallies. The accession of Tigranes II. happened fifteen years before the election of Ariobarzanes; during which period, especially during the declining age of Mithridates II. of Parthia, Tigranes had availed himself of favourable circumstances greatly to augment his kingdom. He was a man certainly of enlarged views, but vain, ostentatious, and inconsiderate, endowed with more activity than energy, insolent in his foreign policy, and imperious in his domestic government. To this prince the king of Pontus, not thinking the moment arrived for making war openly on Rome, applied in the warmest terms of attachment and confidence; he gave him his eldest daughter in marriage; and describing Ariobarzanes, as he really was, a man of a mild and feeble character, easily prevailed with Tigranes to send an army into Cappadocia, to expel the newly elected king, and to take possession of the country³¹.

Socrates is assisted by him in expelling his brother Nicomedes III. king of Bithynia.

About this time, Nicomedes II. of Bithynia closed his long reign of fifty-six years, leaving for his successor a son of the same name, born of Nyssa, a dancing woman, but acknowledged as king by the Roman senate, probably for reasons of great cogency with the more corrupt members of that body. This Nicomedes III. had a brother named Socrates, whom Mithridates encouraged to claim the crown, under the plea that on the female side his descent was the more honourable. A war ensued between the brothers, and through the

³¹ Appian. Mithridatic. c. 67. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3.

assistance

assistance furnished to him by the king of Pontus, Socrates, who assumed the title of Chrestos, the "Thrift," prevailed in several encounters, and at length drove his rival from the country. The two expelled princes, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes fled for redress to Rome, the scourge indeed of kings in their pride of power, but the ordinary refuge of dispossessed sovereigns. They were favourably heard in the senate, which immediately decreed their restoration; and for this purpose named at the head of a commission into Asia, Manius Aquilius, a man of consular dignity, who, ten years before this period, had happily terminated an insurrection of slaves in Sicily, by slaying with his own hand Athenio, their active and intrepid leader³². The proconsul, in the province of Pergamus, Lucius Cassius, had orders to co-operate, if necessary, with the commissioners; who, if they found themselves obliged to act in the character of generals, were entitled also to summon to their standard all the friendly powers of the East, not excepting even the king of Pontus, whom, as he had not yet openly declared himself, the Romans still affected to regard as their confederate. Vested with such authority, by the assistance only of a slight detachment from Pergamus, and some bodies of auxiliaries raised hastily in Galatia and Phrygia, Aquilius speedily reinstated the exiled kings; and resettled, for a time, the affairs of Cappadocia and Bithynia³³. From the former country, the lieutenants of Tigranes passed beyond the Euphrates; and from the latter, Socrates escaped into the dominions of Mithridates, where his death, shortly afterwards, afforded that prince an opportunity of arraigning the blood thirsty persecution of Rome, to which, as the only expedient for preserving peace, he had been compelled, he said, to sacrifice an unfortunate prince who had fled to him for protection³⁴,

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The two deprived kings restored by the authority of Roman commissioners.
Olymp. clxxii. 4.
B. C. 89.

³² Diodorus, Eclog. p. 536.³⁴ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 5.³³ Appian. Mithridatic. c. 11. & seq.

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Nicomedes
plunders the
Greek cities
on the
Euxine.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

Forbearance
of Mithri-
dates — rea-
sons thereof.

The facility with which Aquilius and his coadjutors had accomplished the business committed to them, made it be too hastily concluded, that the name of Rome inspired such terror as would sanction every outrage. Young Nicomedes had promised to the commissioners and the persons employed under them, large sums of money as remunerations for their good offices; he had also contracted heavy debts to the Roman traders and money lenders abounding in all the cities of Lesser Asia. Solicited by his restorers to the throne, and pressed by his creditors, he was forced on speedier methods for contenting both, than those afforded by the slow annual revenues of a kingdom far richer in men than in money. On the promise of support from Rome, he therefore retaliated the injuries which he had received from Mithridates, by a sudden inroad into Paphlagonia, where he carried his depredations even to the wealthy city Amastris on the Euxine. Instead of retorting hostilities with that promptitude which might have been expected from a prince so powerful and so well prepared for action, Mithridates sent successive embassies with complaints of this aggression, both to the Roman senate, and to the Romans invested with power in Asia. He had several reasons for this forbearance, of which two chiefly deserve notice. Rome was about this time compelled to take up arms against her subjects in Italy, who had been encouraged by the popular faction in the capital, to claim the equal right of citizens. If Mithridates too soon threw off the mask of moderation, he feared lest his enemies should conclude peace at home, in order the more strenuously to carry on operations against himself abroad. He waited therefore, before taking the field, to see them deeply and inextricably involved in what is called the Marfic or Social war: a delay which turned out highly useful for him. His second reason was to prove to all those powers that either were, already, or whom he wished to make his allies, that the Romans deserved the whole blame of the approaching commotions likely to deform the fairest regions of Asia³⁵.

³⁵ Appian. Mithridatic, c. 12.

Meanwhile he concluded an intimate alliance with his son-in-law Tigranes, plainly meant for aggression, since that prince was to make prize of all moveables, not excepting the persons of the enemy ; whereas Mithridates was to content himself with rifled towns and bare dispeopled territories³⁶. To account for this singular compact, it must be observed that Tigranes was then building his new capital Tigranocerta³⁷, near the Tigris, about three hundred miles south of his antient residence Artaxata on the Araxes. He needed men and moveables to people and replenish the vast circuit of the walls which his ostentatious vanity had traced : whereas Mithridates could easily fill up the void which such transportations might occasion, having under his dependency those parts of Scythia which have been emphatically styled the store-house of nations, and whose wandering inhabitants were always ready to exchange the keen air of their deserts for the softer and more voluptuous climates of Southern Asia.

The haughty answers which Mithridates received from the Roman generals, convinced him, before the return of his ambassadors, that war was ready to be levied on him. Without further delay he therefore marched his army, and expelling Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, re-established there, according to his original plan, his own son under the soothing name of Ariarathes. Upon this decisive measure, the Roman generals, without waiting orders from their republick, took the field with a great army to recover Cappadocia, and with two divisions, each 40,000 strong, to defend Bithynia. Their ally Nicomedes mustered 50,000 foot, and 6,000 horse. The land forces of Mithridates amounted at this time to 290,000, of which 40,000 were cavalry ; and his fleet on the Euxine consisted of 400 sail. The greater part of these mighty preparations were brought into action, but the events of a war equally disgraceful and calamitous to their country, the Roman historians

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Mithridates' treaty with Tigranes, by which the latter was to make prize of all moveables--causes of this condition. Olymp. clxxii. 3. B. C. 90.

Mithridates' success in a great war in all parts of Lesser Asia. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

³⁶ Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3.

³⁷ Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. Plutarch in Lucull.

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omitted circumstantially to record. We must be contented to know³⁷ that the first memorable engagement gained Bithynia to Mithridates, while it secured to him the possession of Cappadocia. This decisive battle was fought on the frontier of the former kingdom, and near to mount Scoroba, which, towering above the river Amnias, served as the antient boundary between Bithynia and the dominions of Pontus. For so important a victory Mithridates was much indebted to his Greek generals Archelaus and Taxiles, two brothers; Dorilaus, Craterus, Pelopidas, and Neoptolemus. To prosecute his good fortune, the conqueror hastened into the central province of Phrygia, and pitched his tents on a spot famous for the encampment of Alexander the Great, deeming this circumstance auspicious to his own lofty designs. From Phrygia, his army dispersed in three directions, to over-run the two sides and the front of the peninsula of Lesser Asia. Their squadrons of light Sarmatians swept the plains, and their enterprises against the walled cities were facilitated by the generous treatment bestowed on all captives, whose dress and language did not betray them for Romans³⁸. Upon the sea-coast, Mithridates' fleet was equally triumphant; the enemies' guard ships were driven from the Bosphorus and the Hellespont.

Nicomedes
and Ariobar-
zanes again
at Rome—
Cruelties of
Mithridates
to the Ro-
man gene-
rals.

Amidst the shipwreck of all their fortunes, the authors of this fatal war endeavoured by flight to save their persons. The kings Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes again escaped to Rome. Aquilius, whose anguish of mind had weakened and disordered his body, fled to Mitylenè, in the isle of Lesbos. Appius, proconsul of Pamphylia, sought refuge in Laodicea; and Cassius, proconsul of Pergamus, expected, as we shall see, on better grounds, the same favour at Rhodes. Aquilius and Appius were surrendered on the first summons, as peace offerings to the conqueror. They were treated with equal indignity during life³⁹; and Aquilius, whose boundless avarice

³⁷ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15. & p. 612.

seq.

³⁸ Appian. ibid. Conf. Diodorus, Excerpt.

³⁹ Cicero. pro leg. Manil. c. 5.

had occasioned so many evils, was subjected to a death of unexampled cruelty. After long following the victor's train, tied on the back of an ass, and compelled to proclaim with his own voice that he was Manius Aquilius, the Roman consul, his ignominy was ended at Pergamus by the pouring of melted gold down his throat⁴⁰.

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This inhuman punishment served as a prelude to a still more horrid enormity. Mithridates, who deemed his hold of Lesser Asia insecure, while its cities were crowded with Romans, formed a secret plan for destroying all of them in one day, and at a month's distance from the time that his measures for the massacre were concerted. Pergamus, Ephesus, Adramyttium, in general the Greek cities on the sea coast, were the main scenes of this unparalleled barbarity, which cut off 80,000⁴¹, another account says 150,000⁴², natives of Italy. Of this catastrophe, the accomplices and instruments were of various descriptions. Some Romans fell victims round the statues of the gods, whose protection they implored; some died supplicating pity on the hearths of once hospitable friends; a greater number perished by the hands of angry debtors and envious slaves, from neither of which classes they could expect mercy⁴³.

Massacre
of 80,000,
others say
150,000
Roman set-
tlers in Asia.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

When such disasters, and ignominy worse than disaster, assailed the Romans in Asia, their capital was a prey to that relentless discord, which in the course of six years ended in the dictatorship, or rather the despotism, of Sylla. This grand crisis in the commonwealth arose immediately out of the Social war, in which the Marsi and their allies, having obtained the object for which they contended, thereby doubled suddenly the already too numerous voters in the Roman assemblies. These new voters, however, were thrown into eight of the thirty-five ancient tribes⁴⁴, and thus restricted to less than a fourth part of the right of suffrage and sovereignty exercised

The Romans
compelled to
terminate
disgracefully
the Social or
Marsic war.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 1.
B. C. 88.

⁴⁰ Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁴¹ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 22. &

⁴² Memnon. apud Phot. c. xxxiii. p. 730. seq.

Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 2.

⁴⁴ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 20.

⁴³ Plutarch in Sylla. Dion. Legat. 37.

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Factions in
Rome—
Marius, his
views.

Sylla, his
character.

by the Roman people ; a share of power which by no means contented them, though they acquiesced in it for the present, merely as a temporary expedient. In the height of their animosity to Rome, they had sent an embassy to Mithridates, craving his co-operation with them in Italy. But he wrote to them that he could not sail thither, until he had previously conquered Asia⁴⁵, meaning thereby the western division of that continent : upon which answer, they first listened to negociation, and soon afterwards concluded peace with Rome on the terms just mentioned.

But this peace was made with enmity rankling in their hearts, and ready to be called into action by bad men to gratify their own selfish ambition. The same profligate leaders, who of late courted popularity within the city by Agrarian laws and lavish distributions of corn, were now equally clamorous for the full and equal participation of all Italians in the right of citizenship. In the blindness of political faction, which can see nothing but its leader, and him always under a flattering and false aspect, the most zealous party-men, among the ancient citizens, abetted the cause of the new, though their real interests were evidently opposite. At the head of these seditious levellers were the tribune Sulpicius, Cethegus, Suetonius, Junius Brutus ; the Marii father and son, the former of whom, Caius Marius, was the prime mover of all, and a man who, for the misfortune of his country, possessed the highest military abilities, without one civil attainment or one moral virtue. To oppose this barbarous soldier, totally destitute of arts, letters, and urbanity, all of which his bold ignorance contemned, Fortune raised up Sylla, whom that goddess claimed for her own, while he, as willingly, acknowledged her for his sovereign mistress. Yet the good fortune of Sylla consisted in his disregard of death and danger, in the conviction of his own superior powers, and in an habitual presence of mind, the fruit of anticipation and forethought. With such qualities, in a sub-

⁴⁵ Diodorus, Eclog. l. xxxiii. p. 540.

ordinate station, he eclipsed the glory of Marius in the war with Jugurtha. For a dozen years after this sharp conflict, he seemed careless of public employments, being occupied chiefly in the cultivation of his taste and understanding, but mingling pleasure, or rather profligacy, with wit, letters, and refinement. From this inactive middle state, he emerged, as we have seen, to repress the first bold measures of Mithridates; and at the breaking out of the Marfic war, he engaged and served in it with peculiar zeal and energy, his abilities still enlarging with the occasion, and his fame still towering above that of Marius and every other general. At the ensuing elections in Rome, he first offered himself a candidate for the consulship in his fiftieth year, and then attained that well merited dignity, with the commission of making war, with six legions, on the king of Pontus. But while he marched towards Brundisium, to cross the Hadriatic into Greece, the tribune Sulpicius, by a tumultuary assembly of the tribes, in which the new citizens voted promiscuously with the old, divested him of his command, and constituted Marius, now on the verge of seventy, general against Mithridates, a prince in the vigour of life, and the meridian of military glory⁴⁶.

Sylla beheld the sudden storm that was ready to blast his fortunes, and determined to dispel it. None knew better, than he did, how to manage the minds of soldiers. To his legions encamped in Campania, he intimated the injustice done to him at Rome, and had the art of persuading them, that the insult offered to their general's honour, was levelled at their own emoluments. Marius, he said, had his creatures and favourites among the troops, whom he wished to gratify with the spoils of Asia; and that, with the appointment of a new commander in this lucrative service, new legions would also be employed. Accordingly, when officers arrived in the name of Marius to take charge of the men and stores, they were slain in a military tumult; an outrage which was speedily retorted on Sylla's

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Appointed general against Mithridates, but divested of command by an unlawful vote of the tribes. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

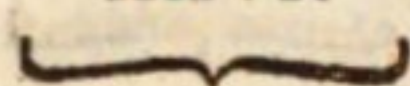
He marches to Rome, punishes his enemies, and restores the ancient government. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

⁴⁶ Plutarch in Sylla, & in Mario. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 50. & seq.

friends

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friends and relatives in the city. With a promptitude of decision that characterised all his measures, and always made them successful, Sylla marched towards Rome: his enemies either betook themselves to flight, or retired into the capital and other strongholds. He drove them from thence by setting the neighbouring streets on fire; and having thus destroyed or expelled the authors of sedition, abolished the legislation of the tribes, re-established the authority of the senate, and settled the government, in all other points, on the old aristocratic model⁴⁷.

Mithridates
unsuccessful
against
Rhodes and
Magnaesia—
causes there-
of.

After this domestic victory, he hastened across the Hadriatic, to oppose the enemies of the state. In the midst of general success, the troops of Mithridates had been foiled⁴⁸ in the assault of Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus; and he himself, being defeated in a sea fight at Rhodes, thought fit to desist⁴⁹ from the siege of that illustrious island, then desperately defended by such Romans as had escaped from the battles and massacres in Lesser Asia. The pertinacious resistance of Magnesia may also, in some measure, be accounted for. In the neighbourhood of that city, the Scipios had triumphed over Antiochus the Great; and though that decisive victory dated beyond a century, yet its memory still inspired the Magnesians with awe for the Roman name, and a dread of revolting from a people whom they had been accustomed to regard with terror.

Athens sends
an embassy
to Mithri-
dates, he
gains the
ambassador
and throws
a garrison
into the city.

The same sentiments prevailed not in the cities of ancient Greece, and particularly in Athens, ever destined to act a principal part in the revolutions of that country. For the space of fifty years, the Greeks restrained from the unhappy licence of domestic warfare, enjoyed honourable tranquillity under the government of Rome, being indulged with the management of their municipal concerns, and the hereditary forms of their ancient free polities. The literary renown of Athens had recommended it, as we have seen, to the pe-

⁴⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Tit. Liv. *Epitom.* l. lxxxi.

⁴⁹ Diodor. *Excerpt.* p. 613.

cular favour of the victors; yet the Athenians, out of envy, publicanimity, or mere levity, were the first of the Greeks to send an embassy to Mithridates, whose army commanded all Lesser Asia, except the district of mount Sipylus, and whose fleet overawed all the adjacent isles, with the single exception of Rhodes. The ambassador, chosen by the Athenians, was a certain Aristio, a philosopher or sophist, son of Athenio the Peripatetick, but himself an Epicurean, and among the vilest offspring of that sect, since, to the refined pleasures of social virtue and intellectual exertion, he preferred the gross gratifications of voluptuousness and tyranny⁵⁰. He seemed, however, to Mithridates, a fit person for his purpose; and, being gained to his interest, was entrusted by him with a body of 2,000 men, who, under pretence of escorting some treasures from Delos destined to sacred uses, entered Athens, and procured for their leader, already powerful with the multitude, an absolute ascendancy in that city⁵¹.

Meanwhile Sylla advanced through Thessaly and Bœotia, every where restraining defection, or receiving tenders of submission. But Athens had shut her gates, and manned her walls, Aristio commanding in the city, and Archelaus, a Pontic general, holding possession of the Piræus. Both places were besieged with perseverance, and defended with obstinacy. The neighbouring cities were laid under contribution to supply materials and workmen. Twenty thousand mules were employed for the service of Sylla's carriages and engines. To pay his troops, he spared not the richest and most venerated of the Grecian temples, those of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia. At length the Athenians, reduced to the utmost distress by famine, sent deputies to capitulate. That they might obtain better terms, they began to expatiate on the ancient virtues and renown of their republic; but Sylla replied abruptly and sternly, "I came hither to punish rebellion, not to be amused by oratory." Two days after,

Sylla arrives;
takes Athens
by assault.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 3.
B. C. 86.

⁵⁰ Plutarch in Sylla.

⁵¹ Posidonius apud Athenæum. l. v. p. 211. & seq.

the

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Mithridates
betrayed by
the same
weakness
which
had ruined
Antiochus
the Great.

the city was taken by assault, upon which Archelaus sailed hastily from the Piræus, abandoning that harbour also to the enemy²².

During the siege of Athens, Mithridates, being master at sea, had repeatedly succoured the place, and sent successive divisions of his forces into Thrace, which at length amounted to two great armies. While he remained in person at Pergamus, settling the affairs of Lesser Asia, his intention was to fight, by his lieutenants, the Romans in Greece, which he considered as a sort of neutral ground between his own dominions and Italy. The design was unwise, for six veteran legions, and still more, Sylla who commanded them, required the hand and the head of a master-antagonist; but it is remarkable that Mithridates, at the commencement of his war with Rome, was betrayed by the same weakness which, on a similar occasion, proved ruinous to Antiochus the Great. In recently taking possession of Stratonicea in Caria, he had been smitten with the charms of Monima, daughter to Philopœmen, a Greek inhabitant of that place. This resistless beauty he raised to the partnership of his throne; and the festivities with which he celebrated his nuptials, and still more the intemperance of love and wine which accompanied and followed them, made the marriage of Monima as fatal to the interests of Mithridates²³, as that of the fair maid of Chalcis had formerly proved to those of the king of Syria.

His great
army in
Greece—
Dromichæ-
tes the Thra-
cian.

The Pontic forces in Thrace were joined by those of Dromichætes, a hereditary name among the chieftains of that untamed country, ever hostile to Rome, and always ready to abet any power that ventured to step forth as her antagonist. Besides Dromichætes the Thracian, these forces were led by Taxiles and other generals; but according to Mithridates' orders, the whole of them, upon their arrival in Greece, were to obey Archelaus, who left the Piræus abruptly, in order to put himself at their head. He, accordingly,

²² Plutarch in Sylla, & Appian de Bell. ²³ Id. ibid.
Mithridat. c. 22. & seq.

joined

joined the first division which had passed through Macedon into Thessaly⁵⁴, driving before them the Romans employed in civil or military affairs in that province. Sylla, being apprised of the enemy's approach, hastened from Attica into Bœotia, and arrived in time to save the important city Chæronæa. Disappointed of admission into this place, Archelaus, with little attention to the nature of his troops, consisting, besides innumerable archers, of a phalanx of spearmen, and a heavy cavalry richly caparisoned, chose his position on the hill of Thurium, which rises in the neighbourhood of Chæronæa, and ascending by various ledges of rocks, that form so many natural terraces, terminates at length in an abrupt and narrow summit. In such a post, the Asiatics, who were three times more numerous than the Romans, thought themselves secure from attack. They were disappointed. A citizen of Chæronæa made known to Sylla a secret path, by which he fell suddenly on their rear. This attack was decisive; and the battle a mere rout, and one of the most remarkable on record, if 100,000 Asiatics fell, with the loss of only 12 Romans, for Sylla related in his memoirs that 14 were missing, two of whom afterwards made their appearance. Archelaus, with about 10,000 fugitives, escaped to Chalcis in Eubœa⁵⁵.

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Battle of
Thurium in
Bœotia in
which Ar-
chelaus is
defeated
with the loss
of 100,000
slain.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 3.
B. C. 86.

Shortly after this memorable victory, Sylla learned that his absence from Rome had been followed by a renewal of disorders in that city. Cinna, though consul by his sufferance, had basely broke faith with him: Marius was restored from exile beyond seas, where his kindred vengeance had brooded over the gloomy ruins of Carthage⁵⁶; the whole frame of the government was subverted; and Flaccus, with Fimbria for his lieutenant, had sailed with a reinforcement of two legions towards Greece, that he might command as consul in the Mithridatic war. Sylla, upon this intelligence, deter-

Battle of
Orchomenos
—the Asia-
tic camp
stormed.

⁵⁴ Macedon and Thessaly then formed one Roman province. See above, c. xxiv. Mithridat. c. 42. & seq.

⁵⁵ Plutarch in Sylla. Appian. de Bell.

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Mario.

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mined to treat the approaching legions as enemies, and hastened towards the Hadriatic to combat them at their first landing. But he had not proceeded beyond Theffaly, before he was informed that a new Asiatic army had entered the more southern parts of Greece which he had just quitted, and was making conquest of them for the king of Pontus. This new army, being transported to Eubœa, had joined forces with Archelaus at Chalcis. It was 80,000 strong, and consisted chiefly of cavalry. Its commander was Dorylaus, nephew to a general of the same name, who, from his skill in tactics, and his writings on that subject, was called Dorylaus the tactician. The uncle had been the friend and favourite of Mithridates V. Euergetes; the nephew rendered himself equally acceptable to the successor of that prince, who now dispatched him into Greece to co-operate with Archelaus⁷⁷. Upon returning southward, Sylla found the enemy in the plain of Orchomenos, a city ten miles distant from the scene of the former battle at Chæronæa. The district abounded in forage, and was well adapted to the operations of cavalry. Sylla descended into it by the heights nearest to the lake Copais, and took post among the adjacent marshes. From this position, he began to draw lines ten feet broad into the plain, but his workmen were soon obstructed, and they, as well as the troops that guarded them, thrown into great terror. The enemy, covered by the whole Pontic and Paphlagonian horse, advanced to a sudden assault. The Romans fell back, and their officers being unable to rally them, Sylla leaped from his horse, and seizing an ensign, rushed to oppose the assailants, crying aloud, "let it be made known at Rome that I was forsaken by my troops at Orchomenos⁷⁸." At that instant many officers sprang forward to second him; they were supported by the bravest troops; the remainder followed through shame; a sharp conflict ensued; and the enemy, being put to the rout, were pursued to their camp with the loss of 15,000, of whom 10,000 were ca-

⁷⁷ Strabo, l. x. p. 478.

⁷⁸ Plutarch in Sylla, & Appian, c. 49.

valry. Without allowing them time for recovering from this blow, the Romans, with compacted shields under the form of the testudo, attacked the Asiatic camp. The rampart was warmly defended, and the combat the more bloody, because the enemy, cooped up within a narrow space, could not make the ordinary and appropriate use of their arms, but collecting their arrows into fasces, fought with them hand to hand, as with swords. Many were slain in the camp, and many, being pursued towards the marshes of Copais, were there drowned, or cut in pieces, while they vainly implored mercy in languages unknown to the victors. Archelaus, with a feeble remnant, again escaped to Chalcis⁹⁹.

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The dreadful defeats of Mithridates' generals spread revolt among his allies or conquests. The spirit of defection became the bolder and the more general, when the Roman army in the Marian interest, finding the Bosphorus unguarded, passed from Byzantium into Asia. This army, in consequence of a deadly quarrel between Flaccus and his lieutenant Fimbria, had fallen into the hands of the latter; a man unprincipled and audacious, and who, having excited the soldiers to murder his own superior and their general, endeavoured to efface this enormity by acting with uncommon vigour against Mithridates¹⁰⁰.

Operations
of Fimbria a
partizan of
Marius.

At the same time, this prince was in danger from a more unexpected enemy. Sylla had carried as his questor into Greece, Lucullus, who, having conducted himself in that important office with equal ability and zeal, was commissioned, after the taking of Athens, to collect ships from Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, Cyrenè, and Egypt. His requisitions were complied with in most of those countries, as well as on the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia; and though his expedition, undertaken during the winter season, was exposed also to much danger from the fleets of Mithridates and from pirates, yet he finally

Lucullus
Sylla's ques-
tor collects a
powerful
fleet.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 3.
B. C. 86.

⁹⁹ Id. ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Appian, Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 24.

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He refuses to co-operate with Fimbria in a promising attempt to seize the person of Mithridates at Pitane.

assembled so considerable an armament as enabled him to ride triumphant in the Ægean⁶¹.

Pergamus had, for more than two years, been the head quarters of Mithridates. In this city he had made his arrangements for the disastrous expeditions into Greece; and from the same place he had sent forces to quell the insurrections that were breaking out in various parts of Asia; and which, instead of losing strength, had multiplied and augmented in consequence of the cruel and treacherous methods which he took to suppress them. The Chians, in particular, after being subjected to a mulct of 2,000 talents, were perfidiously embarked, the men in one set of vessels, the women and children in another⁶², to be transplanted from their fair island to some gloomy district in Pontus. But a few armed ships belonging to Heraclæa, a city long connected in commercial alliance with Chios, met and attacked the king's transports, and carried them into their own harbour. The Chians were received by their friends in Heraclæa, with the most cordial kindness, and were sent back, well provided with necessaries, to their native island⁶³. The many detachments from Pergamus much exhausted that garrison; a circumstance that escaped not the vigilance of Fimbria. Having defeated some of the king's forces in Bithynia, that officer hastened to attack him in his head quarters. Pergamus was surprised and gained; and Mithridates compelled to take refuge in the neighbouring sea-port of Pitane. At this crisis, Fimbria's messengers came to Lucullus, then in the harbour of Colophon in Ionia, imploring, in the name of Rome, that he would block up the common adversary by sea, while a Roman army besieged him by land. But Lucullus refused co-operation, preferring the interests of his party to those of his country; and the king, being thus enabled to escape to the island of Lesbos,

⁶¹ Plutarch in Lucullo.

p. 266.

⁶² Posidonius apud Athenæum, l. vi.

⁶³ Memnon apud Phot. c. 35.

soon afterwards rallied his forces in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont⁶⁴.

But several months before this time, Mithridates, upon the discomfiture of his army at Orchomenos, in despair of success in Greece, had written to Archelaus to conclude peace with Sylla on the best terms possible; intending to ratify or annul the treaty according to future contingencies. At the request of Archelaus, Sylla granted to that general an interview at Delium, on the coast of Boeotia. Their negotiation did not linger; for Sylla also wished to terminate the war, that he might return to Italy, and punish his enemies there, as he openly declared to be his purpose. He required however that Mithridates should evacuate his western conquests; renounce all claims on Bithynia and Cappadocia in favour of Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes respectively; pay to the Romans 2,000 talents, and surrender to them seventy of his best gallies; on the fulfilment of which articles, Sylla promised to use his influence with the senate, to have him declared the friend of Rome. After concluding this transaction, of which Mithridates was apprised with due diligence, Archelaus accompanied Sylla into Thessaly, and from thence into Macedon; and was everywhere treated by him with such marked attentions, as countenanced the suspicion of treachery to his king, on the part of this Pontic general⁶⁵.

In their way to the Hellespont, they were met by ambassadors from Mithridates, refusing the surrender of the gallies, and making difficulties as to certain districts in Paphlagonia, which the Romans regarded in the light of new conquests, but which the king affirmed to have descended to him from his ancestors. At the same time it was hinted, that should the negotiation fail, Mithridates would apply to Fimbria, from whom he had reason to expect more favourable terms. At a name so odious, Sylla said, "Fimbria is a rebel whom I shall

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Archelaus' treaty of peace with Sylla. Olymp. clxxiii 3. B. C. 86.

Ambassadors from the king—Sylla sternly silences their cavils.

⁶⁴ Plutarch in Lucull. Auctor de Vir. l. lxxxiii.

Illust. in Fimbr. & Tit. Liv. Epitom.

⁶⁵ Appian, Dion, & Plutarch in Sylla.

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Sylla chastises the Thracians.

Interview between Sylla and Mithridates in the Trojan plain.

punish presently; when I have passed into Asia I shall know, too, the intentions of your master, who, instead of cavilling with me about trifles, ought to thank me on his knees for leaving to him that right hand with which he signed in one day the death-warrant of 100,000 Romans. The sternness with which these words were uttered, totally abashed the ambassadors; none of them had courage to reply: Archelaus only ventured to make intercession for the king and his ministers; and embracing Sylla's hands, entreated that he might be himself sent to Mithridates; since he had determined not to live, unless that prince accepted the peace which had been made for him. This request being granted, Sylla employed the interval of uncertainty concerning the king's real views, in chastising the Thracian tribes, who had recently betrayed their hostility, and who were, at all times, ready to disturb the quiet of the Macedonian frontier.

From this military excursion, he had returned to Philippi, when Archelaus presented himself with a joyous countenance, to say that Mithridates was willing to ratify all that had been agreed on, and anxiously desired a conference. This change of mind was occasioned by the boldness of Fimbria's operations, which we have already mentioned, and of which Mithridates had not to fear the renewal, should Sylla pass the Hellespont. He crossed that strait between Sestus and Abydus, with four legions, in vessels furnished by Lucullus. About the same time, Mithridates, with above 20,000 men, arrived at Dardanus in Troas. There, the interview of the chiefs took place, each attended by a few friends, in an intermediate part of the plain, between the two armies. At meeting, Mithridates tendered to Sylla his hand. The Roman, rejecting this offer, asked whether he was ready to abide by the peace which had been stipulated. The king remained silent. Sylla desired him to proceed with what he had to say, because he had come thither at his solicitation to hear him: "the conquered, who crave terms, must speak out; conquerors, when

when they please, may keep silence." Mithridates then entered into a long discourse, tending to shew that the Romans were the aggressors, and that nothing short of the intolerable wrongs which he had suffered, could have induced him to take arms against such antient and such respected allies. He also made mention of his hereditary friendship with Sylla. The latter replied, "that he had heard nothing of the friendship between them, until he had slain 160,000 of the king's soldiers, and stormed two of his camps, of which the Romans had made prize:" then enumerating the many enormities committed by Mithridates, wherefore, he said, would you defend or extenuate deeds of such atrocity, for which, by means of Archelaus, you formerly begged pardon? Do you think that I, whom you feared at a distance, am come hither to debate with you about articles! The time for friendly discussion expired from the moment that we levied war to punish your crimes, and will continue to punish them while the occasion requires it. Mithridates replied, that he accepted the peace, such as agreed on by his ambassador. Sylla then embraced him, and this ceremony was the sole ratification of a treaty involving the fate of so many provinces⁶⁶. No written document, as will appear, was required on either side.

When differences were thus settled, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, who attended in Sylla's camp, were sent for, and, being reconciled to Mithridates, had his consent to their peaceful re-establishment in their respective kingdoms. This, and the other articles of peace, were all carried into execution without farther difficulty; and Mithridates having surrendered seventy stout gallies, paid 2,000 talents, and evacuated his western conquests, retired into Pontus, secretly accusing the treachery of Archelaus of all the disgrace that had befallen him⁶⁷.

During the conference at Dardanus, Fimbria encamped at Thyatira in Lydia. Sylla had no sooner adjusted matters with Mithri-

Articles of peace carried into execution—Archelaus suspected of treachery by Mithridates. Olymp. clxxiii. 4. B. C. 85.

Fimbria deserted by his legions—he

⁶⁶ Appian, *ibid.* c. 56. & seq. Plutarch in Sylla.

⁶⁷ *Id.* *ibid.*

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kills himself.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 1.
B. C. 84.

Proceedings
of Sylla in
Lesser Asia,
in Athens,
and in Eu-
bœa.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 2.
B. C. 83.

dates than he marched thither. Fimbria's legions being on the point of deserting him, that profligate man endeavoured to save his own life by employing assassins against his adversary. But this execrable design being discovered, the danger which threatened their victorious and lavish general provoked Sylla's troops into fury. They surrounded Fimbria's camp, loading him with epithets of reproach. That officer appeared on the rampart, desiring to see Sylla, a favour which, with good reason, was denied him. But Rutilius, one of Sylla's lieutenants, advanced and told him, that if he chose to quit the Roman province of Asia, in which another was proconsul, a safe road would be open for him to the sea-coast. Fimbria replied, that he would find a better road for himself. He accordingly proceeded to Pergamus, and fell on his sword in the temple of Esculapius⁶⁸.

His two legions took the military oath to Sylla; who, at the head of a resistless army, speedily settled to his mind the affairs of Lesser Asia. That country was punished for its defection by a fine of 20,000 talents, to be paid by 44 districts into which it was now divided, to the end that their respective amercements might be proportioned to their several measures of delinquency⁶⁹. Sylla, with his fleet and army, then sailed into Greece, and cast anchor in the Piræus. Athens was in ruins and desolation, in consequence of the obstinate resistance which it had made to him. He caused himself to be initiated, however, into its still venerated mysteries; ransacked the houses and effects of all who were found to have abetted the tyrant Aristio; and, on this occasion, made prize of the library of a certain Apellicon of Teios, containing the long unedited works of Aristotle. Being at this time attacked by the gout, Sylla passed over into Eubœa, and spent several weeks in that island for the benefit of the hot baths at Ædepsus; amusing himself, during his recovery, with buffoons and sophists, and all persons that he

⁶⁸ Auctor de Vir. Illust. in Fimbr. Tit. ⁶⁹ Cicero Orat. pro Flacco.
Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxiii.

could

could meet with of humourous or singular characters. He appeared indeed as perfectly at his ease, as if no important work had remained for him.

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Yet on his return to Italy, for which he now made preparations, he had to encounter with his six legions, somewhat reinforced in Greece and Macedon, fifteen generals, commanding collectively 225,000 men. His old enemy Marius had died of a pleurisy contracted by hard drinking; Cinna, a fit successor to that bloody usurper, had perished in a military mutiny at Ancona, while he endeavoured to force his legions on ship-board, that they might carry the civil war into Thessaly. But the loss of these commanders was amply supplied by Norbanus, Scipio, Sertorius, Carbo, the young Marius, and many others, each of whom was likely to maintain a desperate conflict, and whose combined weight must have overwhelmed any general less pre-eminent than Sylla either in courage or in craft. It belongs to historians of the civil wars to explain how he seduced some armies and vanquished others, and, in the space of two years, made himself master of Rome, of Italy, and of the Roman empire⁷⁰. In punishing his personal enemies, and those of the aristocracy, which he called purging the state, he at first claimed no other title to power than the right of the sword. Afterwards the dictatorship was revived in his favour, a dignity that had lain dormant for one hundred and twenty years. It was conferred on him for an indefinite time; but before the end of three years, he had finished the work which he had undertaken, of extinguishing popular sedition, re-establishing the just authority of the senate and comitia by centuries, and of enacting such salutary laws as seemed essential to the maintenance of a government founded on the natural prerogatives of wealth, abilities, and virtues. Having done all this, he procured Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius to be chosen consuls; and then appearing in the forum, made a public resignation of

Sylla's wonderful successes against his own and the public enemies.
Olymp. clxxiv. 3 —
clxxv. 3.
B. C. 82 —
79.

⁷⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 81. & seqq.

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Circumstances which damped his triumph and tarnished his character.

his dictatorship, declaring to the people, that if any citizen had matter of charge against him, he was ready to answer it. Having dismissed his twenty-four lictors, he continued to walk the streets accompanied by a few friends, and afterwards retired quietly to his villa near Cumæ. Of all men who have aimed at great and extraordinary designs, none was ever more fortunate in accomplishing them: he died peaceably, within a year after his retreat, victorious over all his enemies. The triumph which he enjoyed at the retrospect in his own mind must, however, have been damped in proportion to the depth of his sagacity. The expedient of employing a military force to settle party dissensions, which in the vile and sanguinary example of Marius, was calculated only to produce hatred and disgust, was likely, from his own glorious success in re-establishing the commonwealth, to be construed into a precedent by more profligate sons of ambition. Yet, notwithstanding this great blemish in his public life, his name continued to be popular and respected, when his sword was no longer formidable; and he is the first of the Romans whose obsequies were celebrated with a magnificence of expence of which modern times cannot form an idea, since two hundred and ten loads of aromatics were consumed on his funeral pile⁷¹. From his contempt for unbounded power over a vast empire, from his perfect self-possession in moments of the greatest danger, from that lofty disdain of human affairs which made him despise even the fame of his own great actions, and ascribe them solely to the power of fortune, he might seem to have reached true magnanimity, if that noblest of the virtues were not totally incompatible with his deadly spirit of revenge⁷².

⁷¹ Plutarch in Syll. Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xii. c. 18.

⁷² Appian et Plutarch, ibid.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Sufferings of Achaia and Asia. — Tigranes diverted from the Roman war. — Improvements in Armenia. — The Romans defeated in Cappadocia. — Mithridates' Thanksgivings for Victory. — Cappadocia invaded by Tigranes, and drained of its Inhabitants. — Bithynia bequeathed to the Romans. — The Bequest intercepted by Mithridates. — Lucullus takes the Field against him. — His glorious Campaigns, and more glorious Administration. — Tigranocerta taken. — Mithridates' Letter to the Parthian. — Sack of Nisibis. — Intrigues in favour of Pompey. — He suppresses the Pirates. — His Success against Mithridates and Tigranes. — Nicopolis founded. — Syria reduced into a Province. — Transactions with the Parthians. — Meridian of Roman Greatness. — Proceedings of Pompey in Jerusalem. — Reflections thereon.

IN the course of the first Mithridatic war, which lasted scarcely five years, the provinces of Achaia and of Asia suffered deeper wounds than had been inflicted on them during the long and obstinate struggles among Alexander's successors. The plunder of the richest temples of Achaia to pay Sylla's army, while the exchequer of Rome was in the hands of his enemies, and the imposition of a general fine of 20,000 talents¹ on the involuntary rebels in Asia, were tolerable grievances compared with the many particular penalties imposed on various places at different times by the king of Pontus and the Roman generals, as they happened alternately to prevail; above all, the licence granted to tax-gatherers, usurers, and greedy soldiers to prey on the property, and sport with the lives, of peaceful husbandmen and industrious citizens². To fill up the measure of calamities in those two ill-fated provinces, the confederacy of pirates, of whose

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Sufferings of Achaia and Asia in the first Mithridatic war — increase of the pirates. Olymp. clxxiv. 1. B. C. 84.

¹ Equivalent to nearly 4,000,000 l.

² Plutarch in Sylla, & in Lucull. & Mith-

ridat. Orat. ad Milites, apud Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 7.

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origin we formerly gave an account³, made a rapid and alarming progress during relentless hostilities between the only powers that were able to repress them. Not contented with deforming the seas, they invaded Greece and the Greek colonies in Asia, desolated cities, plundered temples, and shewed uncommon skill, as well as diligence, in occupying such harbours as were fittest for the purposes either of concealment or defence. Even during Sylla's short continuance in Lesser Asia, they obtained possession of Iassus, Samos, Clazomenè, and Samothrace, after stripping a temple in the last named place of 1,000 talents. In the course of a few subsequent years, their strength amounted, as will be shewn, to 1200 well equipped gallies, and their strongholds to the number of 400; while the island of Crete, and the creeks in Cilicia, from Coracesium eastward, still continued to be the chief seats of their power, and great repositories of their plunder⁴.

Distracted
state of Par-
thia—ag-
grandize-
ment of
Armenia.
Olymp.
clxxiii. 2—
clxxv. 4—
B. C. 87—
77.

In commencing his war with Rome, Mithridates had promised himself a powerful and zealous ally in Tigranes, king of Armenia. But shortly before the former of these princes invaded the Roman provinces, Arsaces IX. of Parthia closed his long and successful career. He left no child behind him, and his kingdom was thrown into a civil war by the rivalry of his kinsmen Mnaskires and Senatrockes or Sinatruces⁵, the former of whom boldly combated for a crown at the age of 86, and having prevailed in the contest, held a turbulent reign for ten years longer, without totally suppressing his antagonist, who then became his successor⁶. This distracted state of the Parthian empire altogether diverted Tigranes from the affairs of Lesser Asia, by opening to him new and great views for the extension

³ See above, c. xxv.

⁴ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 92. & seq. Conf. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

⁵ Phlegon. apud Phot. Cod. xcvii. p. 265. Sinatruces is called Sintricus by Appian, (de Bell. Mithridat. c. 104.) Sana-

truces by Suidas, Sinotruces by Dion, Sinotruces by Lucian in Macrob. On medals we read Sinatrockes. Conf. Eckhel Doctrin. Num. Veter. & Vaillant. Arsacid. p. 78.

⁶ Id. ibid.

and

and improvement of Armenia. He recovered undisturbed possession of some frontier districts, which had been claimed by Parthia, and complete sovereignty of the seventy vallies⁷ which he had hitherto held as a sort of feudatory of that more powerful neighbour. Far beyond the dominion of his ancestors, he made conquest of various satrapies in both Medias, and in Atyria; and when any of his satraps or dependent kings, as they were called, displeased him, he ordered them to Tigranocerta, and employed them in his court in mean personal services⁸. At the same time he afforded a safe asylum to many useful classes of men, whom the troubles in the Parthian empire drove from Upper Asia. By such means, the industry and opulence of Armenia made advances equally important and rapid. The cultivators of peaceful arts flocked from perturbed regions to scenes of quiet and safety; and Tigranes, to have carriers at hand to second the commerce of his people, attracted to him many tribes of Arabian nomades, who, when great profits were in view, feared not the most distant and hazardous journies⁹. Before the close of the first Mithridatic war, the fame of Tigranes had thus diffused itself through all the countries around him; insomuch, that only a few months after Sylla's return to Italy, and that of Mithridates to Pontus, when the Syrians, tired of unceasing dissensions among the Seleucidæ, determined to look out for more worthy and more powerful protection, all men cast their eyes on Tigranes. By this popular election, the king of Armenia became master of Syria¹⁰; from thence he made inroads into Cilicia and neighbouring provinces, carrying from them many of their Greek inhabitants to replenish the Armenian cities, particularly his new capital Tigranocerta¹¹; and of several parts of Lesser Asia, as well as of all Syria, he kept possession for the space of fourteen years¹², till a new conflict be-

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Tigranes
proud mag-
nificence.

⁷ See above, c. xxv.

⁸ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁹ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 67. & seq. Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. & l. xii. p. 539. & Plutarch in Lucull.

¹⁰ Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 48. & seq.

¹¹ Id. Mithridat. c. 67.

¹² Justin, l. xl. c. 2. He says eighteen years, erroneously.

tween

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Rebellion in
Colchis—
murder of
the younger
Mithridates.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 3.
B. C. 82.

Archelaus
persuades
Muræna
of the hostile
designs of
the king of
Pontus.

tween the Romans and Mithridates, in which Tigranes finally and most unseasonably took part, destroyed the former of these princes, and laid the latter at the mercy of the victorious commonwealth.

The disgrace which the king of Pontus incurred in his warfare with Sylla, was attended with such consequences as might have been expected in his hastily raised empire. Colchis and Bosporus were in arms; and the former kingdom demanded for its master a son of the sovereign from whom it had revolted. This son, named also Mithridates, had, unsuccessfully indeed, yet zealously served his father in combating Fimbria. The king therefore appeased the sedition by sending him to govern the Colchians; but soon afterwards young Mithridates paid the sad forfeit of his popularity to the jealousy of the old¹³.

The disturbances in Bosporus required a fleet and army to quell them. While Mithridates made preparations against this small but industrious and opulent state, Archelaus, his unfortunate general, sensible that he had fallen into disgrace with his master, seized an opportunity of effecting his escape to Muræna, who had been left by Sylla proconsul in Pergamus, with command of the Fimbrian legions. Muræna, in common with all his countrymen in military power, panted for the honours of a triumph, and was easily persuaded by the Pontic fugitive that the forces pretended to be levied against Bosporus were destined really against the Asiatic dominions of Rome. Archelaus also apprised him, that Mithridates, under frivolous pretences, still retained garrisons in certain districts of Cappadocia. Upon this intelligence, Muræna took the field with a small but well appointed army, passed through Phrygia, which had long been annexed to the Roman province of Asia; and traversing Cappadocia, expelled the hostile garrisons from that kingdom¹⁴. He then entered Pontus, and having crossed mount Paryadres, surprised Comana, a city distant only a few miles from the mountain,

¹³ Appian. Mithridat. c. 64.

¹⁴ Id. ibid. c. 64—66.

and

and long distinguished by its superstition and its opulence, its fairs and its festivals¹⁵. When Mithridates heard of this unexpected invasion, he sent ambassadors to Muræna with complaints. But these ambassadors had been chosen with little judgment. They were, as usual, Greeks, but persons little satisfied with their master, and who therefore were at no pains to promote his views, or even to justify his proceedings. They remonstrated, however, against the infraction of the recent treaty with Sylla, and appealed to that treaty for proving Mithridates to have been entitled, before war was levied on him, to all the consideration and forbearance due to a Roman ally. But Muræna denied, truly, that he had ever seen any such treaty; for, as we before mentioned, in the king's negotiation with Sylla, no written document vouching the articles of peace, had been required on either side¹⁶.

Having thus dismissed the ambassadors, Muræna resumed his operations, and ravaged the rich districts on both sides mount Paryadres, though it does not appear that he made himself master of any of the strongholds on the mountain itself, where Mithridates kept his treasures; nor that he ventured to attack Cabira, near its southern roots, where the king had a park and a palace, and also some valuable mines, we know not of what metal. Here too (the modern reader will smile at the information) Mithridates had erected a water mill, moved by one of the many streams that form the eastern sources of the Halys¹⁷. But this seemed to antiquity a circumstance deserving of notice, since mills wrought by the power either of wind or water, were, of old, objects of great rarity. To grind corn by the aid of horses or oxen was then the prevailing fashion; slaves were also frequently employed in that severe labour; and the ordinary punishment of a worthless slave was compulsion to ply his hand mill¹⁸ to

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Fruitless embassy of that king to the Roman general. Olymp. clxxiv. 3. B. C. 82.

The district Paryadres — its distinctions.

¹⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 555.

¹⁶ Appian, c. 64.

¹⁷ Strabo, l. xii. p. 556.

¹⁸ *Servorum nequam in pistrinum dedi dicebantur.* Senec. de Benefic. l. iv. c. 37. Plautus, & Terent. passim.

the

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Mithridates
defeats the
Romans in
Cappadocia
—a remnant
of the van-
quished es-
capes into
Phrygia.
Olymp.
clxxiv. 3.
B. C. 82.

Mithridates'
thanksgiving
for victory—
its fashion.

the utmost measure of his natural strength, and often beyond it. After his two incursions into Pontus, Muræna, opposed only by a party of horse, which he cut off near Comana, returned into Phrygia loaded with booty.

Meanwhile, Mithridates having sent complaints to Rome of the first injury that had been done to him, a deputy arrived from the senate to examine matters on the spot. Callidius, entrusted with this commission, met Muræna in Phrygia, and there told him in public that he must cease from hostilities. But, after a private interview between them, Muræna repassed the Halys, and having renewed his ravages in Pontus, reduced Mithridates to the necessity of repelling force by force. His old friend Gordius was first in the field, commanding the vanguard. The king followed in person. Muræna retreated across the eastern bank of the Halys into Cappadocia. Mithridates pursued him closely, forced him to a battle, and completely discomfited him. The greater part of the Romans was cut off; Muræna, with a feeble remnant, escaped by the mountains into Phrygia¹⁹: and Mithridates thus regained those districts of Cappadocia which had recently been wrested from him.

To celebrate his victory over enemies that had wantonly provoked his arms, the king of Pontus performed a sacrifice of thanks after the most solemn fashion of the great monarchs of Persia, from whom he claimed his descent. These princes were accustomed to sacrifice on the tops of the highest mountains, that the fiery symbols of their religious gratitude might embrace the whole circle of the heavens²⁰. In constructing the sacred pyre, the king with his own hands laid the foundation. The fabric rose from a broad base in regular stories of wood, gradually contracting as they reached the summit. The recesses or terraces thus formed on its sides, contained offerings of milk and honey, of wine and oil, and an exuberant abundance of

¹⁹ Appian, c. 65.

²⁰ This circle, Herodotus says, they con-

sidered and called god, l. i. c. 131.

the most precious perfumes. On the lowest story a copious banquet was provided for all present, and in which all present thought it their duty with thankfulness to partake. Such was the custom when the Great King sacrificed in Pasagarda²¹. But the lofty altar of Mithridates should seem to have been reared on mount Argæus, the highest in Cappadocia; from which travellers are said to behold at once the Euxine and Mediterranean²².

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Shortly after this ceremony, and while Mithridates still continued in Cappadocia, Gabinius came to him as commissioner from Rome, or rather from Sylla, then absolute master of the commonwealth. Gabinius commanded Muræna to make peace in good earnest, and faithfully to maintain it. He then proceeded to the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia, to promote reconciliation between them. Through the interposition of a man, bearing the authority of Sylla, the whole business was speedily adjusted. Mithridates retained some districts in Cappadocia, to which he produced plausible titles, but gave one of his sons, a child four years old, as hostage to Ariobarzanes, that no farther encroachments should be made on him. To solemnize this peace, he held public carousals, at which he distributed rich prizes to those who quaffed the largest goblets, or sang the best songs. The skilful in repartee and buffoonery did not pass unrewarded. The Roman commissioner alone refused to take part in this disgraceful scene of intemperance and uproar²³.

Mithridates' peace with the Romans — the carousals with which he celebrated it. Olymp. clxxv. 2. B. C. 79.

Having settled his differences in Lesser Asia Mithridates was at leisure to attend his concerns on the remote northern shores of the Euxine. There, on his way to Bosporus, he had to punish the bloody and irreclaimable Achæi and Heniochi²⁴, and did not reduce those mountaineers without losing great part of his army through the severity of the climate, co-operating with the fierceness and craft

Appoints his son Machares viceroy of Bosporus.

²¹ Appian, c. 66. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. c. 38. Appian, c. 66, 67. Conf. Cicero pro Muræna. p. 732.

²² Strabo, l. xii. p. 538.

²⁴ Appian, c. 102. Conf. Aristot. Politic.

²³ Plutarch in Sylla. Memnon apud Phot. l. viii. c. 4.

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Mithridates
mortified in
his attempt
to obtain the
ratification
of peace in
writing.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 1.
B. C. 76.

of the enemy. We know not what opposition he encountered in Bosphorus; but at leaving that peninsula, he established in it as king, or rather viceroy, one of his own sons named Machares²⁵, now the object of his affection, and shortly afterwards the victim of his vengeance.

This remote warfare did not divert his attention from the more important affairs of the West. None of his transactions with Rome had yet been recorded; they rested merely on oral testimony; and while this continued to be the case, Mithridates saw that he would lie at the mercy of every ambitious proconsul whom the Romans sent into Asia. Though historians, therefore, have considered the campaigns of Muraena, and the cessation of hostilities on the part of that general, as a distinct subject, forming what is called the second Mithridatic war, yet those expeditions seem not to have been viewed in the same light by the king of Pontus. He considered the work of peace as still unfinished, until the conditions of it should be formally confirmed at Rome, and transmitted to him duly authenticated in writing. For this purpose, his ambassadors were dispatched to the senate; but as Sylla died before their arrival, the various applications made by them were treated with neglect, and they returned, bringing to their master, instead of secure peace and the honourable title of "friend to the Roman people," nothing but such mortification and disgrace, as, by a mind far tamer than his, could not have been brooked with patience²⁶.

Tigranes in-
vades Cap-
padocia, and
transplants
its inhabit-
ants.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 1.
B. C. 76.

He set himself, therefore, with the utmost diligence, to recruit his army and replenish his magazines. While engaged in such preparations, he again applied to his son-in-law Tigranes, then in the height of his prosperity. The treaty between these princes had, for reasons above mentioned, produced no other effect than the depopulation of some districts in Cappadocia. In that kingdom, so closely allied with them, the Romans were most vulnerable. At the

²⁵ Appian, c. 67.

²⁶ Appian, Mithridat. c. 67.

instigation of his father-in-law, Tigranes passed the Euphrates with a great army; and without deigning to employ any pretence for justifying his invasion, began to ravage Cappadocia, and to make spoil of its inhabitants. As persons rather than property was his object, he beset the whole country with armed men, and hunted, as it were, the flying Cappadocians into his toils. Three hundred thousand of them are said to have been carried with him into Armenia²⁷.

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Before the Romans were ready to revenge this injury, for their vassal Ariobarzanes seems to have thought himself fortunate in eluding the grasp of the invader, Nicomedes III. of Bithynia died, in the seventeenth year of his reign, bequeathing to them that country. This destination of his kingdom seemed to Nicomedes the surest expedient for saving the Bithynians from similar evils to those which had just fallen on their neighbours the Cappadocians. But the event did not correspond to his views; for Mithridates was no sooner apprised of his death and testament, than he marched an army into Bithynia, and made himself master of the kingdom. Immediately before striking this blow, which destroyed all hopes of peace, the king of Pontus, having assembled his forces in Paphlagonia on the frontier of the devoted country, addressed them in a long and animated oration, expatiating on his own wrongs and the boundless rapacity of the Romans, heightened by more unbounded arrogance. Of that nation he had two persons of great distinction in his camp. Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, who, after the wreck of Fimbria's fortunes to which they had been devoted, rather than serve under his adversary Sylla, had taken refuge with the public enemy. Mithridates received them with open arms, treated them with great respect, and having sent them on an embassy into Spain, concluded an alliance with Sertorius, who, through his extraordinary influence over the native Spaniards, had upheld the Marian faction for five

Bithynia bequeathed by Nicomedes III. to the Romans—Mithridates intercepts this gift. Olymp. clxxvi. 2. B. C. 75.

Mithridates' treaty with Sertorius, who still upheld the Marian faction in Spain.

²⁷ Appian, Mithridat. c. 67. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. & l. xii. p. 539.

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Advantages
gained by it
on either
side.

These ad-
vantages ex-
plained by
Mithridates
to his army.

The consuls
Lucullus and
Cotta sent
against him.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 2.
B. C. 75.

years against Aufidius, Metellus, and Pompey; and continued to defend it three years longer, till he was treacherously slain at Osca, near the roots of the Pyrenees, by his own lieutenant Perperna²⁸. According to the treaty between Mithridates and this able chief, the former sent to the latter 3,000 talents and forty gallies; the latter in return sent to the king of Pontus, Marcus Varius, formerly a Roman senator, and now vested with proconsular authority by a senate which Sertorius had raised up in his own camp in Spain, to oppose the designs and measures of Rome. Varius was accompanied or followed by several officers and soldiers, well qualified to assist Mithridates in a plan, which shortly before this time he had adopted, for arming and disciplining a great proportion of his troops on the legionary model.

In his discourse to his soldiers, the king of Pontus enlarged on the benefit to be expected from this Spanish alliance. The Romans, he said, would be attacked at once from the West and the East; the seas, it was well known, had long been unsafe for them; and the city of Rome, which had grown large and populous by a perpetual series of crimes, was already suffering through great scarcity, and would soon sink under the pressure of famine. The time was at hand to take vengeance on those plunderers of nations and of kings; they are now divided among themselves; the best and bravest of them (pointing to Varius and the two Lucii) renouncing a country unworthy of their virtues, have come hither to assist our councils and to share the glory of our arms²⁹.

Meanwhile the Romans raised to the consulship Licinius Lucullus, the same person who had co-operated so ably with Sylla in the offices of questor and admiral. His colleague was Aurelius Cotta; the war with Mithridates was destined to both. It was intended that Lucullus should carry with him such reinforcements from Italy, as

²⁸ Plutarch in Sertor. Sallust. Fragm. ²⁹ Appian, Mithridat. c. 69, 70.
Histor. l. iii. c. 15.

being

being joined by the troops in the Roman province of Asia, would raise his army to 30,000 infantry and 3,000 horse. Cotta preceded with a smaller army indeed, but accompanied with an admiral named Nudus, commanding a powerful fleet, the object peculiarly enjoined to him being the recovery of the maritime province of Bithynia. Cotta was a vain-glorious man, of abilities altogether inadequate to his pretensions. Flattered with the prospect of combating the king of Pontus before Lucullus' arrival, whose levies had been retarded by factious tribunes, and of thus appropriating exclusively the honours of a triumph, he wantonly exposed himself to bloody defeats both by sea and land, and then shut himself up with his admiral Nudus in Chalcedon, a strong city opposite to Byzantium. A bar, consisting of chains of iron, which had been thrown across the harbour at Chalcedon, was burst through; Mithridates burnt four, and captured sixty, gallies³⁰.

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Cotta defeated by sea and land at Chalcedon. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B. C. 74.

Lucullus was informed of these disasters in his camp on the river Sangarius in Phrygia, towards which he had advanced, after employing proper means for remedying great evils in the ill-affected province of Asia. Through the cruelty of tax gatherers and iniquity of judges, many places in that province were so totally alienated from Rome, that upon Mithridates' invasion of Bithynia, they seemed ready to throw themselves once more into his arms. Disturbances had actually broken out in several districts; the proconsul Junius was unseasonably absent; and the insurrection would have become dangerous but for the following accident. It happened shortly before this period, that Julius Cæsar, having unsuccessfully arraigned Dolabella for malversation in his government of Macedon, sailed for the isle of Rhodes in his twenty-third year, to receive the instructions of Apollonius, a celebrated master in rhetoric. His ship was captured by pirates, and carried into Pharmacusa, a small island near the coast of Miletus. There, he remained in captivity

Lucullus in Lesser Asia--his useful exertions there.

First memorable public service of Julius Cæsar. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B. C. 74.

³⁰ Appian, c. 71. Plutarch in Lucull.

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with his physician and two attendants, until other persons belonging to his retinue should raise fifty talents demanded for his ransom. The money was raised, probably at Miletus; and Cæsar, being set at liberty, sailed into the harbour of that city. Upon landing, he informed the Milesians of the presumptuous security of the pirates, and how easy it would be to surprise them. By the help of a very small proportion of the vessels then in the harbour, he offered to make the attempt next night, and to be answerable for the consequences. His proposal was accepted; the enterprize succeeded; and the pirates, who had carried him to Pharmacusa³², were now in their turn carried by him to Miletus, and from thence forwarded to Pergamus. It seems that Cæsar, while in their custody, had often threatened them in that coarse kind of raillery with which they were familiar, that, if ever he laid hands on them at any future time, he would certainly crucify them. Without waiting the orders of the proconsul, who was then in Bithynia, he determined to carry this threat into execution; though, in the adulatory language of historians, with the humanity that always characterised him, he first cut their throats, before he affixed their bodies to the cross³³. Having thus punished the pirates, he pursued his destined voyage to Rhodes, but had not remained long in that island, when he learned Mithridates' invasion of Bithynia, and the growing defections in Asia. This intelligence made him hasten thither, with an intention of marching against the insurgents, at the head of such provincials as he could prevail on to follow him. His spontaneous exertions in the public service were attended with much success, and strenuously persevered in until Lucullus crossed the Hellespont vested with consular authority, and at the head of a great army. Yet equity, not arms, was the expedient to which this respectable commander had recourse for settling the discontents in Asia. He restrained abuses

³² Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 4. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 41. Conf. Plutarch in Lucull.

³³ Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 74.

on the part of publicans and other Romans, and corrected their unjust proceedings against unhappy Asiatics, long exposed to their unchallenged peculations. The evils which he could not cure, he was studious to mitigate, giving assurances that, after reducing foreign enemies to submission, he would spare no pains to root out every domestic mischief from the province²⁴.

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Upon the news of his colleague's presumption and consequent disasters, Lucullus summoned a council. His principal officers were of opinion that the unfortunate Cotta ought to pay the forfeit of his folly, and to endure the evils of a siege in Chalcedon. Arche-laüs, Mithridates' revolted general, strongly abetted this advice, and exhorted Lucullus, without loss of time, to march forward into Pontus, where the enemy was most vulnerable. Lucullus dissented from the general opinion. He would not fly, he said, from the wild beast, to take possession of his lair; and to save the life of a single Roman, he declared to be, in his mind, a better service, than the acquisition of all the wealth in Pontus²⁵. He therefore gave orders for proceeding with due speed to the relief of his colleague in Chalcedon.

Lucullus' generous resolution in favour of Cotta.

By this time Mithridates had assembled a mighty host, that, after gaining the strong cities of Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, and Cyzicus in an island of the Propontis, he might proceed southward, and overwhelm the Roman province of Asia. His gallies were 400; he had large bodies of horse; and his infantry is computed at 150,000 fighting men: their attendants, under the two general descriptions of servants and traders, far exceeded that number²⁶. The Romans, however, having that full proportion of force, with which they had often triumphed over countless armies, eagerly demanded battle. The general restrained their ardour, because, from the intelligence which he received of the state of the enemy's provisions from different straggling parties that happened to fall into his hands, he conjectured

Views of Mithridates—his vast army.

²⁴ Plutarch, *ibid.*

²⁵ *Id.* *ibid.*

²⁶ Τετρακοντα μυριάδας. Appian, c. 72.

that,

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Lucullus follows and outwits him.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 3.
B. C. 74.

that, notwithstanding the supplies received by sea, so prodigious a host could not remain long in the narrow northern corner of the Peninsula. His conclusion was justified by the event³⁷. Mithridates moved from the neighbourhood of the Bosporus, and fixed his camp at Adraestia, on the southern shore of the Propontis, directly opposite to the isle of Cyzicus³⁸.

Lucullus followed him at a due distance; and by a singular piece of good fortune, was enabled to occupy a post, near a village called Thraceia, most conveniently situate for distressing the enemy's camp. Lucius Magius, with the perfidy natural to deserters, found means of secretly communicating with Lucullus. In consequence of this intrigue, Magius persuaded Mithridates that it was unnecessary to guard the defiles leading to Thraceia, or to hinder Lucullus from fortifying that post in his neighbourhood. The nearer he approached, the more the king's affairs would be benefited; because the Fimbrian legions, composing the flower of the Roman army, would thereby find the greater facility in effecting their intended revolt. The mutinous spirit of these legions, not less notorious than their courage had been conspicuous, procured credit to the falsehood; and Lucullus thus possessed himself of a ground which, while his enemies besieged Cyzicus, was well fitted to intercept all resources from the great continent behind them. It might have been expected that the superiority of Mithridates' force would have encouraged him to break through the hostile lines; but he waited day after day in expectation of seeing the revolt of the Fimbrian legions, and when this hope failed him, he determined to prosecute, with the utmost vigour, the siege of Cyzicus, which contained vast stores of corn³⁹.

Obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicus.

But besides a granary of corn, this respectable commonwealth had two other magazines, one of arms, and another of military engines⁴⁰. Detachments of its warlike citizens had perished indeed in

³⁷ Appian, Mithridat. c. 79—c. 72. Conf. Plutarch in Lucull.

³⁸ Strabo, l. xii. p. 575.

³⁹ Appian & Plutarch.

⁴⁰ Strabo, l. xii. p. 573.

the double defeat of Cotta; but the great body of the people was animated with zeal in the cause of Rome, or rather of their own liberty. They resisted, therefore, one of the greatest armies ever brought into the field, and all the abilities of Mithridates seconded by skilful engineers and indefatigable artizans. Lucullus found means of communicating with the besieged, and intimating to them the great advantages which he continued to gain over the foraging parties of the enemy. These advices kept up their spirits, and encouraged them to hold out until the approach of winter, when the Euxine ceased to be safely navigable by victuallers. Mithridates being thus cut off from all regular supplies by sea as well as land, was reduced to the necessity of raising the siege. His vast army, weakened by disease, the consequence of scarcity or unwholesome diet, dissolved into still formidable masses, which pursued different directions. A numerous body, which marched westward towards the Hellespont, was destroyed by Lucullus, as it attempted to pass the *Æsepus* or *Granicus*, rivers twelve miles asunder, and both of them then swoln by heavy rains. The king, it is remarkable, preferred the dangers of the sea to an encounter with the enemy; probably on account of the mountainous district of *Olympus*, which lay on his road by land, and on which he must have fought the Romans, on ground highly unfavourable to him. He sailed at first towards the Hellespont, where the superiority of his fleet had given to him *Parium*, *Lampsacus*, and other sea-ports, for allies. He then divided his armament, and leaving fifty ships with 10,000 men on board, to maintain his interest in that quarter, he proceeded with the far greater part on his voyage to *Pontus* ⁴¹.

The flight of Mithridates was no sooner known to the maritime cities of Asia, than they brought to Lucullus such reinforcements as enabled him to overpower the squadron of fifty sail left behind by the enemy. This squadron had three commanders; Varius, the Ro-

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Captures at
Chrysè 50 of
his ships
with 10,000
men.

⁴¹ Appian, *Mithridat.* c. 72. & seq. Plutarch in *Lucull.*

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XXVII.Dreadful
calamity of
Mithridates'
fleet in the
Euxine.His mea-
sures there-
on.

man senator, of whom we have before made mention; Alexander, a Paphlagonian; and Dionysius, a eunuch. They were all three captured by Lucullus, in the small island Chryse, then an appendage to Lemnos, but since that time buried in the sea⁴². The eunuch drank poison; Lucullus ordered the death of the Roman; he reserved the Paphlagonian for his triumph⁴³.

The misfortunes hitherto attending the king's arms were succeeded by a calamity far greater, and altogether without remedy. His fleet which he had raised with so much expence and industry, presumed to navigate the Euxine at a season when the reports of the moderns concur with those of the ancients in representing this sea as highly dangerous. It was assailed by a sudden tempest which raged many days without intermission: sixty ships were sunk, with 10,000 men on board; the rest were scattered and tossed among remote shores, which at different intervals of time, they deformed with their wrecks. The king was saved in a brigantine⁴⁴; and landed first at Sinope, the principal harbour in Paphlagonia, and then at Amisus, the principal harbour in Pontus.

Having witnessed at these places the dreadful extent of his disaster, he adopted, however, the best means in his power for yet withstanding the enemy. He wrote for assistance to his son Machares, viceroy in Bosphorus, and to his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia. He sent emissaries, with large sums of money, to allure the independent Scythians beyond Bosphorus to his standard. In person he marched southward from Amisus, through the beautiful plain Phanaræa; from whence remounting towards the source of the Iris, he crossed the lofty chain of Paryadres to his favourite stronghold Cabira⁴⁵. In this mountainous district, an hundred miles distant from the sea, Mithridates had many fortified castles, containing his treasures, by a proper employment of which he expected, in the course of the winter, to be able again to collect a great army.

⁴² Pausanias, l. viii. c. 33.⁴³ Appian, c. 76.⁴⁴ Appian, c. 78.⁴⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 556.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile Lucullus, after enjoying *heroic* honours⁴⁶ at Cyzicus, prepared to march through Bithynia into Pontus. On the common frontier of those kingdoms he found but a precarious supply of provisions, but when he advanced into the heart of the latter, food, clothing, and every necessary of life was to be procured in the greatest abundance, and at the lowest prices⁴⁷. The territory was naturally plentiful, and had been enriched by the culture of ages without being once foraged by an enemy. This virgin country was now left unguarded at the mercy of the invader, most of the cities readily entered into composition with him, and thereby, to the regret of his soldiers, escaped depredation. Three places only made a vigorous resistance; Sinopè and Amisus, on the sea coast, and Thermiscyra, on the banks of the Thermodon. These sieges occupied the remainder of winter, without overcoming the obstinacy of Sinopè and Amisus. But a new city, contiguous to Amisus, which Mithridates had called Eupatoria⁴⁸, from his own surname, desired leave to capitulate.

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Lucullus
marches into
Pontus—extraordinary
plenty of
that country.
Olymp.
clxxvi. 4.
B. C. 73.

Eupatoria
capitulates.

Early in the spring, Lucullus prepared to pass over the heights of Paryadres, in order to offer battle to Mithridates, who, he was informed, had collected at Cabira an army 44,000 strong. Signals by fire announced to the king the approach of his enemy, but as the flower of his own troops consisted in cavalry, he anxiously waited for Lucullus' descent into the plain. The Roman general at length descended with much precaution; various skirmishes happened between advanced parties, in all of which the cavalry of Mithridates maintained a decided superiority: as often as the Romans were at-

Operations
in Pontus—
Mithridates'
cavalry uni-
formly suc-
cessful.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 1.
B. C. 72.

⁴⁶ The favours of cities were deemed equal in honour to their founders. Diodorus, l. xx. f. 102.

⁴⁷ A slave cost four drachmas; an ox one; goats, sheep, clothing, &c. were cheap in proportion. Appian, c. 78. These prices perhaps indicate the rates at which soldiers sold their booty, of which the great quantity suddenly acquired, rendered it of little value.

⁴⁸ This Eupatoria must be distinguished from another city of the same name, fifteen miles from the sea, on the conflux of the Iris and Lycus, and nearly midway from the coast to Amasia, the birth-place of the geographer Strabo, on the conflux of the Iris and Scylax. Of the inland Eupatoria we shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

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Prefumption
of the Asia-
tics thereon
—their
rout and
flight of the
king into
Armenia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 2.
B. C. 71.

tacked by the enemy's horse, they had no means of safety, but by returning to the mountains. They thus found it impossible to keep open a communication with Cappadocia, from which country they expected to derive the greater part of their supplies; and were on the point of being reduced to distress similar to that which Mithridates had suffered at Cyzicus. But from a situation fraught with danger, not unmixed with disgrace, they at length obtained an opportunity of extricating themselves through the extreme imprudence of the enemy. Flushed with repeated and signal success, the Asiatics gave way to that blind presumption which is congenial to their character. Impatient of persevering in the same plan of campaign, of which they had already experienced the efficacy, they passed the mountains in great force, and coming to action in an intricate and narrow valley, where their cavalry could not render any service, they met with a defeat that appeared the more disastrous, because it was altogether unexpected. Neither the king nor Lucullus were present in the engagement; but the former first learned its event, and determined instantly to move his camp, lest the severe blow which he had received, should be followed by one still more decisive. His favourites and courtiers, who penetrated this intention before general orders were issued, began to avail themselves of the discovery. Their servants and waggons, conveying those troublesome and operose luxuries which usually encumber Asiatic armies, crowded the gates of the camp. At this sight the soldiers took the alarm, imagining that they knew not the worst that had happened; the camp was in commotion; the gates became the scene of uproar and bloodshed; all were in haste to depart without waiting the king's orders: and when Mithridates started from his pavilion on horseback, to quell the tumult, he was obstructed by the throng and dismounted. In this humiliating condition he was hurried along in the crowd, till rescued by some of his menials; then seated on a new horse, he crossed the eastern descents of mount Paryadres. From thence he hastened northward, accom-

panied by a small body of cavalry, and remounting towards the sources of the Euphrates, concealed his flight and his disgrace amidst the intricate and almost inaccessible vallies of Armenia ⁴⁹.

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Of this confusion in the enemy's camp, the Romans had not been slow to avail themselves. They attacked, destroyed, or dispersed all those still employed in collecting or transporting the baggage; but the rich spoils which the barbarians left behind them, arrested the pursuit, and made the rout less bloody than it might otherwise have been rendered. Mithridates, at a critical moment, is said to have owed his safety to a mule laden with treasure. The sacks burst, and displayed a resistless temptation to some Roman horsemen, who were in full view of the flying king: by which accident or contrivance, for whether of the two is uncertain, he eluded his pursuers ⁵⁰.

How he
escaped his
pursuers.

Lucullus entered Cabira, and gave orders for summoning the strong castles in its neighbourhood, containing treasures or state prisoners. The whole dominions of Mithridates now lay at his mercy, and nothing remained in order to complete his triumph, but to make himself master of the king's person. With this view he directed his march according to the best advices which he had received, towards the south-eastern corner of the Euxine, through the country so graphically described by Xenophon, in his retreat of the ten thousand ⁵¹. At Pharnacia, formerly Cerasus, he learned that Mithridates had sent orders for the death of his wives and female relations, inhabiting a castle in that neighbourhood; that some had hanged themselves, and that others had drank poison, or presented their bosoms to the dagger ⁵². Grieved at this news, he proceeded to the district of the Taulantii, from whom he understood that the king, in his flight, having kept to the eastward of his pursuers, had escaped four days before into Armenia, with an intention, as Lucullus had no doubt, of soliciting assistance from his son-in-law, Tigranes. Here,

Incidents in
Pontus.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

⁴⁹ Appian, Mithridat. c. 81. & seq.

⁵¹ See History of Ancient Greece, c. xxvi.

⁵⁰ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁵² Plutarch & Appian, c. 82.

therefore,

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Appius
Claudius
sent ambaf-
fador to
Tigranes.

Treatment
of the Greek
cities in Pon-
tus—Sinopè,
Amifus,
Heraclæa.

Lucullus'
wife financial
regulations

therefore, the Roman paused: Armenia was a powerful kingdom; its sovereign had wonderfully prospered in all his undertakings; the dominions from the Euphrates to the Grecian sea were amply sufficient to gratify the ambition of Rome and her general. More anxious to consolidate than extend his conquests, Lucullus contented himself with sending an embassy to Tigranes, demanding the person of the king of Pontus. This mission was entrusted to Appius Claudius, a young patrician, who was afterwards consul and censor.

Meanwhile Lucullus, having received the submissions of the Chalybians and neighbouring tribes, returned westward along the shore of the Euxine. Many cities readily yielded on terms, to the regret of the Roman soldiers, who would rather have assaulted and sacked them. The two Greek sea-ports, Amifus and Sinopè, distinguished themselves by an obstinate resistance, the former defended by Callimachus, the ablest engineer of his age, and the latter reinforced by pirates, in the interest of the king of Pontus. Callimachus, by setting fire to Amifus, endeavoured to disappoint the Romans of their booty⁵³; the pirates, when no longer able to hold out, betook themselves to their armed brigantines, and left the Sinopians at the mercy of the conqueror. Lucullus treated both places with a lenity as honourable to himself as it was offensive to his greedy followers; reinstating the prostrate citizens in their possessions, and confirming them in the enjoyment of their free governments and equal laws, which, though often overwhelmed by the Persian and Pontic kings, had never ceased to be dear to them. The fate of Heraclæa Pontica formed a contrast with that of Sinopè and Amifus. Its siege had been carried on twelvemonths, by Cotta and Triarius, successively; and its capture was attended with the plundering of its temples, the burning of the city, and the massacre of most of its inhabitants⁵⁴.

In the progress of Lucullus westward, Ariobarzanes was firmly established in the dependant kingdom of Cappadocia, while Bithy-

⁵³ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁵⁴ Memnon apud Phot. p. 743-747.

nia, according to the will of its late king, was completely reduced into the form of a Roman province. But the longest and most meritorious labour of this able statesman as well as general, was to remove the deep and complicated grievances under which the Roman subjects had long laboured in Lower Asia, that is, the kingdom of Pergamus and its appendages. Among the regulations which endeared him to the inhabitants of this invaluable and long oppressed country, was his rescuing them from the gripe of tax gatherers and usurers. He appointed all contributions to be raised from income, not from property; and to render them in some measure optional, he made their proportion to depend on the magnitude of houses, and the multitude of slaves or servants⁵⁵.

Lucullus had finished this useful work, before his ambassador Appius returned from Tigranes. Appius, it seems, upon entering Armenia, had been furnished with guides by order of the court. These men, whether to magnify their master's power by shewing the vast extent of his dominions, or to accomplish some unwarrantable design which they entertained against Appius and his attendants, conducted them by very circuitous roads towards the imperial residence of Tigranocerta, but carried them altogether wide of the king, who was actually at Antioch, in Syria. Upon discovering this treachery, Appius dismissed those royal guides, as they were called, and trusted to a Syrian in his suite, who led him by the nearest way to the once renowned capital of the Seleucidæ, now a secondary city belonging to an upstart king of Armenia. Before returning into the proper road, from which he had so widely roved, Appius had an opportunity of hearing the complaints of many tributary princes and nations, neighbours and enemies to the Armenians: the king of Corduenè, a district among the mountains east of Tigranocerta, entered into an alliance with Rome; and the Greek cities in Syria expressed the warmest desire of throwing off the yoke of

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in Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

Appius
Claudius re-
ports to Lu-
cullus the
incidents and
issue of his
embassy.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.

⁵⁵ Appian, Mithridat. c. 83. Conf. Plutarch in Lucull.

the

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the Armenians, who had begun to exercise over them the odious prerogatives of injustice and cruelty, uniformly claimed, as we have seen, by every dominant nation in Asia. The rotten state of Tigranes' affairs might have encouraged Appius to execute his commission with boldness, had he been less eminently endowed with that quality. He found the king of kings, as he affected to be called, just returned to Antioch, after subduing a rebellion in Phœnicia. He was surrounded by dispossessed monarchs, who served him as the lowest menials. A pair of dethroned sovereigns attended him on each side when he rode out on horseback; and strings of kings or satraps, on days of public audience, appeared in the presence hall, their hands interlaced with each other in token of the lowest humiliation and most abject servitude. Amidst this tyrannic pomp, calculated to overawe cowards, but to provoke brave men to anger, young Appius was introduced: he had come, he said, to demand the person of Mithridates, due to the triumph of Lucullus; in case of refusal he denounced a just war, since the protectors of delinquents ought to share their punishment. Tigranes ill disguised the agony of wounded pride under a forced smile of contempt; answering, that he would not surrender Mithridates, and if the Romans committed any act of hostility, he would make them to repent their presumption. Notwithstanding this defiance, he sent to Appius, at his departure, the customary presents. The Roman, that he might avoid giving personal offence, and at the same time testify his disdain of the king's wealth, accepted a single cup or goblet, and hastened back to Lucullus to acquaint him with the incidents and issue of his embassy ⁵⁶.

Lucullus' march towards Tigranocerta to demand the person of

Upon learning the refusal of Tigranes to his requisition, Lucullus, who by this time had returned to Sinopè, determined to demand the person of his vanquished adversary by an armed force before the walls of Tigranocerta. With a view to this undertaking, he had

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Lucull.

contracted an alliance with Machares, king or viceroy of Bosphorus on the opposite side of the Euxine. The treachery of this favourite son of Mithridates thus seemed to cut off his father's retreat on the north: towards the west, his kingdom of Pontus was already occupied by the Romans; it remained to follow and seize him in Armenia, for which purpose Lucullus crossed the Euphrates with two chosen legions, and the proportional contingents of cavalry and allies. In proceeding through Sophenè and other districts commonly ascribed to the Lesser Armenia, the Romans observed the utmost forbearance and lenity; no hardship was imposed on the countries through which they marched. A castle was pointed out to them, said to contain great treasures; they wished to plunder it; but Lucullus shewing them at a distance the highlands in their way to Tigranocerta, "these," he said, "are the castles we must first take, and then all the others will be our own." They passed the mountains which supply some of the many sources of the Tigris, and descended into the great Armenian plain, not only without encountering an enemy, but before Tigranes suspected their approach.

Prosperity and flattery should seem to have robbed that prince of his senses. He had refused to assist his father-in-law during the dependance of his fortune. After Mithridates had lost his kingdom, Tigranes provoked a war in his behalf; yet, with strange inconsistency, in the course of sixteen months had never deigned once to admit the royal fugitive to his presence. His behaviour was equally extravagant on being informed of the Roman invasion: "Take off the slave's head," was his reproof to the first unlucky messenger; and when, at a considerable distance of time, Mithrobarzanes, a prime favourite, ventured to repeat the same ungrateful intelligence, he detached him from Tigranocerta, that he might seize Lucullus alive, and trample to death his followers. But in the attempt to execute this commission, the Armenians were defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of their general. Tigranes, at the head

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Mithridates.

Olymp.

clxxvii. 4.

B. C. 69.

Extravagant
behaviour of
Tigranes.The Arme-
nians de-
feated and
Tigranocerta
besieged.

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of his guards, then quitted the gorgeous walls of his capital, which were fifty cubits high, and of which the lower parts contained stables for his numerous cavalry. Instead of proceeding immediately against the well fortified camp of the Romans, he thought proper to wait reinforcements which he had ordered to assemble. To disappoint this view, Lucullus divided his army; one part of it, under Sextilius, attacked some tribes of Arabs as they were advancing to join the king, and put them to the rout; another, under Muræna, surprised the king himself, as he was marching through a long and intricate valley, and forced him to a precipitate flight, with the loss of his whole baggage, and many of his best troops either slain or made prisoners. Lucullus in person, with the main body, laid siege to Tigranocerta⁵⁷.

Tigranes
disregards
the sage ad-
vice of Mith-
ridates and
prepares for
a new battle.

Humbled by his defeat in the valley, Tigranes condescended to see Mithridates. The latter exhorted his son-in-law by no means to risk a new battle, even for the relief of his capital. He must be contented, he said, to waste the country from which the Romans derived their supplies; to intercept their convoys, and to harass them by his light troops and cavalry, which would compel them to raise the siege, with the disadvantage of an enemy in full force behind them to annoy their retreat. This judicious advice gradually lost influence over the Armenian as his forces grew more numerous. They consisted not only of his native subjects, but of all whom his gold or his promises could draw to his standard; of the fierce independent tribes far beyond Artaxata on both sides the Araxes; of the Iberians, Albanians, and Mardi, the boldest warriors on the Caspian; of the Atyrians and Medes, under national chiefs or kings, recently emancipated from the broken power of Parthia. The whole army amounted to 200,000 foot and 55,000 horse; of which latter nearly one half were cataphracts, that is, as we have already seen, heavy cavalry, clad in steel, and armed with long spears. When

⁵⁷ Appian, c. 84—87. & Plutarch in Lucull.

Lucullus

Lucullus had news of the enemy, the specimens which he had already seen of their inefficiency, the necessary consequence of presumptuous folly and want of discipline, encouraged him to leave nearly half his strength under Muræna to continue the siege of Tigranocerta, while he hastened with the larger division, consisting of all his cavalry and 11,000 infantry, to oppose the Armenians, exceeding twenty times his numbers. He encamped behind one of the streams which, under the name of Nicephorius, falls into the Tigris. The king of Armenia had encamped on the opposite side, encumbered with all his operose luxuries; for, although Tigranocerta was invested, a party of his horse had penetrated to a castle in that neighbourhood, and brought to him in safety the royal concubines. The vastness of his army, contrasted with the paucity of the enemy, filled him with confidence; and as he had dismissed the cautious Mithridates, lest that prince should share the glory of his victory, his presumption, altogether uncontrouled, flourished in wilder luxuriance³⁸ under the rank flattery of his courtiers.

Before Lucullus could give battle, it was necessary to pass the river in his front. The shallowest part had been explored; it lay higher up the stream, which making a bend westward, gave to the Roman army in advancing to the ford the appearance of a retreat. The king beholding this movement from the eastern bank, exclaimed to those around him, behold the enemy in flight. Taxiles, whom we have before mentioned as one of Mithridates' unfortunate generals, had been left by him at parting with Tigranes, that he might use his utmost endeavours to make that prince avoid a decisive battle, and persevere in the slow but sure mode for relieving Tigranocerta, that had been so earnestly recommended to him. Taxiles had long been deterred by personal danger from interposing any advice obnoxious to the king's pride; but, on the present occasion, he ven-

Lucullus' decisive victory on the Nicephorius. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

³⁸ Instead of terror, the Romans were a are numerous for an embassy, but too few subject of derision. The king said, "they for an army." Plut. in Lucull.

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tured to assure him, that the movement of the Romans in maniples, with bright vestments and shining armour, indicated, instead of flight, a resolution of coming to immediate action. He had hardly spoken when, by a brisk motion to the right, the standards bearing the eagles advanced into the well known ford; and the eastern bank being gained, the line of march was instantaneously converted into an order of battle. Lucullus availed himself of the nature of the ground contiguous to the enemy's encampment. Behind it, there was an eminence of easy ascent, which overlooked the troops guarding the baggage and beasts of burthen. The decisive attack he determined to direct against this part, for which purpose he sent forth his whole cavalry to provoke a loose engagement with the enemy, and thereby mask his own movement with only two chosen cohorts towards the eminence in question. He ascended it unperceived, and then shewing to his followers the baggage and infantry below them, while the horse skirmished on the plain, exclaimed, "the victory is our own". The Romans, completely covered with their bucklers, darted down with their massy and pointed swords to a massacre, not a battle. Surprise multiplied the terrors which they bore with them. The panic of those who guarded the baggage was communicated to the whole Armenian infantry; at the same time that the horse belonging to that nation being pressed on by crowds of fugitives from behind, now began to be vigorously assaulted in front and flank by the Roman cavalry. In this crowded scene, the long spears of the cataphracts proved altogether useless, being easily turned aside by the shorter and firmer weapons of their adversaries. The rout was now universal, and the pursuit being continued for twelve miles, until sun-set, was attended, it is said, with destruction to nearly half the fugitives. Tigranes, with his son of the same name, were foremost in the flight. The king, to avoid discovery, divested his head of the royal diadem. The bearer of it was made prisoner⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ Νικώμεν, ὡς αὐδεν. Appian, c. 85.

⁶⁰ Id. *ibid.*

The dispersion of the Armenian army was followed by the capture of Tigranocerta. That proud city, decked at the expence of prostrate provinces, with its towers and palaces, its parks or paradises, and its immense opulence, became a prey to the Roman soldiers, and satiated their utmost avidity for plunder. The far greater part of the booty consisted in precious metals uncoined, and other valuable articles of finery or luxury; for offerings from all parts of his dominions replenished the treasury, and fed the vanity of Tigranes. Eight thousand talents⁶¹, however, were found in specie; from which each Roman soldier had the value of about thirty pounds sterling for his share. The capture of the place had been hastened by an ill-judged precaution employed for its safety. Mancæus, who commanded in it as governor, upon beholding from his watch tower the ruinous flight of his master, thought fit to disarm all the Greek inhabitants, fearing their concealed hatred to the Armenians. The Greeks, thus dishonoured, thought that some greater evil, perhaps a bloody massacre, awaited them. They assembled in crowds, communicated their complaints, seized such instruments of death as chance threw in their way, and uniting in one great body, with their garments thrown over their left arms instead of shields, defeated the Armenians who advanced to quell their mutiny. Having stripped the slain, they clothed themselves in their armour, gained possession of part of the wall between two bastions, or rather towers, invited the Romans within the place, and aided them in the conquest of it. This meritorious service did not pass unrewarded. Lucullus acknowledged to the Greeks the full extent of his obligation. All such of them as wished to return home, were sent back enriched to their respective cities; only those who were to have been employed by Tigranes as performers in his newly built theatre of Bacchus, were retained, by liberal rewards, to solemnize the

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Tigranocerta taken through the revolt of its Greek inhabitants—its vast riches. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

⁶¹ Nearly 1,600,000*l*.

thanksgivings

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The object of
the war
attained.

Mithridates'
compassion-
ate behavi-
our to his
son-in law.

thanksgivings of the Romans for their decisive and almost bloodless victories⁶².

Having divested Mithridates of his dominions, and chastised with due severity his proud Armenian ally, Lucullus wrote to the senate that the object of the war had been effected, and that commissioners might be forthwith sent to reduce into the form of a province the conquered kingdom of Pontus⁶³.

In the successive defeats of the father-in-law and of the son, the persons of both had eluded the grasp of the conqueror. Mithridates, from the slowness and caution with which he himself had been combated, had little suspected that the same assailants would overwhelm his ally, by audacity and celerity. He was distant several days journey from Tigranocerta, when the fatal blow was struck; and some flying parties, belonging to his son-in-law, first informed him, how that unfortunate prince, altogether unattended, and anxious only for the safety of his person, had escaped to almost inaccessible lurking places, in the northern and roughest parts of Armenia. Mithridates met him there, treated him with all the sympathy of a fellow sufferer, and having divided with him his own guard, and every other resource with which he was furnished, encouraged him to seek consolation in action, and strenuously to exert himself for collecting a new army, with which, better taught by experience, they might yet successfully make head against their common enemy⁶⁴. At the same time both kings sent embassies into Parthia. The civil wars, which had torn that empire for nearly twenty years, ceased in the declining age of Sinatruces, who, to prevent the recurrence of similar evils, associated with him his son Phrahates III. in the government⁶⁵, that it might devolve on him entire, without opposition,

⁶² Appian, Mithridat. c. 84. & seq. Plutarch in Lucull. Memnon apud Phot. p. 754. Dion. l. xxxv.

⁶³ Plutarch in Lucull.

⁶⁴ Id. ibid.

⁶⁵ Phlegon. apud Phot. p. 267. Conf. Fragment. Sallust. Histor. l. iv.

after

after his father's demise. The same expedient, for obviating the calamities incident to disputed successions, had been employed, as we have seen, by the first races both of the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

As Tigranes had long been at variance with Sinatruces, and had turned to his own advantage the internal disturbances of Parthia by usurping several of its dependencies, particularly northern Mesopotamia, with its great city Nisibis, he chose to make his application rather to Phraates, the son of that prince; his actual coadjutor and destined successor. Mithridates, on the other hand, who had never been at war with Parthia, wrote directly to Sinatruces; and his letter, which is still on record, shews him to have been not less able in negotiation than he was strenuous and bold in action. To obviate the objection of exhorting the Parthians to mingle their own prosperous circumstances with the difficulties and dangers surrounding Tigranes and himself, he proved to them, by a clear deduction of facts, that peace was no longer in their power, now that the chance of arms had brought the Romans on their frontier. In this view he explained the proceedings of that people with regard to Macedon, Syria, and Pergamus: how they afterwards usurped dominion over Bithynia and Cappadocia: Pontus and Arminia, as nearest to those kingdoms in place, had also next to them, in point of time, experienced the dire effects of boundless ambition and insatiable avarice. Hitherto, the Romans had prevailed through the disunion of kings, whom reason, honour, justice, and the strongest interest, ought to have consolidated into a hearty confederacy against them. The time, however, was not yet passed for undertaking this natural, nay necessary warfare. From the Euphrates to the Indus, the Parthian empire, now happily at peace within itself, commanded populous provinces, and the greatest cities in the world. The check suffered by Tigranes, had afforded an instructive lesson; the injuries, inflicted on himself, had inspired immortal revenge. By seasonable exertions against the common enemy, the Parthians might yet avert depredation on their borders,

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XXVII.

His letter to
Sinatruces
king of Par-
thia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Lucullus' proceedings in Cordyene which won the affections of the natives. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

borders, and for ever humble a power that must either itself perish, or cause destruction to every other⁶⁶. History has not preserved the answer to this spirited requisition. We are informed, however, that the government of Parthia was already in negociation with Lucullus, and shortly afterwards treated more sincerely with the kings whom he had defeated.

After the battle of Tigranocerta, and the taking of that city, the conqueror set at liberty all the reluctant inhabitants of the place particularly the Cappadocians, who had been dragged thither, as we have seen, in such vast multitudes, though the number of 300,000 seems an angry exaggeration. He repaired also, to the utmost of his power, the injuries which his own arms, or the cruelty of his enemies, had inflicted. Among the allies, whom his fair renown had procured for him, the swift vengeance of Tygranes had indeed overtaken two persons of great consideration and dignity, before Lucullus could march eastward for their protection. The first of these was Zarbienus, king of Cordyene; the second was Cleopatra Selenè, formerly queen of Syria, and who still retained some strongholds in that country, with the hope of transmitting them to her children. Zarbienus, it should seem, had ill concealed the treaty which, as above-mentioned, he had entered into with Appius Claudius. In resentment of this transaction, which the pride of Tigranes construed into treason, that tyrant usurped the territories of his neighbour, and destroyed Zarbienus, with his wife and family. The intelligence of their destruction, incurred through zeal for Rome, gave much grief to Lucullus, which he expressed in a manner highly soothing to the afflicted Cordyenians. He acknowledged their late worthy sovereign for his particular friend, as well as for the respected ally of the Roman people. To the subjects of the bewailed prince, he extended his immediate protection, removing their grievances, supplying their exigences, and celebrating with them the obsequies

⁶⁶ Sallust. Fragment. Histor. l. iv.

of Zarbienus with a magnificence chiefly derived from the spoils of his murderer. With the royal treasures of Cordyenè, for much gold and silver had escaped the rapacity of Tigranes, he erected a sumptuous mausoleum to honour the memory of the prince, and gratify the honest pride of the people. Moved by condescensions very unusual with eastern conquerors, the Cordyenians opened their granaries to the Romans, containing 3,000,000 of bushels of corn; and were so much delighted with Lucullus, that they would willingly have followed him from their country with their wives and children⁶⁷.

Selenè, the mother of Antiochus Eusebes, had, for an offence similar to that of Zarbienus, been murdered⁶⁸ in Seleucia, a castle so named in Mesopotamia, at the distance of a few miles from Zeugma, the ordinary passage of the Euphrates. Her two sons, Antiochus and Seleucus, would have shared Selenè's fate, had not their good fortune withdrawn them from the tyrant's rage. At that time they were on their return from Rome, whither they had gone to urge their pretensions to the crown of Egypt, in right of their mother, daughter to Ptolemy Physcon. Alexander, the grandson of that prince, had been made king, as above-mentioned, by Sylla; but Sylla was no more, and Alexander had incurred the resentment of his subjects, particularly of the inhabitants of his capital. His only competitor in Egypt was his cousin german, the bastard son of Lathyrus, who five years afterwards purchased the crown, as will be shewn from Cæsar and Pompey, and is known in history by the surname of Auletes, the flute player, added to the common appellation of Ptolemy. Having failed in their application to the senate, the sons of Selenè prepared to return into Syria; and on their way thither, the elder of them, Antiochus, distinguished by the epithet Asiaticus, landing in the isle of Sicily, was stripped of his most precious effects

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Selenè the
queen-mo-
ther of Syria
murdered in
her castle in
Mesopota-
mia.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

Her son An-
tiochus
Asiaticus

⁶⁷ Plutarch in Lucull. p. 512.

Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.

⁶⁸ Josephus, Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Conf.

C H A P.

XXVII.

restored.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 4.
B. C. 69.

Great views
of Lucullus.

by the profligate pretor Verres, in the manner so circumstantially described and so keenly arraigned by Cicero⁶⁹. Upon his return to the east, Antiochus learned the death of his mother, and the calamities that had fallen on her murderer. He hastened to the camp of Lucullus, her avenger. Lucullus received him as his friend; acknowledged his rights to the throne of Syria, now vacant by the defeat and flight of Tigranes; and the protection of the Roman general enabled him to recover part of that country, and retain it for the space of four years, until the settlement of Syria, and all the other generous arrangements of Lucullus were disturbed or done away by Pompey, his invidious successor⁷⁰.

During Lucullus' stay in Cordyenè, he was informed that the Parthians, while they protracted negotiations with himself, were on the point of concluding a treaty with his enemies. Upon this intelligence he wrote to his lieutenants in the conquered provinces, that they should send to him all the troops that could be spared with the utmost expedition. His design was to avail himself of the terror which his victories over the kings of Pontus and Armenia had diffused, and to aim such a bold and sudden blow at the Parthians, as should cause them to repent their perfidy. But he had the mortification to learn, that for reasons which will be explained presently, not a soldier could be expected from Pontus, or any part of the Lesser Asia. He was under the necessity, therefore, of abandoning his expedition against the Parthians, and of confining himself to such undertakings as might be accomplished by the forces already under his standard. The district of Tigranocerta, which he commanded, was a beautiful and extensive plain, having the mountains of Cordyenè on the east, mount Niphates on the north, and a branch of mount Masius to the south. Mount Niphates was the ascent to the more northern and loftier regions of Armenia, into which Mithridates and Tigranes had thrown themselves to raise new forces, or to collect their scattered

⁶⁹ Cicero in Verrem, l. iv. c. 27. & seq. ⁷⁰ Conf. Plutarch in Lucull. & in Pompeio.

followers.

followers. Mount Mafius may be considered as the solid base of Mesopotamia, whose sides are the Euphrates and Tigris; and the branch of the mountain just mentioned, separated the territory of Tigranocerta from the rich plain of Antiochia Mygdonia⁷¹ or Nisibis, which great and strong city, with other places conquered by him in northern Mesopotamia, Tigranes purposed to restore to the Parthians as the price of their alliance. Lucullus had thus two objects before him; he might proceed southward and attack Nisibis, which was but forty miles distant from Tigranocerta; or he might cross Niphates in pursuit of the confederate kings, and either bring them to a new battle, or entirely expel them from Armenia⁷².

The taking of Nisibis was the easier of these enterprises, and tempted by the hope of a vast booty; but the more difficult passage of Niphates was also more important, more glorious, and in some measure indispensable, since the Romans never deemed any war to be ended, unless the kings of their enemies had either suffered death, or been made prisoners. This reason decided Lucullus to march northward. It was the summer solstice, yet in ascending the ridge of Niphates he found corn still green in the vallies. He gained possession, however, of magazines well replenished by the enemy. He intercepted their convoys, he severely foraged their country; but none of his measures could tempt them to a battle, until he determined to march towards the vast and rich city Artaxata. This city, in which Tigranes had lodged for safety his wife and children, was 300 miles distant from Tigranocerta. To reach it, Lucullus passed through part of the same country traversed by Xenophon in his immortal retreat, and came to a river called by that writer the Teleboas⁷³, one of the largest tributaries to the Euphrates. On the northern bank of this river, the enemy had posted

He crosses
mount Ni-
phates in his
march to
Artaxata.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

⁷¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 747.

⁷² Plutarch in Lucull. Appian, Mithridatic. c. 84. & seq.

⁷³ "Tel" in Arabic signifies a river. The Teleboas of Xenophon is plainly the Azanias of Plutarch.

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Defeats the
confederate
kings on the
banks of the
Teleboas.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

His army
refuses to
proceed to
Artaxata.

Sack of
Nisibis.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

themselves, determined once more to try the chance of arms. Tigranes, though assisted by the experience of his father-in-law, did not fight with more success than formerly. Their cavalry, indeed, sustained the first shock of the Roman horse, but the fight of the legions inspired terror into all parts of their army; and the rout was only less bloody than after the battle of Tigranocerta, because the numbers were less considerable, and the country more intricate⁷⁴.

The confederate kings made their escape by being foremost in the flight: they pursued the road towards Artaxata, with a view to put that city in a posture of defence, since it was nearly 200 miles distant from the scene of their defeat on the Teleboas, and a country interposed almost impassable for an army even at the autumnal equinox. The Romans had not long followed them through this rough tract before they found the roads covered with snow, and the rivers frozen over: the asperities of the ground cut and crippled the beasts of burden: among confined and intricate paths, the agitation of surrounding trees covered the bodies of the soldiers with their icy loads; and the cold, which was grievous on the march by day, became intolerable during the repose of night. Such sufferings might have provoked men not otherwise inclined to mutiny. But the seeds of every disorder, as will be explained presently, had been industriously sown in the army of Lucullus. He counteracted its seditious obstinacy by all the expedients becoming an able commander; but no inducements could prevail with his men to advance a step further on the way to Artaxata, that hostile city, which, according to current report, Hannibal, the greatest enemy of the Romans, had planned⁷⁵, and which now harboured Mithridates, an enemy not less inveterate.

At this crisis it became necessary to return southward, by the easiest way across the mountains, and to descend into the plain of Antiochia Mygdonia, or Nisibis. To distress the enemy and gratify his soldiers, Lucullus assaulted and sacked that rich and populous

⁷⁴ Id. *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Plutarch in Lucull.

city.

city. Guras, the governor, though brother to Tigranes, was treated indulgently; but Callimachus, the same engineer who had defended and set fire to Amisus, could not obtain pardon. He submitted to the humblest petitions, and offered to reveal hidden depositories of treasure, with which none besides was acquainted. But provoked with the disgrace reflected on himself by the burning of Amisus, an Athenian colony, Lucullus denied all mercy to the deliberate perpetrator of so dreadful an enormity⁷⁶.

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The capture of Nisibis terminated the success of Lucullus, because from that moment the companions of his glory were converted into instruments of his disgrace. But the authors of his unmerited change of fortune were at a distance, and in the bosom of Rome itself. The proceedings in the Proper Asia, by which he had restrained the extortion of tax-gatherers, set bounds to the exorbitancy of usurers, and at once resisted the corruption of judges and the chicane of lawyers⁷⁷, exposed him to the rancorous enmity of all concerned in such abuses, and particularly to the keen resentment of the whole body of Roman knights. The clamours thus excited against a most meritorious commander, gained strength and effect from the unhappy circumstances of the times. In the progress of luxury and vanity, operating on almost boundless accumulation of external advantages, the Romans had come to that degraded state of society, in which there are comparatively so few individuals of real worth, that those who can best assume the semblance of it, and thereby acquire popularity, are exalted into beings of a superior order, and become the fond idols of vile tribes of weak or worthless votaries. An idol of this kind public partiality had erected in the person of Cneius Pompeius, the son of Cneius Pompeius Strabo, the only general who had triumphed, and that without any very substantial suc-

Party against
Lucullus at
Rome.

Popularity
of Pompey.

⁷⁶ Plutarch, *ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Odiū Romanis incussit rapacitas provinciarum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ*

litium. Mithridat. Orat. ad Milites, apud Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 7.

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cess, in the dishonourable war with the allies. In the civil war, which immediately followed the social one, young Pompey took part with Sylla, and maintained that cause with glory at the head of armies in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Africa, and Spain. At his return from Africa he was saluted by Sylla with the title of Great, before his twenty-fifth year, and triumphed for his victories over Domitius in Africa and Sertorius in Spain, while he had yet reached no higher civil dignity than that of a Roman knight; a thing unprecedented, and in every view unwarrantable, since the fundamental laws of the republic reserved the triumph for those only who had borne the offices of consul or pretor, and who, instead of suppressing, as Pompey had done, domestic rebels, had proved victorious over foreign enemies. Sylla perceived his too lofty pretensions, but as they aimed rather at honour than power, he viewed with little fear a man educated in his own school of policy, and who seemed to him totally devoted to the interests of the senate. He, besides, respected Pompey as one of the dearest of his personal friends, insomuch, that many were surprised when, at last, he shewed a decided preference to Lucullus, both by dedicating to him his memoirs, and by naming him for guardian to his son⁷⁸.

His consul-
ship with
Crassus.
Olymp.
clxxvii. 3.
B. C. 70.

After Sylla's death, and his own successful expedition into Spain against the rebel Sertorius, the last remnant of the Marian faction, Pompey obtained the consulship without having passed through any of the inferior offices of magistracy, which were the ordinary and legal steps for ascending to that dignity. His colleague was Licinius Crassus, a man ten years older than himself, distinguished both as an advocate and as an officer, but whose principal recommendation was his immense wealth, which enabled him to entertain the people at 10,000 tables, and to distribute among them corn for the supply of three months. The fortune of Crassus, after defraying these expensive gratuities, amounted to 7,100 talents, about 1,400,000 pounds

⁷⁸ Conf. Plutarch in Sylla, & in Pompeio.

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sterling; but considering the exchangeable value of money in those days, equivalent to three times that sum. This extraordinary measure of opulence had been acquired chiefly by purchasing confiscated estates in Italy during the time of the proscriptions, and by purchasing houses at Rome when exposed to danger from decay or conflagration. Crassus maintained, as it were, trained bands of builders, carpenters, and other mechanics, who were watchful either to avert harm from the houses which he had bought, or always ready at hand to repair it. By this means, many streets of the capital had fallen into his possession; besides which source of income, he kept great numbers of slaves, exercised not only in coarse laborious trades, but in reading, writing, keeping accounts, and cookery; from whose skill, let to hire, he derived a vast revenue. It is said that he refused lending his money at interest, though he often accommodated his friends with considerable sums, never omitting, however, to have recourse to legal means for recovery, when payment was delayed beyond the stipulated day⁷⁹.

The consulship of Pompey and Crassus, which happened in the same year that Lucullus conquered Pontus and pursued its fugitive king into Armenia, was marked by events fatal to the interest and the fame of that meritorious commander. By the authority of Pompey and the munificence of Crassus, and through the passion for popularity that domineered both, the constitution, which they had helped Sylla to establish at the price of so much blood, was completely overturned in the course of a few months. Within that space of time the senate lost its authority; the assembly by centuries, a legislature founded in property, was entirely set aside; the tribunes once more proposed laws in the tumultuary assembly by tribes; and the knights, of whom Pompey was regarded as the ornament and the patron, were again exclusively invested with nearly the

Changes introduced by them in the government.

⁷⁹ Plutarch in Crasso.

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Mutiny occasioned
thereby in
Lucullus' army.

whole judiciary power both in Rome and in the provinces. The effects of these alterations began soon to appear in the most distant parts of the empire, and more especially in the armies entrusted to Lucullus. By the creatures of Pompey, that general was accused of protracting the war, merely that he might enrich himself; the managers of the revenues and money lenders in Asia, consisting almost wholly of Roman knights, re-echoed the accusation; sedition was first sown among the troops whom Lucullus had left behind him in Pontus: it was quickly communicated to the army with which he pursued Mithridates into Armenia, where Publius Clodius, a young man destined to much future infamy on account of his factious spirit and profligacy, though brother to Lucullus' wife, was among the foremost in crossing the designs and calumniating the character of his general. At the instigation chiefly of Clodius, the soldiers, after taking Nisibis, embraced the resolution of not advancing a step farther against the discomfited kings. Clodius confirmed their mutiny, by contrasting their own hardships in traversing mountains and deserts with the far happier lot of Pompey's soldiers, who, after short and easy services in Spain or Italy, had been settled in comfortable farms with their wives and families. Such as had still strength and spirits, he exhorted to reserve these advantages for a general worthy to command armies, and willing to enrich them; for the Great and generous Pompey⁸⁰, who delighted to make citizens of his soldiers, and to procure for them, as the fair fruits of victory, happy domestic accommodations and high political honours.

Mithridates
thus enabled
to re-appear
in arms.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 1.
B. C. 68.

By the delay of the Romans at Nisibis and in the neighbouring districts of Tigranocerta and Cordyenè, Tigranes had time to fortify himself in the central parts of Armenia; and Mithridates, with 4,000 men furnished to him by that prince, and nearly an equal number who, amidst all his adversities, remained attached to his person, made an unexpected irruption into Pontus,

⁸⁰ Plutarch in Lucull. Conf. Dio. l. xxxvi. p. 15.

and

and, wherever he came, revived in the breasts of his subjects that sentiment of loyalty which formed almost their only principle of virtue. The accessions thus acquired to his little army, enabled him to cope with the lieutenants whom Lucullus had left in the province. Fabius was defeated with the loss of 500 men, and shut up in Cabira. Triarius received a blow still more decisive on the banks of the Iris. Mithridates having put him to the rout, and taken possession of his camp, spoiled the bodies of the slain, who were found to exceed 7,000; and among them twenty-four legionary tribunes and one hundred and fifty centurions; a loss, in point of officers, rarely sustained by the Romans⁸¹. In both these actions Mithridates, in his 69th year, fought with a juvenile ardour, and in both was wounded. In the pursuit of Triarius his wound was inflicted by a Roman centurion, disguised like a Cappadocian attendant. As the king's head and body were well guarded in mail, the centurion aimed his thrust at the thigh, and deeply pierced it. An uproar was excited; the pursuit ceased; the assassin was discovered and instantly dispatched; and all ranks in the army crowded in confusion the plain around the body of their bleeding general. Timotheus, a Greek surgeon, dressed the wound, and causing the king to be raised aloft, shewed him full of life to his anxious followers; an incident deemed the more honourable to Mithridates, because it had formerly happened to the Great Alexander⁸².

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His victories
and wounds.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

When Lucullus heard reports (for no certain messenger arrived to him) of the sad disasters in Pontus, he endeavoured to rouse his soldiers, through a sense of shame, to accompany him into that country, and to prevent the province, which they had subdued, from again falling disgracefully into the hands of their vanquished enemy. They followed him, but without due respect for their general, or much unanimity among themselves. Upon entering Pontus, he found the

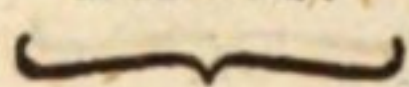
The Romans and their conquests saved by the exertions of Lucullus.

clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

⁸¹ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 89.

⁸² Appian, ibid.

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troops there in sedition. It was with difficulty that he snatched the rash Triarius from their hands. By opposing this mutiny, he provoked still farther the general animosity against himself; and when it was understood that Acilius Glabrio, consul of the preceding year, had been named for his successor, the soldiers declared that they considered their service as ended, and demanded their dismissal. Lucullus omitted no expedient, however mortifying to his own dignity, to keep them six months longer under his standard; and his seasonable condescensions, as Acilius, a general of no account, never advanced beyond Bithynia, saved from the vengeance of the enemy those madmen themselves, as well as the conquests which, in their sounder mind, they had so gloriously achieved⁸³.

Proceedings
of the party
adverse to
him at
Rome—
artifices of
Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

The six months which Lucullus spent inactively, but, since he kept the enemy in check, not uselessly, in Pontus, were big with important events, which ultimately decided not only the fortune of the Mithridatic war, but the fate of the Roman commonwealth. Acilius Glabrio, a creature of Pompey's, had been sent to supersede Lucullus, but at the same time a commission of an extraordinary nature was conferred on Pompey himself, which would render it natural, nay, necessary, that he should in a short time supersede Acilius. This commission was granted on the motion of the tribune Gabinius; for Pompey knowing the senate and higher orders of men averse to all exorbitant prerogatives vested in any individual, applied himself wholly to the popular party, that is, to the assembly by tribes, and its managers the tribunes. As if no engine were too coarse for operating on such minds, he had taken an oath, at entering on his consulship, that after the expiration of it he would not accept, as usual with Roman magistrates, of any command or province abroad, by which he might enrich himself and his family. In fact, there was not any foreign employments vacant that could make

⁸³ Plutarch in Lucull.

him

him willing to leave the capital. The conduct of the war in Asia, long committed to other hands, was the only appointment which could compensate that sacrifice; and Pompey had the discernment to perceive, that, to render the war in Asia completely successful, it must be carried on by sea as well as land.

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The Greek pirates had by this time become more formidable enemies than the confederate kings Mithridates and Tigranes. They had increased the number of their gallies and their strongholds. Their harbours, their places of deposit, their watch-towers and their prisons, were scattered over all the coasts of the Mediterranean; which were all of them, by turns, deformed by the rapacity and cruelty, the odious intemperance and noisy carousals of their crews. The vessels of the pirates exhibited a variety of forms the best adapted to different kinds of service; and to add insult to injury, many of them were adorned with the most preposterous magnificence; with purple sails, with gilded sterns; the very oars, it is said, were inlaid with silver. Not contented with capturing gallies at sea, they attacked the strongest harbours, and burnt the guard-ships of Rome in the port of Ostia; they invaded even the inland parts of Italy, carried off magistrates with their fasces, honourable matrons and noble virgins; every prize, in a word, that they deemed valuable intrinsically, or that tempted them with the hope of a rich ransom⁴. Of these proceedings, Rome, as the mightiest power in the world, felt not only the principal shame, but, as a vast and most populous city, was exposed by them to peculiar danger. From the province of Africa, from Sicily, Sardinia, and from other fertile countries subject to her dominion, she imported annually above 70,000,000 modii of corn⁵ (each modius weighing about twenty pounds), and requir-

Power of
the Greek
pirates and
danger from
them to
Rome itself.

⁴ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 92. & seq.

⁵ About 40 years after this period, Augustus, as we shall see below, imported 20,000,000 of modii, or pecks of corn, from Egypt. Aurelius Victor. The quantity

imported from Africa was double that from Egypt. Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16. Stating the importation from Sicily and Sardinia collectively at only 10,000,000 of modii, the whole will amount to 70,000,000.

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Methods
hitherto
taken with
them un-
successful.

Pompey's
extraordi-
nary com-
mission
against them.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

ing for its transport nearly ⁸⁶ 700,000 tonnage of shipping. The ob-
struction given to the corn trade by pirates raised that article and all
its substitutes to such a price in Italy, as threatened the whole country
with famine. To obviate this evil, the Romans, in the course
of the Mithridatic war, had fitted out various armaments, parti-
cularly, under Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, from his conquest of
Isauria, the roughest and most warlike district in Pisidia; and under
Metellus, a man of consular dignity, actually employed against the
isle of Crete, which, next to Cilicia, was the main bulwark of the
pirates ⁸⁷.

Notwithstanding partial successes under these and other admirals,
the price of corn at Rome did not diminish. The pirates easily repaired
the losses which they sustained at sea, and when expelled from one
stronghold found refuge in another. To cure the malady which pre-
ceding remedies had not even palliated, the tribune Gabinius moved
a resolution, that Pompey, for the space of three years, should be
invested with dominion over all the seas navigated by the Romans,
and all the shores subject to their authority, to the distance of fifty
miles inland; a description of territory that comprehended nearly
the whole of the Roman empire, consisting mostly of sea-coast. So
extraordinary a decree was opposed by the senate, by the wiser and
better part of the citizens, and most zealously resisted by the friends
of Lucullus, who considered it as a plan for supplanting that general,
and robbing him of his well-earned laurels. To overcome this op-
position Gabinius had recourse to a singular expedient. He caused
a banner to be painted, with the view of a magnificent house, which
Lucullus, it seems, had ordered to be built, and had this banner pa-
raded through the streets to stigmatize the rapacity and vanity of
this upstart peculator ⁸⁸. The device succeeded; Lucullus became

⁸⁶ The weight of grain varies in different countries and seasons. The Gallic was the lightest, weighing 20 pounds the modius. The African was the heaviest, weighing 21 pounds nine ounces. Plin. N. H. l. viii. c. 7.

⁸⁷ Appian, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Cicero pro P. Sextio, c. 43.

an object of reproach ; and Pompey was extolled to the skies as the only man fit to save the country. With pretended modesty, Pompey affected studiously to decline the vast power that was offered to him ; and to avoid envy, entered the city by night, while he made arrangements for raising and supporting an armament of unrivalled magnitude. He was to be furnished with five hundred gallies ; one hundred and twenty thousand sailors, soldiers, and marines ; a body of five thousand horse ; six thousand talents in ready money, and an unlimited command over the Roman exchequer and receivers of revenue in all parts of the empire. These mighty preparations were completed about the end of winter. He set sail in the beginning of spring, and effectually executed his commission by the middle of summer. Before he left Italy, the public confidence in all his undertakings occasioned a sensible diminution in the price of provisions at Rome, so that war, in this single instance, afforded the promise of plenty⁸⁹.

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His deep
artifices and
mighty pre-
parations.

The general expectation was not disappointed. None could have managed more skilfully than Pompey the extraordinary resources entrusted to him. Having chosen twenty-five lieutenant-generals or vice-admirals, for they were empowered to act in either capacity, he divided among them into as many departments⁹⁰ the whole expanse of the Mediterranean sea, allotting to each his particular station, while himself at the head of sixty stout gallies, sailed in pursuit of his prey, and chased the pirates, as it were, into the toils which he had industriously spread for them. He began with the coasts of Spain and Gaul, and the seas of Sardinia and Sicily ; and while his fleet sailed round the peninsula of Italy, he landed at Pæstum, and crossed the country to Brundisium, maintaining the state, and meeting with the submission due to a great monarch. The consul Piso, who was suspected of want of alacrity in obeying his orders, would have been

Pompey's
judicious
measures for
subduing
them.

⁸⁹ Plutarch in Pompeio.

⁹⁰ The numbers of the vice-admirals and

the departments are not stated uniformly.

deposed

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deposed by the tribes on a motion of the tribune Gabinius, had not Pompey interfered to prevent his degradation. Having re-embarked at Brundisium, he pursued the same mode of warfare through all his eastern departments; the coasts of Greece and Macedon, of Asia Minor and the Isles, treating with well judged lenity such pirates as fell into his hands, which served as an inducement to others to make willing submission. In the space of forty days he had cleared the western seas; in about double that time, he as effectually swept the eastern. The pirates either submitted to his squadrons skilfully disposed for intercepting them, or stole to Coracesium and the neighbouring creeks of Cilicia, the primary source of their power, and also their last refuge.

His prudent
treatment of
the van-
quished—
the libera-
tion of cap-
tives greatly
redounds to
his fame.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 2.
B. C. 67.

Pompey pursued them thither, well provided with engines of battery, as if obstinate sieges were to have been expected. But he conquered merely by the terror of his preparations, and the mercy which he shewed to his prostrate enemies. The pirates every where surrendered their shipping, with vast magazines of timber, sails, and cordage. In the course of the war 378 gallees were taken or sunk; and 120 harbours destroyed: 10,000 of the enemy were slain, and above 20,000 remained prisoners. By his proceedings towards these prisoners, the conqueror greatly increased his fame. He carefully inquired into their behaviour and characters, and separated those who had been seduced by the force of example and ill advice, from those deemed irreclaimable. To the former he assigned several districts in Cilicia, made desolate as we have seen, by the ravages of Tigranes; particularly the territories of Mallos, Aduna, Epiphania, and Soli, which last named city being repaired and re-peopled by Pompey, assumed, in honour of its benefactor, the name of Pompeiopolis. Another incident greatly conducive to his renown, was the liberation of numerous prisoners, whom he found in the hands, or strongholds, of the pirates. As these consisted chiefly of persons of high rank, belonging to all the countries round the Me-
diterranean

diterranean sea, they spread far and wide the fame of their deliverer, and as it seemed, their restorer to life, since many of them at their return home, beheld cenotaphs that had been erected for them by their bewailing friends⁹¹.

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During these transactions on the continent, some obstinate cities in Crete were still besieged by Metellus. Lappa, one of these cities, sent offers of surrendering to Pompey; who, without any intimation to Metellus, dispatched his lieutenant Octavius to receive its submission. Metellus, the more justly piqued at this affront because the war of Crete had been committed to himself before Pompey was commissioned against the pirates, continued the siege of the place, and having taken it, dismissed Octavius disgracefully to his employer. In this bold act, the only one which shewed in those times that Pompey was not yet sole master of the commonwealth, Metellus was afterwards supported by the senate, and obtained a triumph and the surname of Creticus⁹², from reducing to unconditional submission an island which had long abused its liberty. His triumph, however, was delayed three years through the opposition of Pompey's creatures⁹³. In point of right indeed, his conduct may be estimated variously. No part of Crete being fifty miles distant from the sea, the whole of that island might be ascribed to the extensive jurisdiction delegated to Pompey; but as the conquest of Crete was on the point of being completed before Pompey left Italy, it was highly invidious in him to interfere with a war so nearly terminated; and to treat with the Cretans, without the slightest intimation to Metellus, appears to have been equally irregular and arrogant.

Crete subdued by Metellus. Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

The debates which might have arisen from this transaction were silenced by a question at Rome of far greater magnitude. Pompey having destroyed the pirates and restored plenty to Italy, it was pro-

Pompey obtains a commission by which he supercedes

⁹¹ Appian, c. 96.

⁹³ Cicero Academ. l. ii. c. 1. Conf.

⁹² Appian, *ibid.* & in *Histor. Sicil.* l. vi. Dion. l. xxxvi. p. 8. Sallust. *Catal.* c. 30. c. 2.

posed

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Lucullus,
and virtually
subverts the
common-
wealth.

Olymp.
clxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

Why abetted
by Cæsar and
by Cicero.

posed by Manlius, another tribune in his interest, that he should remain in the command of the same armament, and that the inland countries of Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Armenia, should be added to his province. This was not only to commit to him the war against the kings of Pontus and Armenia, but rather to subject to his authority the far greater part of the empire. The decree, highly offensive to the senate, was warmly opposed by Catulus and Hortensius. It was supported by Julius Cæsar, then in his 33d year, and who, having incurred the displeasure of good men, rather as a libertine than as a disturber of the state, in the affairs of which he had yet taken little part, was anxious to gain the multitude, and eager to trample on all those regulations which overawed the boldness of ambition. It was supported also by Cicero, a man of a totally different character, who then held the office of pretor, with a near prospect of the consulship. Cicero was in his 40th year, precisely of the same age with Pompey⁹⁴, whose popular virtues he admired, and seven years older than Cæsar⁹⁵, whose morals he held in abhorrence. It has been conjectured that in abetting pretensions in Pompey, which endangered the public liberty, Cicero was guided merely by interest, since his opposition on this occasion might have defeated his own election for consul. The writings, however, of this illustrious Roman, will warrant us in ascribing to him a different, though less obvious motive. With the love of virtue and the republic, which glowed intensely in the breast of Cicero, another passion unfortunately mingled of a less noble nature, the desire of popular fame. That this passion was immoderate, both his life and writings afford conspicuous proofs. Fame was the prize at which he aimed; his weakness of bodily constitution sought it through the most strenuous labours, his natural timidity of mind pursued it through the greatest dangers; Pompey, who had fortunately attained it, he contemplated as the happiest of men, and was

⁹⁴ Velleius, I. ii. c. 53. A. Gell. I. xv. c. 28.

⁹⁵ Plutarch in Cæsar.

led from this illusion of fancy not only to speak of him, but really to think of him with a fondness of respect bordering on enthusiasm⁹⁶. The glory that surrounded Pompey, concealed from Cicero his many and great imperfections; and seduced an honest citizen and the finest genius in Rome, into the prostitution of his incomparable talents for exalting an ambitious chief, and investing him with such exorbitant and unconstitutional powers, as virtually subverted the commonwealth.

Pompey was in the midst of his friends in Cilicia, when he received intimation that the Romans had chosen him to be their general in the East. Affecting much displeasure at this intelligence, he rejected the congratulations of those around him, angrily knit his brows, and striking his thigh in passion, exclaimed, "Is there to be no term, then, to my labours? Will my enemies never cease to load me with invidious honours, destructive of my repose, and dangerous to my fame and fortunes?" This excess of affectation appeared contemptible in the eyes even of his vilest dependants⁹⁷. They knew what pains he had taken to procure an appointment, which put the whole force of the republic at his disposal. They knew that the elevation just attained, was the fondest object of his ambition; nor were they ignorant that his joy in supplanting Lucullus, and intercepting the laurels due to that general, added peculiar zest to his delight, in contemplating the lofty prerogatives with which he was invested.

Could the farce which Pompey's dissimulation acted, have concealed his real emotions, the secret, however, would have been betrayed by the measures which he instantly and eagerly pursued. Careless of other affairs, his whole attention was directed towards the Mithridatic war. He sent messengers to the Roman generals, dispatched ambassadors to foreign powers, and hastened in person into Upper Phrygia, that he might join Lucullus' army to his own, while

Pompey general in the East.
Olymp. clxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

His proceedings—return of Lucullus to Rome.

⁹⁶ See examples of this, even when Pompey was no more; particularly Orat. pro Rege Dejotaro.

⁹⁷ Plutarch in Pompeio. Dion. l. xxxvi. p. 22.

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Negotiations
with Phra-
hates and
Mithridates.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

his fleet, divided into separate squadrons, had orders to line the three seas that wash the peninsula of Asia. At Damalis, near the eastern frontier of Phrygia⁹⁸, he had a conference with the commander, whom he had been eager to supersede; this interview was with difficulty brought about by the interposition of common friends, and ended, as might easily have been foreseen, in heightening mutual disgust. Shortly afterwards, Lucullus, escorted by sixteen hundred men, with great riches and a vast library, set sail for Italy to claim his well earned triumph, which was opposed invidiously, but unsuccessfully, by Pompey's partizans in the city⁹⁹.

Meanwhile Tigranes had been using his best endeavours to heal the wounds of Armenia, and Mithridates had taken post on the western frontier of Pontus, with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The latter of these princes sent to negotiate an alliance with Phraates III. of Parthia, but found, to his deep regret, his expectations in that quarter anticipated and frustrated by Pompey. He then dispatched ambassadors to the Roman camp, requesting to know on what terms he might obtain peace. Pompey replied, "If you instantly collect for me all Roman deserters, and together with them, surrender yourself¹⁰⁰." This stern answer being communicated to the Cappadocian army, occasioned a degree of confusion and uproar that threatened a general mutiny. The deserters represented to their fancies the dreadful punishments prepared for them; the Cappadocians reflected on their own helplessness, should they be deprived of such zealous and skilful auxiliaries. To quell the rising tumult, Mithridates declared, "that no peace could be made with a merciless and insatiable enemy. He well knew the Romans; and if he had applied to them with an apparent view to accommodation, it was really that he might be the better enabled to ascertain their actual posture, and to penetrate their future designs¹⁰¹."

⁹⁸ Damalis is near the eastern extremity of Galatia, itself the eastern district of Phrygia. Strabo, l. xii. p. 567.

⁹⁹ Plutarch in Lucull.

¹⁰⁰ Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 98.

¹⁰¹ Dion Cassius, l. xxxvi. p. 22.

These

These designs Pompey did not long leave doubtful. With an army superior to the Cappadocians, even in point of numbers, he passed the river Iris into the richest district of Pontus, eager to bring the campaign to the speediest decision possible. Mithridates retreated before him, desolating the adjacent country on his march. To obviate the wants thereby occasioned, Pompey made dispositions for securing supplies from behind; and, as he advanced eastward, instead of directly following Mithridates, threw himself to the right on Lesser Armenia¹⁰², a strip of land on this side the Euphrates, separating at a place called Synoria¹⁰³, the kingdoms of Armenia and Pontus. Meanwhile Mithridates continued his retreat, regretting that by the desolation of one of his provinces, he had only forced the enemy to fall down on another. As he proceeded on his route, his army augmented by such numbers of irregular cavalry, that he began in his turn to want provisions and forage. This and other evils, suffered or apprehended, gave occasion to discontent and desertion: many fugitives made their escape; others were caught in the attempt, for which Mithridates punished them with the most barbarous cruelty; throwing them from precipices, boring out their eyes, and sometimes burning them alive¹⁰⁴.

The frequency of desertion, joined to the want of supplies, at length determined Mithridates to the bold design of surprising the enemy in the Lesser Armenia. But as the Roman divisions kept on the alert, he was obliged to occupy a strong post in that province, and to act on the defensive; yet the irregulars who had lately joined him, were subjected to severe losses, owing to that undisciplined fury characteristic of Asiatic troops; their mad confidence in success, their equally frantic despondency under misfortune; and on one occasion, the impetuosity of a body of horsemen in sallying dismounted, and without orders from the camp¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰² Ἀρμενία Βραχύτερα. Appian, c. 90. & 105.

¹⁰³ The word denotes the meeting of boundaries.

¹⁰⁴ Appian, c. 97. Conf. Plutarch in Lucull. & in Pomp.

¹⁰⁵ Appian, Mithridat. c. 100.

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Defeat of
Mithridates
near the
destined site
of Nicopolis.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

In consequence of the enemy's dejection occasioned by these defeats, Pompey was enabled to get behind them, and to fortify a chain of posts in their rear. Upon learning this operation, Mithridates, fearful of being cooped up and starved, embraced the resolution of effecting his escape in the night, after he had slain not only his beasts of burthen, but all such sick and wounded as were unable to follow him. He then pursued his flight towards the nearest passage across the Euphrates, resting only in the hottest part of the day, and being closely pursued by the Romans, who by a forced march at the hour when the Cappadocians were in profound repose, again got between them and the river. Pompey, with admirable judgment, occupied the sides of a deep valley, through which the enemy had to pass, and into which they accordingly penetrated, believing that the Romans either followed far behind, or had entirely desisted from the pursuit. It was night; the moon had not yet risen; the Cappadocians were inclosed within the intricacies of a winding den. Under these circumstances, Pompey ordered the alarm to be sounded by shouts, trumpets, the clang of brazen vessels, and clashing shields, which complications of sound the neighbouring hills re-echoed and rendered more frightful. The Cappadocian horse and foot thronged on each other with much mutual injury, while the Roman darts and javelins inflicted dreadful wounds on defenceless crowds, since equipped for a march, and unsuspecting of being forced to a battle. When the moon arose, its deceitful light farther augmented the evil, for as it shone from behind the Romans, occupying the eastern eminences, the Cappadocians discharged their missile weapons against empty shadows, which they mistook for ranks of enemies, while their own close order exposed them as sure marks to the Roman pila¹⁰⁶. In the surprise, the battle, and the rout, Mithridates lost a great army. Historians state the slain and taken at twenty thousand¹⁰⁷; many considerable divisions,

¹⁰⁶ Dion. Cassius, l. xxxvi. p. 23. & seq.

¹⁰⁷ Appian & Plutarch.

however,

however, effected their escape¹⁰⁸, particularly a mixed brigade of Asiatics and Europeans, armed after the Roman fashion¹⁰⁹.

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Towards the commencement of the action, the king, deeming his misfortune irretrievable, broke through a narrow outlet in the valley, at the head of 800 horse, and thus eluded the grasp of Pompey, as formerly that of Lucullus. Even this squadron, anxious for its own safety, gradually deserted him. He was left for three days with only three attendants, one of whom was his concubine Hipsycratea, mounting a Persian horse, and equipped like a Persian archer. This woman never departed from his side, nor ceased to soothe his sufferings, cautiously assisting him in traversing ravines or clambering over precipices, and, superior to fatigue as well as danger, dressed throughout the journey the king's horse and her own¹¹⁰. At length the fugitives encountered a body of 3,000 Cappadocian cavalry, which had assembled to reinforce their sovereign, and by whom Mithridates was conducted to the above-mentioned fortress of Synoria, the principal of seventy-five¹¹¹ strongholds in that neighbourhood, containing precious metals and other valuable effects. The treasures in Synoria were now distributed by their owner, to the amount of 6,000 talents. He also, from the same repository, supplied his attendants with poison, as their last refuge against the eager pursuit of insolent and relentless foes. His design was to throw himself on the protection of his son-in-law Tigranes, through whose powerful assistance he expected to be soon able to resume hostilities.

Mithridates
flies to
Armenia.

But Tigranes had recently slain two of his rebellious sons by the daughter of Mithridates, and was engaged in war with the third. He suspected that the grandfather of these disappointed parricides was not unconcerned in their treason. He therefore detained in custody the ambassadors from the flying king, and fixed a price on his own head. Upon this intelligence, Mithridates,

Then to
Dioscurias
in Colchis.

¹⁰⁸ Dion, *ibid.*

Maxim. l. iv. c. 6.

¹⁰⁹ This body of men will appear hereafter.

¹¹¹ Strabo, l. xii. p. 555.

¹¹⁰ Plutarch in Pompeio. Conf. Valer.

instead

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instead of approaching Artaxata, where Tigranes then resided, directed his course towards the head of the Euphrates, and having traversed the mountainous tracts that lead into Colchis, proceeded through that country, without halting, until he reached Dioscurias, on its northern frontier¹¹². Here he stood on the confines of the fiercest nations of Scythia, many of them his friends, among all of whom his name was respected or terrible, and through whose encouragement he was stimulated to designs greater than any that he had yet meditated; and which were baffled, as will be seen, and made abortive, by a concurrence of incidents to be ascribed rather to the malignity of his own fortune, than to the power or policy of his Roman enemies.

Nicopolis
built and
peopled.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

Meanwhile, Pompey having contented himself with sending his light cavalry in pursuit of Mithridates, embraced measures for raising a lasting trophy to his fame in the new city Nicopolis, a name destined to commemorate a victory which he deemed altogether decisive. It was built near the scene of action, on the northern frontier of the Lesser Armenia, and in the neighbourhood both of the Araxes and Euphrates¹¹³, rivers taking their rise from mountainous sources only six miles asunder, though flowing, the former into the Caspian, the latter into the Persian gulph. Nicopolis was hastily peopled by aged or disabled soldiers, united with such natives of the neighbouring districts as chose to reinforce a community invested with many privileges, and sure of powerful protection¹¹⁴.

Pompey is
joined by the
younger
Tigranes.

While Pompey was employed in raising this monument of his eastern conquests, he was joined by an illustrious fugitive, the son and heir to Tigranes, and himself bearing that royal name. By the assistance of Phrahates III. of Parthia, whose daughter he had obtained in marriage, this younger Tigranes had divested the elder of great part of Armenia, and was prosecuting the siege of Artaxata, when

¹¹² Plut. Appian, Dion.

¹¹³ Conf. Strabo, ubi supra, & Plin. l. vi.

c. 9.

¹¹⁴ Plut. in Pomp. & Dion. p. 25.

commotions on the Scythian frontier drew Phraates homeward. After the departure of his powerful ally, the rebellious son was defeated by his father in a great battle; his followers were slain or dispersed. To avoid the dreadful effects of paternal vengeance, he at first fled towards his grandfather Mithridates, but upon learning the sad discomfiture of that prince, he saw no other resource than that of throwing himself on the protection of Pompey¹¹⁵.

The general received him with that courtesy which the Romans always assumed towards those qualified to serve them. His father had provoked their resentment by invading Cappadocia, by desolating Cilicia, by possessing himself of Syria; above all, by abetting Mithridates, their mortal enemy. The military commission of Pompey embraced, therefore, Armenia, not less than Pontus; and now that Pontus had neither king nor army to defend it, and was ready to be occupied by legionary detachments by way of garrisons, an experienced and zealous guide was a matter of much importance in the invasion of a country so rough and intricate as Armenia. Such a guide having offered himself in the person of a fugitive prince, Pompey conducted the flower of his army into that kingdom, and advanced without making a halt until within sixteen miles of the capital. Terror preceded him to the palace of Artaxata; and a suppliant deputation came from the trembling king, whose abjectness in adversity was proportional to the odious insolence with which he had abused his good fortune. The deputies carried with them, as prisoners, the ambassadors recently sent to Artaxata by Mithridates, and surrendered them into the hands of Pompey. But this infamous present, instead of procuring favour, was treated by the Romans as an insult to the most sacred laws of nations; and their general, instigated by Tigranes the son, who expected to reap the fruits of his father's forfeiture, would listen to no terms short of unconditional submission. To this sad disgrace the haughty Armenian was com-

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Invasion of
Armenia and
abject sub-
mission of its
king.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 3.
B. C. 66.

¹¹⁵ Appian, c. 104. Plutarch in Pomp. & Dion Cassius, l. xxxvi.

pelled

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pelled to descend; and the same man now laboured, by every mean expedient, to excite commiseration in Pompey, who had long trampled without mercy on prostrate kings of the East. He divested himself of his sandals or robe of royalty, but retained the tiara encircled with the diadem, to indicate the lofty state from which he had fallen; and opening the gates of Artaxata, issued forth with his friends and relatives to implore the invader's clemency. Apprised of their approach, Pompey sent a party of distinguished officers to meet them. At sight of this martial cavalcade, the attendants of Tigranes took fright, and fled in different directions; but the king rode forward till met by two lictors, who dismounted him, saying that no stranger could enter a Roman camp on horseback. They instantly conducted him to the tribunal of the general, at whose feet Tigranes, in order to mitigate his doom, abjectly laid his diadem. Pompey ordered him to resume the royal ornament, and raising him to his right hand, the son of the abased prince occupying the left, "Your submission," he said, "Tigranes, instead of depriving you of a kingdom, has gained you the Romans for protectors. You must relinquish, however, all claims on our side of the Euphrates, and pay six thousand talents to indemnify us for the expence of the war. On these terms you shall still reign in Armenia, resigning only the small province of Sophenè, on the left bank of the river, to your son, in whose favour you will likewise settle the succession to your crown."¹⁶

Brutal behaviour and punishment of his son.

This merciful decision, which filled the father with pleasing astonishment, exasperated the son to madness. That night, he refused Pompey's invitation to supper; he behaved to his father with brutal savageness; he immediately took measures for possessing himself of a fortress in Sophenè, which, as it contained the royal treasury, had been excepted in the grant of that district. The audacity of the young man, who laboured to excite a war on the part of Phra-

¹⁶ Plutarch in Pomp. & Dion, p. 26.

hates III. of Parthia, subjected him to all the severity of Roman vengeance; he was, by command of Pompey, put in irons, and remained in that wretched condition until released by the hand of an executioner, after he had adorned the victor's triumph¹¹⁷. The father, meanwhile, readily discharged the fine of 6,000 talents imposed on him; and in addition to this sum, amounting nearly to 1,200,000*l.* bestowed a gratuity equivalent to thirty shillings on each Roman soldier; the value of thirty pounds on each centurion; and ten times the latter value on each tribune, that is, on every officer commanding a cohort or regiment¹¹⁸.

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The cowardly munificence of Tigranes procured for his nation the title of a Roman ally. But as the first fruits of this coveted distinction, he had the mortification of seeing Pompey fix his winter quarters in the Armenian district Anaitis. This district, which was defended chiefly by the river Cyrus from the most warlike nations of Caucasus, derived its name from that of the goddess to whom it was immemorially consecrated. Either in her idol or in her worship, the Greeks recognised some affinity of Anaitis with their own Diana, and therefore too hastily distinguished her by that chaste name. For the temple of the Armenian Diana, being a great staple of trade, and a principal halting place for caravans, not only the ordinary attendants on the goddess, but many other females of the first families, sold their beauty without shame to wealthy strangers, and with the accumulated wages of prostitution were enabled, many of them, in the wane of their beauty, to purchase at will either husbands or lovers¹¹⁹.

Pompey's
war against
the Iberians
and Albanians.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

The Roman army had not long cantoned in Anaitis, when the mountaineers in its neighbourhood were in motion. They suspected that Pompey only waited the return of spring to invade their territories in pursuit of Mithridates, whose death or captivity seemed es-

His victories
and return
into the Lesser
Armenia.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

¹¹⁷ Appian, c. 105—117.

¹¹⁸ Plutarch in Pompeio.

¹¹⁹ Strabo, l. xi. p. 532.

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ferential, according to Roman maxims, to an honourable termination of the war. Among those fierce tenants of Caucasus, the two tribes of Iberians and Albanians were the most powerful; the former living towards the Euxine, the latter extending to the shores of the Caspian. They were both of them in friendship with Mithridates, both alike hostile to the threatening Romans, but unfortunately for the success of their arms, too jealous of each other to concert any solid plan for their common defence. The chieftain Oræses, and his Albanians, were first in the field. Pompey, apprised of their movements, allowed them to cross the Cyrus, and then falling unexpectedly on enemies who had hoped to conquer him by surprise, defeated them with much slaughter, and drove them beyond the river. In the ensuing spring he invaded both the Albanians and the Iberians, who fighting singly, are said to have been successively subdued. Their numbers were formidable, since they sometimes mustered sixty thousand; but they trusted chiefly to their missile weapons, and they were clothed and defended only with the skins of wild beasts. When defeated, they found shelter in their deep woods; and the Romans, by setting fire to these lurking places, compelled various parties of both nations to surrender. But whatever may have been the extent of their submission, it is certain that Pompey, whether obstructed by the rudeness of the country, or by the obstinacy of the enemy, thought fit to return before winter into the Lesser Armenia, after a pursuit of Mithridates very unlike to that of Darius by the great Alexander¹²⁰.

Mithridates
in Bosporus
—Tragic
death of his
sons Ma-
chares and
Xiphares.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

The king of Pontus, meanwhile, had fortified himself in the Chersonesus Taurica¹²¹, anciently the seat of the little kingdom of Bosporus, with whose history my readers are not unacquainted. In the meridian of his prosperity, Mithridates had bestowed this kingdom on a son named Machares, who having entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, slew himself in despair¹²², when

¹²⁰ Dion, Appian, Plutarch. ¹²¹ The Peninsula of Crim Tartary. ¹²² Appian, c. 102.

he found that his father had survived the rout of Nicopolis, and was approaching Bosporus with a new army. The arrival of the king at Panticapæum, the principal city in the peninsula, proved fatal also to Xiphares, another of his sons. To this place, which stood on one side of the Cimmerian Bosporus, Xiphares accompanied his father; Stratonice, the mother of the young prince, then inhabited Phanagorea, situate on the opposite side of the strait in such a manner with regard to Panticapæum, that whatever passed at the one city might be distinctly seen from the other. In Panticapæum, Mithridates was informed that the same woman in whom he reposed such unlimited confidence, that he had entrusted to her Symphorium one of his richest treasuries, had betrayed her stronghold to Pompey, on his promise that he would spare her son Xiphares, should the chance of war ever throw that youth into his hands. The intelligence provoked the jealous king to a signal act of vengeance. Xiphares was slain publicly on one side of the strait, while Stratonice was compelled to behold his execution from the other¹²³. In thus sacrificing an innocent son to the punishment of a guilty mother, Mithridates departed from the maxim that usually guided him, of observing a certain equitable discrimination even in his cruelties. Among those who were accomplices of Machares, the late rebellious king of Bosporus, he distinguished between such persons as he had himself recommended to that unworthy son, and those friends and ministers whom Machares had spontaneously chosen. The former he punished as traitors; the latter he freely pardoned, observing that they owed nothing to him, and had rightly obeyed their master¹²⁴. His proceeding breathed the same spirit in the case of Attidius, a Roman exile of senatorian dignity, who, being taken into the king's confidence, basely conspired against his life. The Cappadocians concerned in this plot were subjected to lingering torture; Attidius' quality of senator procured for him the release of a speedy execution;

¹²³ Appian, c. 107.¹²⁴ Id. c. 102.

C H A P. no punishment whatever was inflicted on the freedmen belonging to
XXVII. this Roman, who had only abetted their patron ¹²⁵.

His measures
for invading
Italy with
the assistance
of the Scy-
thians and
Bastarnæ.
Olymp.
clxxix. 1.
B. C. 64.

When Mithridates fled to the Chersonesus Taurica, he had higher objects in view than the mere safety of his person. The Romans were masters at sea; and Pompey, upon his return to the Lesser Armenia, had ordered his admirals in the Euxine to intercept all supplies to the fugitive king, and carefully to prevent his escape. But the forces aboard the Roman ships were unequal to the conquest of the Chersonesus. Besides hordes of warlike nomades from the confines of the Paulus Mæotis, Mithridates mustered sixty well disciplined cohorts, each cohort consisting of six hundred men. He had strongly garrisoned Panticapæum and Phanagorea, the firm fetters of the Bosporus; he had gained many Scythian chiefs, by betrothing to them his numerous daughters by Greek women, for such intermarriages the Scythians then still more affected than did their descendants the Turks and Tartars afterwards under the declining empire of Constantinople ¹²⁶. Even beyond the Scythians westward, Mithridates extended his alliances to the Bastarnæ, a German nation, as we have seen, though living on the right of the Vistula, through whose powerful co-operation he purposed to traverse Pannonia and Dacia, and to descend by the Rhetian Alps into Italy ¹²⁷. His plan was precisely the same with that which a century before had been concerted by the fourth and last Philip of Macedon, only that the intended expedition of Mithridates embraced a wider circle. Both these princes discerned the quarter on which Rome was assailable, and both had prepared the same engines by which Rome was finally overwhelmed; when the king of Pontus, as formerly that of Macedon, perished in the midst of batteries which he had most ably erected.

Conspiracy
formed
against him.

It is a remark favoring of Machiavelism, but nevertheless strictly true, that Mithridates, cruel and suspicious as he certainly was, fell a

¹²⁵ Appian, c. 90.

¹²⁶ Cantemir. History of the Ottoman

Empire, and Knolles's History of the Turks.
¹²⁷ Dion, Appian, Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

victim

victim to his forbearance and lenity. Stratonice had suffered in the execution of her son Xiphares, a pang sharper than death, and survived only to avenge him. This woman was the daughter of the Greek musician Castor, and had a kinsman of that name, whom like all her family, Mithridates had for her sake loaded with riches and honours¹²⁸. Being in great authority in Phanagorea, Castor concerted a revolt with the inhabitants of that place, many of them of Greek descent and his countrymen. The conspiracy broke out by the murder of Tryphon, one of the king's favourite eunuchs. The citizens flew to arms; overpowered such of the garrison as ventured to oppose them, asserted their ancient freedom as a Greek colony, and laid siege to a fortified palace, inhabited by three sons and two daughters of Mithridates. The sons had Persian names; Artaphernes, Xerxes, and Axathres: the daughters were called Eupatra and Cleopatra: a distinction of names bearing reference to the mixed extraction of the kings of Pontus, who boasted in the male line Darius Hytaspis, and in the female, Seleucus Nicator. Four of Mithridates' children thus fell a prey to the insurgents: Cleopatra alone escaped through her own courage, and the aid of some armed vessels sent across the strait by her father.

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The revolt was contagious among subjects oppressed by exactions; and whose labouring cattle had been slaughtered to afford in their tough tendons, strings for military engines. The sedition infected Theodosia, Nymphæum, and other sea-ports of the Chersonesus: a party of 500 soldiers, who escorted the betrothed daughters of Mithridates to their Scythian lords, massacred the eunuchs who had the care of these females, and conveyed the blooming prize to a Roman squadron on the coast: and even Pharnaces, whom Mithridates had often shewn to his army as the son whom he destined to wear his diadem, headed a conspiracy for shortening the life of a man in his 73d year, and still superior in his mind to the complica-

He discovers it, and pardons his son Pharnaces.

¹²⁸ Conf. Plutarch in Pomp. & Appian, c. 108.

tion

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His death
and charac-
ter.
Olymp.
clxxix. 2.
B. C. 63.

tion of evils which had assailed him: for in addition to war and treason, Mithridates was afflicted by an ulcer in his face; he was seen by none but the eunuchs skilled in physick, who attended him, and at length healed his wound; yet in this state of seclusion and suffering, he had discovered the perfidy of his son, and had been prevailed on to pardon it ¹²⁹.

This pardon served only to deepen the guilt of Pharnaces. He well knew that the corps of Roman deserters was peculiarly adverse to the expedition against Italy. They best understood the difficulties of such an enterprise; and they reflected with horror on the punishments that awaited them, in case their invasion were unsuccessful. Pharnaces roused their sedition: their angry spirits were infused into the contiguous division guarding the citadel of Panticapæum, where Mithridates with part of his family resided. Upon hearing the tumultuary uproar, the old man sallied forth in arms; his horse was killed under him; yet he boldly fought his way back to his stronghold, and continued to maintain it, till finding the sedition gain ground, and receiving no answer to repeated overtures sent by him to his son, he gave poison to those around him, among whom were two marriageable daughters, Mithridatis and Nyssa, respectively betrothed to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus. He then had recourse himself to the same direful cup, imprecating the Furies (for he had adopted the religion of Homer with his poetry) against the parricidal Pharnaces. On a constitution hardened, nor withered by time, and fortified by antidotes of his own invention, the poison failed to operate. He therefore seized the dagger; and the firmness of his own hand was seconded by the kind cruelty of Bituitus, an old and faithful attendant ¹³⁰.

Thus died Mithridates, "the greatest of kings, next to Alexander ¹³¹." In this pithy panegyric, by one of the best judges of merit,

¹²⁹ Appian, c. 110.

l. cii. Oros. l. vi. c. v.

¹³⁰ Conf. Appian, Mithridat. c. 108—114.

¹³¹ Cicer. Academ. l. ii. c. 1.

Dion, l. xxxvi. p. 34, 35. Tit. Liv. Epitom.

much

much however is to be abated. In his royal virtues only, Mithridates resembled Alexander, and even here the likeness was a false one; for in the course of a long life he gave no indications of those lofty yet practicable enterprises, of which the Macedonian had in early youth set the example. Though conversant with Greek learning, and surrounded by companions, generals, and ministers of that nation, we see no marks of the zealous encouragement of arts and letters, which shone so conspicuously in the son of Philip; not to mention that his cruelty and lust and suspicion form a perpetual and dark contrast to that open frankness, that warmth of friendship, and that noble disdain for whatever is low and selfish in pleasure, which endear Alexander to our affections, not less than his vast designs and mighty achievements raise him, in our judgment, above all kings and conquerors.

In his reign of sixty years, Mithridates waged three wars with the Romans, which lasted collectively nearly half that period. Though neither his success in these wars, nor his judgment or enterprise in conducting them, corresponded with his bold threats and boastful preparations, yet the spirit and perseverance with which he so often renewed the contest, procured for him many warm and animated, rather than very discriminating eulogies. He is extolled as a general whose skill in contrivance was only surpassed by his boldness in execution, who was often superior in fortune, always pre-eminent in courage; and who, when apparently fallen beyond recovery, Antæus-like, sprung again from the earth with renewed hopes and increased vigour¹³². Yet it appears from the preceding narrative, that in his three successive wars with Rome, his exertions were ever less strenuous in the subsequent than in the preceding conflict: his mind, however, continued to the end unsubdued; and his last fell purpose of conducting an army of Scythians and Germans into Italy, throws a

¹³² Conf. Appian, Dion, Plutarch. Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 6. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 18.

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Pompey
takes posses-
sion of Pon-
tus.

Mithridates'
vast riches—
how amassed
by him.

deep ensanguined glare around his setting sun, not unworthy of the bloody fierceness of his blazing meridian.

Shortly after Pompey's return above-mentioned into the Lesser Armenia, he marched to reinforce his army in Pontus, that, although he had failed of seizing the lion, he might at least make sure of his den. In occupying the strongholds of Pontus, and reducing that country into a province, many particulars were brought to light respecting the domestic management of Mithridates, and all perfectly harmonizing with the character which his public transactions have stamped on him. Of his seventy-five fortresses, several were found in the custody of women, a sex which he treated alternately with all the fondness of love and all the cruelty of jealousy. One of those fortresses, Talaura, astonished the Romans by the endless variety of its precious contents; 2,000 onyx goblets, tipped with golden brims; cups and cooling vessels without number; beds, couches, and other furniture, inestimable for their workmanship and materials; to which were added, housings for horses, adorned with gold and gems, and a profusion of bridles and breast-plates of corresponding or still richer magnificence. Not less than a month was consumed in making the tiresome inventory¹¹⁵. Part of these valuable effects had descended to Mithridates from his ancestors: a considerable proportion of them had been fairly purchased by a prince ostentatiously splendid; but a third, and perhaps the largest share, had been extorted from their lawful owners by an unprincipled despot, who acknowledged no moral restraint to the unbounded gratification of all his passions. One of the principal victims of his rapacity was Alexander II. king of Egypt, to whom, as above-mentioned, he afterwards betrothed his daughter Mithridatis. That Egyptian prince, whom we shall see presently reduced to the state of a humble suitor in the camp of Pompey, had been sent in early youth to the isle of Côs by his grandmother, Cleopatra, in the midst of her relentless wars with her son, Ptolemy

¹¹⁵ Appian, Mithridat. c. 115.

Lathyrus.

Lathyrus. According to the custom of that age, the money and jewels which young Alexander inherited from his father of the same name, were deposited with him in the city Côs, capital of the island, under the security of its magistrates. The tempting prize was not to be resisted by Mithridates, who in the middle and meridian of his reign, being master of the Greek seas, made a descent on Côs, and possessed himself of this rich deposit, which was recognized at Talaura, among the other treasures found there by Pompey ¹³³.

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Had this general been as greedy of wealth as was his father Pompeius Strabo, the capture of Talaura would have gratified his fondest wishes. But he is said to have received more delight from objects of mere curiosity seized in another fortress, called Neonphourion, or Newcastle. These were the papers and secret correspondences of Mithridates, which afforded a genuine and odious picture of his mind; shewing how many persons he had destroyed by poison, among them many near relatives, and a certain ill-fated Alcæus of Sardes, who had the presumption to contend with him in the chariot race, and the folly to foil the king in that favourite pastime. To the boldest enormities, Mithridates, as commonly happens, added the vilest and most abject superstition. His hidden archives contained many interpretations of dreams or visions, that gave anxiety to himself or his women; they contained also the amatory epistles that passed between the king and Monima, the most favored of his wives or concubines. The epistles of the former were penned with undisguised profligacy; and answered by the latter (whose miserable end we have above related) in the same disgusting strain ¹³⁴. Pompey, a man of morals, when ambition did not seduce him, was careless of preserving such writings: but he carried with him the king's medical commentaries in Greek, and caused them to be translated into Latin, by his freed-man Lennæus ¹³⁵.

His secret
papers.

¹³³ Appian, *ibid.*

¹³⁴ Plutarch in Pompeio.

¹³⁵ Plin. N. H. l. xxv. c. 2.

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Calumnies of
Theophanes,
Pompey's
historian.

Pompey, like almost every Roman general since the age of the Scipios, was accompanied in his expeditions by Greeks of learning and abilities, particularly Theophanes of Lesbos, his friend and historian. Theophanes gave out, that among the secret papers of Mithridates, he had discovered an old letter from a certain Rutilius, exhorting that prince to the horrid massacre, which twenty-five years before this period he had committed on the Romans in the East. Rutilius, against whom the herald of Pompey's fame urged this serious accusation, had been lieutenant to Mucius Scævola, proconsul of Asia; and in the administration of that most valuable province, the zeal of Rutilius had admirably seconded the integrity and vigilance of Scævola. His protection of the long oppressed Asiatics against the griping snares of Roman knights, exercising at once the functions of financial collectors and of judges, provoked against him the whole equestrian order at Rome, and occasioned his banishment from that city, on charges of extortion, the most incompatible with his character. For the place of his exile, Rutilius chose the pretended scene of his delinquency. He was received by all orders of men with the highest honours, and enriched by the voluntary contributions of their gratitude and respect, far beyond the mediocrity of his former circumstances. When Sylla restored the legal polity of Rome, and purified the seats of justice, Rutilius' condemnation was reversed, and he was invited home that he might participate in those preferments, from which his undeserved banishment had many years excluded him. But Rutilius, cured of ambition, preferred to remain among his friends in Asia, where he had dedicated his leisure to the composition of a Roman history in the Greek tongue, whether because this language was the more general, or because, through his long residence in Pergamus, it was become the most familiar to him. In this work, he had stigmatized the avarice of Pompeius Strabo, father to the great Pompey ¹³⁶. This freedom was not to be forgiven by Theo-

¹³⁶ Plutarch in Pompeio.

phanes, who being no more scrupulous of truth than many others of his countrymen in that age, invented the absurd calumny above-mentioned; alleging Rutilius for the promoter of a massacre, of which he narrowly escaped being the victim¹³⁷, and traducing a man equally distinguished by humanity and probity, as prime mover in the most gigantic crime of the blood-thirsty Mithridates.

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Before Pompey was informed of the tragical end of that prince, he had nearly completed all the important concerns intrusted to him. Having dissolved the kingdom of Pontus, he occupied all its strongholds, excepting only the sacred city, Comana. The government of this city, with its temple and dependant district, he assigned to the Cappadocian Archelaus, son to Mithridates' unfortunate or treacherous general of that name. The father, as we have seen, had been received into the protection of Rome; and the son, with that liberality which Rome sometimes shewed to her friends, was now raised to this priestly sovereignty¹³⁸, which opened the way to him, as will be explained in due time, to a still more exalted station. Besides subduing Pontus, Pompey had completely humbled Armenia. The elder Tigranes was his vassal; the younger, his captive. The province of Sophenè, which he had at first bestowed on the latter most unworthy prince, was now, together with the Lesser Armenia, divided by him between Dejotarus¹³⁹, a Gallic or Galatian chief, who had done good service to the Romans, and Ariobarzanes I. king of the Proper¹⁴⁰ Cappadocia, who, for his fidelity to the republic, had been repeatedly divested by Mithridates of that dependant kingdom. But old age and the experience of adversity had disgusted Ariobarzanes with power. While he sat with Pompey in a curule-chair on the pretorian tribunal, he espied his son in a corner below, occupying the vacant box of a clerk. The old man descended;

Pompey's
arrange-
ments with
regard to
Armenia
and Cappa-
docia.

¹³⁷ Cicero pro Rabir. c. 10. Athenæus, l. v. c. 14.

¹³⁸ Appian, Mithridat. c. 64. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558.

¹³⁹ Strabo, l. xii. p. 547.

¹⁴⁰ Commonly called the Greater Cappadocia, in opposition to Pontus, the Lesser: but the mighty power of Pontus under Mithridates set aside this distinction.

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His trans-
actions with
the Parthi-
ans—meri-
dian great-
ness of
Rome.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4—
clxxix. 1.
B. C. 65—
64.

stripped his head of the diadem, and prepared to invest with this ornament his beloved son, the faithful companion of many past sufferings ¹⁴¹. The son was for the first time undutiful in rejecting the ensign of royalty; and Pompey's powerful interference was required to make him accept the resignation in his favour ¹⁴². Ariobarzanes II. reigned many years a submissive ally to Rome, and after Rome became divided in itself, he perished in the civil wars.

This transaction happened in the Lesser Armenia, before Pompey reduced Pontus into the form of a province. From his new province he proceeded into the Proper Syria, while his lieutenants Scaurus and Gabinius spread the terror of their arms over the wider extent of that name, even to the countries beyond the Tigris. Phrahates III. of Parthia deeply felt the disgrace, but was obliged to endure it amidst the revolt of his satraps, many of whom had assumed the title of kings ¹⁴³, the hostility which he had provoked on the side of Armenia by abetting the rebellious and now captive son of Tigranes, and the alienation of Seleucia, with many smaller Greek cities within his empire, all of which rejoiced at commotions that might eventually loosen their uneasy yoke of dependance ¹⁴⁴. Under these circumstances, however, Phrahates sent repeated embassies to Pompey. In the first he interceded for the liberation from bonds of his son-in-law Tigranes, and at the same time exhorted the Romans to respect the natural boundary of the Euphrates. To these requisitions Pompey replied, that for his treatment of Tigranes the son, he would answer to the paternal ¹⁴⁵ and paramount jurisdiction of Tigranes the father; and that the exertions of Rome would be confined within such limits as religion and

¹⁴¹ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxx. & Strabo, l. xx. p. 539.

¹⁴² Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7.

¹⁴³ Plutarch in Anton.

¹⁴⁴ Appian, Lib. de Parth.

¹⁴⁵ The "patria potestas" was as exorbitant

among the Persians as among the Romans. Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicom. l. viii. c. 10. The Parthians, who may be regarded as renewing the Persian empire in the countries beyond the Euphrates, could not fail therefore to feel the force of this argument.

justice

justice prescribed. In a second embassy, Phraates complained more bitterly of the invasion of his territories and the defalcation of his titles. Pompey, it seems, had addressed him simply as king, without ascribing to him the loftier pre-eminence of king of kings, assumed by his five immediate predecessors. The little satisfaction which Phraates received on either of these heads, made him resume hostilities against Tigranes, now strictly allied with Rome, and bold in the confidence of her protection. Pompey, with great dignity, avoided to make himself a party in this eastern warfare, and was contented with sending arbitrators to adjust the quarrel. His mediation was accepted, or rather his authority acknowledged by both kings¹⁴⁶; a transaction which marks the meridian greatness of Rome, since to any further predominancy in Asia that power never aspired with impunity.

While the negociation, which concluded thus honourably, was carrying on with Parthia, Pompey had been employed in settling definitively the affairs of Syria. The disorders occasioned in that country through the vices and follies of the last races of the Seleucidæ, had been aggravated by the long tyranny of the Armenians; and after Lucullus expelled those invaders, renewed and perpetuated through the unfortunate mutiny in the army of that general, who, though he had reinstated Antiochus Asiaticus on the throne of Antioch, was thereby prevented from putting him in possession of any considerable portion of territory. The finest districts in Syria fell a prey to Jews and Arabs: a petty tyrant, Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus¹⁴⁷, established himself at Chalcis, the fair capital of Chalcidicè; usurpers, equally successful, reigned in other cities, with the pride and power of hereditary kings. While these upstarts trembled to hear their doom from the award of Pompey, a better hope was entertained by Antiochus, their common enemy, who came to him with complaints of their depredations. There came also Hyrcanus

Unhappy
state of
Syria.
Olymp.
clxxviii. 4.
B. C. 65.

¹⁴⁶ Plutarch in Pompeio.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13.

and

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and Aristobulus, sons to Alexander Jannæus, late king of the Jews, of whom Hyrcanus the elder, a prince of a feeble character, had been supplanted in his sovereignty by the turbulent ambition of his younger brother. The list of royal petitioners was farther increased by Alexander II. the furious tyrant of Egypt, who, after a reign of fifteen years, marked only by insurrections among his subjects, had been finally precipitated from his throne by the rage of the Alexandrians; and his expulsion speedily followed by the inauguration of his cousin-german, the bastard of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and himself named Ptolemy Auletes, from his proficiency in playing the flute, and more deeply disgraced by the appellation of Dionysus Neos, branding his effeminate ostentation and abominable profligacy¹⁴⁸.

Harsh dis-
mission of
Antiochus
XI. Asia-
ticus.

Pompey, for reasons that will appear hereafter, rejected the petition of the dispossessed king of Egypt. In settling the affairs of Syria, he more sadly disappointed the hopes of Antiochus Asiaticus. At the solicitation of a party among the Syrians themselves, Tigranes of Armenia had reigned over them fourteen years¹⁴⁹. As the conqueror of Tigranes, Pompey, while he left that prince in possession of his hereditary kingdom, laid claim to all his usurpations, to the prejudice of the house of Seleucus. To the representative, however, of Seleucus, he had not any intention to restore them; though Antiochus Asiaticus, now soliciting his favour, was guiltless of any offence towards Pompey or his country. But the intended re-establishment of this Syrian king by Lucullus appeared, to the jealousy of Pompey, an odious stain in his title. He therefore dismissed the royal suppliant with the following harsh answer from his pretorian tribunal: "That if the Syrians, instead of rejecting, as they had done, the authority of Greek kings, still wished to live under them, he could not, however, consign that nation to the unworthiness of

¹⁴⁸ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Conf. Lucian. ¹⁴⁹ See above.
de non temere credendo calumniæ.

a prince, who, during many years that invaders were masters of his country, meanly skulked in an obscure corner of Cilicia ; that there would be neither justice nor good policy in setting him over a people whom he had formerly abandoned in a cowardly manner to the Armenians, and whom, were he declared king, he would now tamely resign to the depredations of Jews and Arabs¹⁵⁰.

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After this transaction, Pompey made the necessary arrangements for reducing Syria into a province. He began that work by rooting out the little tyrants from the strongholds or cities which they had usurped. Ptolemy Mennæus alone, enriched beyond most others by his robberies, purchased his unmolested jurisdiction in Chalcis at the price of 1,000 talents. Pompey next determined upon an expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, whose incursions were often formidable on the side of Syria, and who, at one time, had possessed themselves of Damascus. But Aretas, the king as he is called of those nomades, sent his submissions and presents, before the legions reached Petra, a stronghold whose peculiarities were early commemorated in the present history. From the arrangements, subjecting Syria to Roman proconsuls, uniting civil jurisdiction with military command, Pompey made exceptions in favour of Antioch and its sea-port Seleucia, which were declared free cities. The same title, more pleasing in sound than profitable in effect, was granted, or rather perpetuated to Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and other emporia on the coast, which, amidst the civil wars of the Seleucidæ, had often asserted their independence. The inland city Chalcis was sold, as above mentioned, to its cruel master Ptolemy Mennæus; and a prince styled Antiochus I. of Comagene, was permitted to hold, under an annual tribute, that vassal principedom, confined to a narrow but fertile valley between Mount Amanus and the Euphrates. Immediately to the south of Comagene, but on the opposite side of the river, the district Osrhoene had, in the decline of the Syrian mo-

Syria reduced into a province.
Olymp.
clxxix. 1.
B. C. 64.

¹⁵⁰ Justin, l. xl. c. 2.

narchy,

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Civil war in Palestine.

These various arrangements were made peaceably, and therefore without any occurrence deemed worthy of record. But the competition between the Jewish brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, was not so easily adjusted. As Tigranes king of Armenia had never carried his arms into Judæa, Pompey could not allege the pretence just employed by him with regard to the rest of Syria, for annexing that important southern district to his new province. But to the Roman eye, experienced in usurpation, an opening was quickly discerned for an authoritative interference. To this end, the interests of Hyrcanus, a prince of a weak character and pacific temper, were to be supported against the ambitious turbulence of his younger brother Aristobulus. The latter prince, perceiving in his judge the angry disposition of an accuser, abruptly quitted Pompey at Damascus, and hastened to the defence of his country, the dominion of which, though the Romans considered him as usurping it against the rights of an elder brother, he regarded himself as holding justly by the fair predilection of the Jews, founded on the incapacity of Hyrcanus for government¹⁵².

The Romans on their way to Jerusalem apprised of Mithridates' death.

Aristobulus' sudden flight happened before the humble submission of Aretas, chief of the Nabathæan Arabs; upon which agreeable event, Pompey returned into Cœlesyria, and hastened to invade Judæa. Aristobulus, naturally of an inconstant character, and strangely agitated between hope and fear, repeatedly put himself in

¹⁵¹ Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 129.

Jud. l. i. c. 5.

¹⁵² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. & de Bell.

his

the invader's hands, but as often escaped to one or other of his strongholds; and finally to Jerusalem the capital. The Romans advanced within twenty miles of this city, and were forming an encampment near Jericho, when their labours were suspended by the sight of horsemen approaching them with great speed, their spears entwined with laurels. These were messengers from Pontus, bringing the first accounts to Pompey of the death of Mithridates. Eager to learn the good news from the mouth of their general, the soldiers, instead of waiting to raise, after the usual manner, a tribunal composed solidly of earth, piled hastily their pack-saddles and baggage into a suggestum or pulpit, from whence Pompey announced to them the tragic end, as above related, of their once formidable adversary. The destruction of Mithridates, according to the maxims of Rome, seemed essential to the happy conclusion of the war. The certainty of this event diffused therefore the utmost joy: the whole remainder of the day was spent in congratulation and festivity; and next morning was far advanced, before part of the legions resumed their march towards Jerusalem¹⁵³.

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Upon their near approach to that city, Aristobulus was again thrown into his agony of irresolution. At one moment he determined to mount his walls, but in the next he issued forth with ensigns of peace to implore the invader's clemency. Pompey heard from him with complacence the promise that his gates should be opened and his treasures surrendered, but detained him watchfully with himself, while he sent forward Gabinus, his lieutenant, to take possession of Jerusalem. Instead of open gates and submissive presents, that general was received with defiance hurled on him from the battlements. Upon intelligence of this outrage, Aristobulus was condemned to fetters, and Pompey made haste to assault Jerusalem. Through the assistance of Hyrcanus' partizans in the place, he easily

Jerusalem
taken by
Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxix. 2.
B. C. 63.

¹⁵³ Plutarch in Pom. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 6.

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made himself master of the lower city, but the adherents to Aristobulus, including the priests and principal inhabitants, manfully defended themselves from the mountain of the temple. Pompey was obliged to order battering engines from Tyre. In consequence of this delay, and the strenuous perseverance of the besieged in repairing their shattered walls, the Jews resisted to the third month, and might have held out still longer, had they deemed it allowable to interrupt the enemy's approaches on the sabbath day. Upon a memorable occasion before mentioned, they had decreed that it was lawful on that sacred day to defend their lives; but the rigid spirit of their worship would not permit them to assume any farther latitude, not even to anticipate, on the sabbath, and counteract those operations by which their lives must be eventually endangered. Their defence was fierce and obstinate, but Cornelius Faustus pushed them with an intrepidity worthy of his father Sylla, and first entered by the breach. Many thousand Jews were martyrs to this manly resistance, including the most venerable priests, who, during the assault of the temple, ceased not to perform their daily rites, careless of mingling their own blood with that of their sacrifices¹⁵⁴.

His proceedings in Jerusalem.

Their heroic composure is said to have excited the admiration of Pompey. That sentiment, however, did not hinder him from demolishing utterly the defences of Jerusalem. By the authority of his pretorian tribunal, the Jews were also divested of all conquests made under their Asmonæan princes; and Hyrcanus himself, in whose cause Pompey affected such deep concern, was stripped of his royal diadem¹⁵⁵, that, being reduced solely to his functions of high priest, he might be ingloriously confounded with other princely hierarchs, tributary dependants on Rome. Not contented with inflicting these severities, Pompey wounded the Jews will more deeply, with no other view than the gratification of his own unwarrantable

¹⁵⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

¹⁵⁵ Id. ibid.

curiosity,

curiosity, intruding himself¹³⁶ in spite of their humblest supplications, not only into the Holy Place, but even into the Holy of Holies, from admission into which all men were at all times debarred, except the high priest only, once in the year, upon the solemn day of the great annual expiation.

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The capture of Jerusalem happened towards midsummer, in the same year that Cicero, being consul, defeated the Catalinarian conspiracy. Three years afterwards, that illustrious orator speaks of Pompey's proceedings in Jerusalem, in the well known pleading for Flaccus, who had been pretor at Rome in Cicero's consulate, and who had strenuously co-operated with him in saving the republic. Upon the expiration of his pretorship, Flaccus was chosen to govern the kingdom of Pergamus, long sunk into the Roman province of Asia; and was recalled from his administration in little more than a year afterwards, about the time of the secret formation of the first triumvirate. At that unfortunate period, when good citizens were liable to persecution merely for attachment to the constitutional rights of their country, Flaccus was arraigned for malversation in office. Among other iniquities charged on him, he was accused of seizing, in various parts of his jurisdiction, large sums of money belonging to Jews, and by them kept in readiness for transmission to their sacred treasury in the temple of Jerusalem. The fact could not be denied, and the odium of it, the accuser said, was justly aggravated by the very opposite behaviour of Pompey, who, though he had discovered 2,000 talents in the temple, most religiously respected this deposit in the moment of a bloody triumph over the obstinacy of its owners. The numerous partizans of Pompey re-echoed the accusation and magnified the contrast, that they might do honour to their munificent patron, recently associated in power with Cæsar and Crassus, but whom they would have gladly seen sole master of the republic.

Cicero's
account of
them.

¹³⁶ Id. *ibid.* & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

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Cicero, in answering them, shewed that in Italy the exportation of coin had often been prohibited, and particularly in his own consulate. "Flaccus," he said, "had wisely complied with the spirit of this prohibitory law, especially as by sending to Rome the gold destined for Jerusalem, he resisted and weakened the cause of a barbarous superstition. Pompey indeed acted otherwise; and wisely, since he thereby escaped the reproaches of a suspicious and calumnious nation; for I shall never believe that any regard for the religion of Jews and enemies was the motive of his forbearance. All states have their religion; we Romans have our's; while Jerusalem flourished, and before its inhabitants broke peace with Rome, the sacred rites of that people were deemed inconsistent with the institutions of our ancestors, the gravity of the Roman name, and the majesty of the Roman empire. Far more, assuredly, ought this to be our judgment now, when the Jews, by taking arms, have shewn their hostile disposition towards us, and when their defeat and shameful subjection has proved how hostile the gods are to them¹⁵⁷."

Reflections
thereon.

These observations were made in the capital of the world, and by the man of finest genius in it, little more than half a century before the promulgation of the gospel. They are entitled to regard from the place, the time, above all, from the characteristic sagacity belonging to the mind of Cicero, who, according to an author, who well knew and long survived him, was endowed with a foresight bordering on divination; enabling him to predict many great events that happened during his own lifetime, and even to warn the succeeding age of things actually passing at the moment when the biographer wrote¹⁵⁸. Yet, clear-sighted as Cicero was, with respect to the political vicissitudes of the world, he had not the smallest presentiment of a revolution in religious worship, infinitely more important; for with all his unwearied diligence and boundless curiosity, he had totally ne-

¹⁵⁷ Oratio pro L. Flacco, c. 28.

¹⁵⁸ Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Attici, c. 17.

gleeted a wonderful record, which being long translated into Greek, was fully within his reach. A studious perusal of the Old Testament might have shewn him that the ceremonies of Judaism, which he condemned as a barbarous superstition, were preparatory to a new and purer ritual; or, in other words, that the progress of the Jewish religion was destined to be directly the reverse of every other. This important truth, the preceding history evinces. Among the various forms of paganism, that have passed in review before us, many perished irrevocably, leaving no vestige behind. The mythology of the Greeks, though of a firmer as well as finer texture, shows most graceful in Homer, the first writer by whom it is described. In the compositions of subsequent poets, and still more in the narratives of historians representing its real and ordinary effects on life and manners, it is less alluring and less comely; and with farther advancement in years, it suffers a continual degradation in point of utility and beauty, until in old age its ugliness and perniciousness excite a mixed sensation of abhorrence and disgust. The same remark applies to the once useful superstition of Rome, most respectable in the age of Numa, by whom it was established¹⁵⁹: and were we to examine in detail the variations in other institutes of false worship, we should find universally, that instead of mellowing and improving with time, they perpetually, as years rolled on, became more abominable in their rites, and more destructive in their tendency. When all these deformed fabrics, and even the nations which reared them, have totally disappeared from the world, the Jews notoriously subsist, because precisely in that vagabond and abject state, which their own prophets, upwards of 2,000 years ago, denounced as their punishment. For, from the temple of Jerusalem, whose top was fixed in heaven, a second and purer worship was destined in due time to flow, which, while rejected by those who grovelled about the roots of the sacred

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¹⁵⁹ See above, vol. i. c. xii.

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XXVII. or even the Macedonian, empire in the east: and communicated its
 benignant influence to a new western world, of whose discovery,
 Cicero no more thought, than of the Christian revelation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Pompey's public Services. — Cæsar returns from Spain. — The Triumvirate. — Transactions in Cyprus and Egypt. — Cæsar's Wars in Gaul, Germany, and Britain. — State of the Eastern Kingdoms. — Crassus' Expedition against the Parthians. — Their burlesque Triumph in Seleucia Babylonia. — Last Years of Ptolemy Auletes. — Accession of Cleopatra. — War between Cæsar and Pompey. — Murder of the latter. — War of Alexandria.

SHORTLY after the death of Mithridates, Pompey having secured his conquests by proper garrisons, returned with the greater part of his army into Italy. He often retarded his slow progress along the coasts and islands of Greece, to hear the sweet voice of praise, and to witness the celebration of his victories by many splendid solemnities. The Athenians repaid his generosity by unbounded flattery. He made a long visit to Lesbos, in company with his friend and historian Theophanes¹; and declared Mytylenè, the birth place of that writer, a free city. The same favour he had bestowed on Gadara in Syria, at the request of his freed-man, Demetrius². To Rhodes, he was attracted by the renown of Posidonius, a man of universal knowledge³; who in the construction of an orrery or sphere had rivalled the science of Archimedes⁴; who had continued with increase of fame the general history of Polybius⁵; and whose name in speculative philosophy has been placed in competition with that of Aristotle⁶. Pompey chiefly valued him as a mas-

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Pompey returns to Rome.
Olymp. clxxix. 3.
B. C. 62.

¹ See above, c. xxvii. & Strabo, l. xiii. Natura Deorum. l. ii. c. 34, 35.
p. 617.

² Plutarch in Pompeio.

³ Ἀνὴρ πολυμαθὴς. Strabo, l. xvii.

⁴ See above, p. 150. note, & Cicero de

⁵ Suidas & Lucian in Macrob.

⁶ He is considered by many as author of the celebrated treatise de Mundo. Meursius in Rhodo, p. 105.

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ter in the art of life, and a teacher of practical wisdom; and to testify the most public respect to this great moralist, then acknowledged as prince of the Stoics, caused his Imperial fasces to be lowered as he approached the gate of Posidonius⁷. In the whole of his progress, he shewed the attention of a liberal mind, not only to eminent characters, but also to elegant monuments. The theatre of Mytylenè much pleased him, both as to its outward form and the inward configuration of its parts. He carried away with him a model of this building, that he might erect at Rome a theatre similar to it, only on a larger scale⁸.

High sense
entertained
of his public
services—
their magni-
tude.

Having disbanded his army at Brundisium, he now approached the capital with a modest retinue, but with a degree of consideration and honour, which in a country still enjoying the forms of freedom, far exalted him above kings. His soldiers were dismissed with an injunction that they should return to him, when summoned, to celebrate his triumph⁹. Before this transaction, he had sent forward Papius Piso, one of his lieutenants, with a recommendation to the consulate, and a letter to the senate, requesting the election to be deferred until he should himself appear in person to solicit the votes of the comitia, for his friend. The delay was judged unnecessary. Piso was raised to the consulate with universal consent¹⁰. This proceeding, highly irregular in itself, seemed due to the glory of Pompey. The kingdom of Pergamus, formerly the extremity of the Roman empire, had, by the conquests of this general, become its centre: he had brought seven hundred war galleys of the enemy into harbour: he had augmented provincial contributions from 8,000 to 21,000 talents¹¹: he had enriched the Roman treasury by the sum of 20,000 talents: and had distributed among his troops 16,000 ta-

⁷ Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 30.

⁸ Plutarch, *ibid*.

⁹ Velleius Paterc. l. ii. c. 40. Appian de Reb. Syriac.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Pomp. & Caton.

¹¹ According to Plutarch from 50 millions of drachmas to 130 millions: the latter sum is equivalent to 4,362,000l.

lents,

lents, each legionary soldier sharing to the value of fifty pounds sterling¹².

With such merits, had he been inclined, instead of enjoying the most splendid triumph ever exhibited at Rome, to make himself absolute master of that city, the arms, as well as voices of the multitude would have seconded his ambition. But Pompey, as yet, entertained not any such unprincipled purpose; he wished to carry the favourable sentiments of all ranks along with him, and to enjoy the good will, not less of the senate than of the people. In that once august council, Lucullus, with his numerous partizans, opposed him from resentment; Crassus, with other ambitious chiefs, from interference of views and interests; and Cato, Catulus, with men of that honourable stamp, from real principles of patriotism; indignant at seeing the advantages and honours which were the patrimony of the Roman people, subjected to the will of any individual, however illustrious¹³.

The year preceding Pompey's triumph, Julius Cæsar, who, in every unconstitutional claim, had hitherto been his abettor, obtained, after a most popular pretorship, his first province in the Farther Spain. His largesses and exhibitions during his magistracy had cost him large sums; his profligacy and bribery had been still more expensive. At departing for his government, he acknowledged that he owed a hundred millions Roman money¹⁴; but the interposition of the wealthy Crassus procured him a respite from his creditors; and in the space of two years he returned from Lusitania and Bætica, countries, whose great opulence has been above accounted for, with the means of supplying his own wants, after he had fully gratified the expectations of his army. Upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, both Spains had been formed into provinces, and forty years before Cæsar's pretorship, Dolabella had triumphed

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Pompey's
opponents in
the senate.

Julius Cæsar
returns from
his province
in Spain.
Olymp.
clxxx. 1.
B. C. 60.

¹² See the proud titles of his triumph.

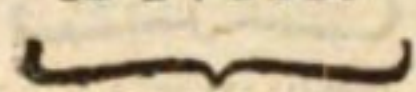
Plin. l. vii. c. 26. Conf. Plutarch in Pomp.

¹³ Plutarch in Caton.

¹⁴ A million of sesterces being equivalent

to 8072l. 18s. 4d., Cæsar owed 807,291l.

13s. 4d.

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over revolted Lusitania. But Cæsar was skilful in finding new rebels to chastise, and new cities to plunder. In his predatory expedition he traversed mount Herminius, on the now dreary frontiers of Spain and Portugal; he traced from its source the river Durus or Douro; and explored the Portus Brigantinus, the modern Corunna in Gallicia. In fine, the whole western coast of the peninsula was subdued by his arms¹⁵.

He reconciles Pompey and Crassus—the triumvirate.
Olymp. clxxx. 1.
B. C. 60.

At his return to Rome, he found much animosity subsisting between Pompey and Crassus, both of them his friends; and who, ten years before this period, when colleagues in the consulate, had acted as friends with each other, and heartily co-operated in destroying the arrangements of Sylla, and overturning the balance of the commonwealth. Cæsar's first undertaking was to reconcile these powerful individuals; the former in all the bloom of his eastern triumphs, the latter of great weight in the state by his immense opulence, his indefatigable industry, his bold and crafty ambition. A secret compact was entered into among all three, for affording mutual assistance, and jointly opposing every measure that might be displeasing to any one of the associates¹⁶. They all, in fact, stood in need of each other. Even Pompey, whose pre-eminence was most conspicuous, had not as yet obtained the confirmation of his late acts and arrangements: this had been attempted in vain by Afranius, his creature, the consul of the present year. But Cæsar, succeeding to Afranius in the consulate, procured this important object for Pompey, at the same time that, by the united power of the triumvirate, he acquired for himself the government of both Gauls, with the command of four legions, during the term of five years. In conferring this appointment, not less unconstitutional than that which Pompey had formerly held in the East, and far more dangerous, on account of the contiguity of Cisalpine Gaul to Italy, the servility of the

Pompey's acts confirmed, and Cæsar invested with command in both Gauls.

¹⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xxxvii. p. 53. & seq.

¹⁶ Conf. Dion, l. xxxvii. p. 54. & seq. Velleius Paterc. l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch in Pomp. Cæsar. & Crass.

senate outran even that of the people; Cato indignantly observing, that the senators had chosen to themselves a king, and placed him with guards in their citadel¹⁷.

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Notwithstanding the opposition of a few honest men, affairs abroad, as well as at home, were entirely governed by the junto. This remarkably appears in the transactions with the Greek kingdoms, of which, after the reduction of Syria, into a province, there remained only Cyprus and Egypt. Of these two kingdoms, the former had long been an appendage to the latter. They were actually governed, however, by two different Ptolemies, both of them natural sons to Ptolemy Lathyrus¹⁸. The king of Cyprus had reigned in that island from the year of his father's death; his brother, surnamed Auletes "The Piper"¹⁹ mounted the throne of Egypt seventeen years afterwards, in consequence of the deprivation and expulsion of the tyrant Alexander II. We have seen this Alexander in the Roman camp in Syria²⁰, soliciting Pompey's assistance against his rebellious subjects. His request was rejected. Pompey's commission did not extend to Egypt; he was satiated with the conquest of kingdoms; and the gratitude of Alexander when restored, could not be more profitable than the terrors of Auletes, a prince in possession. The deprived king fixed his residence in Tyre, and died shortly afterwards in that city, constituting through hatred to his kindred and country, and notwithstanding his repulse by Pompey, the Roman people for his heirs²¹. In consequence of this testament, the triumvirs, in the consulate of Cæsar, received six thousand talents²² from Auletes, to secure him in the possession of a kingdom, in which, unchallenged by the Romans, he had already reigned six years.

Triumvirs—
their trans-
actions with
the Greek
kingdoms—
I. Egypt.
Olymp.
clxxx. 2.
B. C. 59.

¹⁷ Plutarch, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Pausanias. *Attic. Trogus in Prolog. xl.*

¹⁹ He degraded himself by contending in that character in the public shows. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

²⁰ See above, c. xxvii.

²¹ Cicero. *cont. Rull. Orat. ii.*

²² Sueton. in *Jul. Cæsar, c. 54.* The money, he says, was for Pompey and Cæsar. Crassus must have had his compensation in some other way.

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II. Cyprus.
The king
deposed, and
his treasures
brought to
Rome.
Olymp.
clxxx. 3.
B. C. 58.

This disgraceful occurrence was the prelude to transactions still more unwarrantable with regard to Cyprus. The Romans, after they had relinquished all claim to Egypt, by declaring Ptolemy Auletes their ally, determined, in virtue of Alexander's testament, to possess themselves of Cyprus, which had never belonged to that prince. The ostensible agent in this business was the profligate Clodius, now tribune, whom we have before seen acting the part of a mutineer in Lucullus' army, and the principal instrument through which Pompey had supplanted that meritorious general. Clodius' resentment against Cyprus was stimulated, it seems, by an old grudge, for the Cyprian king had refused to ransom him from pirates, or rather furnished him for this purpose with so paltry a sum, that those tyrants of the seas, then in the zenith of their prosperity, disdained to accept of it, and preferred gratuitously to release him²³. Clodius had just banished Cicero, who by opposing, when too late, the views of the triumvirs, had provoked their animosity, and fatally experienced, in Pompey, the hollowness of political friendship²⁴. In the execution of the design on Cyprus, Clodius contrived to remove from Rome a senator still more obnoxious than Cicero to those in power. The austere virtue of Cato was employed by the senate and people in the ignominious office of depriving Ptolemy of his kingdom²⁵. To comply with the will of his country, how much soever at variance with his own, should seem to have been regarded by Cato as a matter of indispensable duty. He, accordingly, sailed towards Rhodes, and from that island exhorted Ptolemy by letter to descend from his throne, promising to leave him in quiet enjoyment of the rich hereditary priesthood of Paphos²⁶. Upon receiving this mandate, for thus any intimation from a Roman officer was considered, the king, who was master of vast hoards extorted by rapacity,

²³ Dio. & Appian.

²⁴ Cicero ad Atticum, l. x. c. 4.

²⁵ Cicero calls it a robbery, Cum in Ptolemæi regnum, bona, fortunas latrocinium

hujus imperii immisisses, cujus cum patre, avo, majoribus, societas nobis et amicitia fuisset. Orat. pro Domo sua, c. 8.

²⁶ Plutarch in Caton. Uticensi.

and

and treasured up with the most anxious parsimony, embarked with them on ship-board, and immediately set sail, with the desperate resolution of burying in the sea his riches with himself²⁷. But the sight, it is said, of his beloved gold, not any regard for a life so wretched as his, diverted him from this frantic purpose: he returned on shore, replaced his coffers in their former repositories, and then drank poison²⁸. Cato, arriving soon after at Cyprus, seized the spoils of this most contemptible prince, as he is represented by the Roman historians, and carried home into the public treasury the value of a million and a half sterling²⁹.

While at Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, Cato had an extraordinary interview with Ptolemy Auletes. By cruel exactions from the Egyptians to bribe Pompey and Cæsar, this prince having provoked an insurrection, had been compelled to fly the kingdom³⁰. He communicated his unhappy circumstances to Cato, and told him that he was on his way into Italy, to solicit assistance from the senate. Cato, instead of tendering to him his good offices towards this design, very strongly dissuaded him from persevering in it; and with an indignant allusion to the commission with which he was himself invested, assured him that all the treasures of Egypt could not assuage the avidity of Rome. He therefore exhorted him to negotiate the best terms possible with his subjects, since the foreign aid in which he trusted was never likely to avail him³¹. The king, however, continued his voyage into Italy, took up his residence in Rome, and in the course of a twelvemonth, having exhausted his fortunes and his credit in order to obtain patronage, was still further than ever from success. At length a Sibylline oracle was produced, forbidding the restoration of any king of Egypt by a Roman army³². While that country, whoever bore in it a pageant royalty, continued

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Ptolemy
Auletes ex-
pelled by
his subjects
—long soli-
cits assistance
at Rome.
Olymp.
clxxx. 3.
B. C. 58.

²⁷ Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 4.

²⁸ Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. p. 101. et Strabo, l. xix. p. 684.

²⁹ Florus, l. iv. c. 3. Plutarch in Caton.

³⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. civ.

³¹ Plutarch in Caton. Uticens.

³² Dion. l. xxxix, p. 98.

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Restored by
arms to his
kingdom.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 2.
B. C. 55.

a source of emolument to powerful individuals, it was in little danger of being invaded and conquered by the legions.

Upon the expulsion of Auletes, his daughter, Berenicè, had been raised by the Alexandrians to the vacant throne. With the advice of her council, Berenicè called into Egypt, to share her bed and government³³, the last survivor of the Seleucidæ, who was nearly allied, as we have seen, to the royal Ptolemæan line, by his mother Selenè, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon. The husband, thus chosen by the queen of Egypt, is known in history only by the name of Seleucus Cybiosactes, that is, Seleucus the higgler. With this appellation of contempt, he was quickly branded by the Alexandrians, by whom, among other vile and sordid acts, he was accused of purloining³⁴ a golden shrine, peculiarly revered by them, inclosing the remains of the great founder of their city. Resentment, mixed with disgust, precipitated the ruin of Cybiosactes; and Berenicè chose for the new partner of her throne Archelaus³⁵ the Cappadocian, whom Pompey, as before mentioned, had invested with the hereditary priesthood of Comana in Pontus. Archelaus was a man of spirit and abilities, and as such by no means a fit person to become, under the name of king, a mere collector of revenues for the rapacious triumvirs. Auletes, accordingly, made good his cause with Pompey and Crassus, now consuls, and was sent by the former with a recommendation to Gabinius, governor of Syria, formerly Pompey's lieutenant, and always his devoted partizan, that, with the aid of this proconsul, the exiled prince might be reinstated in his kingdom³⁶. In obedience to this command, Gabinius dispatched his master of horse Mark Antony to surprise Pelusium; and having gained that entrance into Egypt, marched thither in the heart of winter, when

³³ Porphyr. in Græc. Eusebian. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. The elder brother Antiochus Asiaticus, of whom we have above spoken, had died obscurely before this period. Porphyr. ibid.

³⁴ Strabo ubi supra.

³⁵ Strabo, l. xii. p. 558.

³⁶ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cv. & Plutarch in Antonio.

the Nile, being in its lowest state, opposed least difficulty to his arms. Archelaus perished at the head of his guards, fighting bravely before the walls of Alexandria. The kingdom returned to its allegiance, or rather submitted to the invaders; for after Berenicè had paid the forfeit of her short lived usurpation³⁷, Gabinius left with Auletes a large body of horse and foot, to protect his person, overawe his subjects, and especially to abet his merciless extortions (not less than 10,000 talents) due to his Roman creditors, or still more imperiously exacted by his Roman patrons³⁸. Auletes reigned four years after his restoration. The transactions in Egypt during that period will be recorded hereafter.

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While the consuls Pompey and Crassus were all-powerful at Rome, Cæsar, their associate in the triumvirate, was in the midst of his Gallic wars, which lasted eight campaigns, and are described by himself with such perspicuity and brevity as supercedes every attempt either to illustrate or abridge them. As protector of the Greek colony of Marseilles, the senate had occasionally interfered in the affairs of Transalpine Gaul, and above half a century before Cæsar's invasion, had planted Roman colonies in Aquæ Sextiæ³⁹, now Aix, and Narbo⁴⁰, or Narbonne. On either side of these cities, the conquests of Rome, intermixed with those of her Massilian allies, extended between the gulph of Genoa and the bay of Biscay, over Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony. Commanding the whole sea coast, the Italian colonists, however, were confined on the north by the Cevennes and other mountains, whose inhabitants, men of fierce manners and predatory habits, were always ready to pour down and alarm the security of the province. The Romans frequently passed the mountains, chastised the hostility of some tribes, and contracted alliances with others, the peculiar circumstances of Gaul affording equal advantages to their arms and negociations. For though the

Cæsar's wars
in Gaul—
state of that
country.
Olymp.
clxxx. 3—
clxxxii. 3.
B. C. 58—
50.

³⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

³⁸ Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. Conf. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Plutarch in Anton.

³⁹ Tit. Liv. l. lxi. c. 3.

⁴⁰ Id. l. lxii. c. 7.

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whole country was divided among the Celts, Belgians, and Aquitanians, yet each of these nations was split into many cantons or communities, of which Cæsar enumerates about four hundred. Factions besides prevailed in each canton, governed by proud nobles and crafty priests, naturally jealous of each other, and both orders a prey to internal discord⁴¹. The warlike youths abetted their respective leaders in every unwarrantable pretension; soldiers alone, among whom there were many horsemen and archers, enjoyed the rights of citizens; the husbandmen and other working classes were treated as slaves; and every master of a family exercised an unlimited jurisdiction over his women and children. The three general divisions of Celts, Belgians, and Aquitanians are said to have differed in many particulars from each other. These differences, however, are not explained; except that the Belgæ, as living nearer to the Germans, were fiercer in war, and ruder in the arts of peace than the Celts and Aquitanians, who derived some measure of improvement from commerce with the Greek and Roman colonies on the sea coast, but also imported from them the use of many luxuries that softened their minds and weakened their manhood⁴². From such circumstances the Gauls described by Cæsar should seem less enterprising or ferocious than those who, two centuries before, invaded the Macedonian empire; though the nation remained nearly the same in point of civil institutions and arts, and continued to make use of the same weapons and military tactics. From the account formerly given of them with regard to those latter particulars⁴³, it is evident, that however numerous (and they are said to have sometimes brought above 200,000 men into the field), they were totally unfit to contend in pitched battles with the Romans. From their practice in mining, for they had great iron works in their country⁴⁴, they sometimes ably counteracted the invaders in defending their

⁴¹ Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. xii. c. 6. & seq.

⁴² Id. l. i. c. 1.

⁴³ See above, vol. i. p. 578, &c.

⁴⁴ Cæsar, l. vii. c. 22.

cities. Their walls or mounds, consisting of well compacted frames of wood, filled inside with earth, and faced with alternate layers of stone, were well contrived both against the application of fire and the assault of battering engines⁴⁵. But none of those expedients availed them against Cæsar, who made war not merely with the sword and pilum, but with the rule and hatchet, the plummet and pick-axe, and whose indefatigable legions were as strenuous in execution as he was skilful and ready in invention. In the course of four campaigns, at the head of about 38,000 Romans, with due proportions of Gauls, whom from enemies he had converted into auxiliaries, he pervaded and reduced to submission the whole country; twice crossed the channel into Britain, on which he imposed a tribute; and twice passed the Rhine, on bridges of wood, to chastise the incursions of the Germans⁴⁶.

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Of the eastern Germans we have before spoken: those towards the Rhine lived chiefly by hunting and pasturage, though they were not ignorant of tillage, nor disdained to cultivate inviting spots scattered at wide intervals over their rude country. They were men of lofty stature and fierce habits, imperfectly cloathed with skins. They are said to have rejected wine and all other luxuries, as tending to enervate their courage, so that traders came among them rather to purchase their slaves and other booty, than to supply them with articles of elegance or conveniency, of which those haughty barbarians disdained the use⁴⁷. They subsisted in clans under headmen or chiefs, who often united in temporary associations for war, alike formidable for their numbers and their prowess to the nations whom they invaded. In point of weapons and tactics they agreed with the Gauls: their horses were smaller and more hardy; and disciplined, it is said, into such obedience, that when their riders dismounted to buckle more closely with the enemy, the horses patiently waited their return⁴⁸. In the country extending from the Rhine to the

Of Ger-
many.

⁴⁵ Ibid. c. 23.

⁴⁶ Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. i-iv.

⁴⁷ De Bell. Gallic. l. vi. c. 21. & seq.

⁴⁸ Ibid. l. iv. c. 2.

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And Britain.

Elbe, the most powerful military association was that of the Suevi, with whose valour their feebler neighbours declared that even the immortal gods were unable to contend⁴⁹.

With regard to Britain, Cæsar was contented with marks of submission from a small part of the coast. He could obtain no information from the Gallic merchants concerning the interior of the country. He might have been more fortunate in his inquiries among the Druids, who repaired to Britain for the sake of instruction, and sent their children to be educated in an island, which they regarded as the cradle of their religion and learning⁵⁰. Cæsar's views of ambition made it necessary for him to prolong the war in Gaul, and plausible pretences were afforded him for this purpose by the insurrections which his extortions excited, and which he coldly ascribes to the fickle temper of the enemy⁵¹.

Provinces
assigned to
Pompey and
Crassus.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 2.
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At the close of his first campaigns, he annually visited his province of Cisalpine Gaul, bounded by the Arnus and the Rubicon. At Luca, a few miles north of the former river, he generally met his associates in the triumvirate, and concerted with them such measures as were likeliest to maintain and confirm their common power. Though their ascendancy was visible both in Italy and the provinces, yet their designs were systematically opposed by the honest party in the senate, and their proceedings were daringly arraigned by their own refractory tribunes, instruments that often recoiled on the hand that used them. The profligate Clodius thus provoked the animosity of Pompey, who, to suppress the demagogue, used his authority to procure Cicero's recall from exile: and Cicero, from gratitude for this personal favour, declined not to abet Pompey in his pretensions to the office of purveyor general of corn; an appointment more weighty in effect, than dignified in sound, since from causes above explained, it placed under his management all the shipping and commerce of the empire. Two of the triumvirs had thus particular departments,

⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 7.

⁵⁰ Id. l. vi. c. 13.

⁵¹ De Bell. Gallic. passim.

or what the Romans called provinces, allotted to them. Crassus remained contented with turning to the best account his share in the general patronage, until the consulship which he held with Pompey during Cæsar's fourth campaign in Gaul. It was then decreed by the senate and people, that the conduct of the war in that country should be continued in the same hands for the space of five years: and that the provinces of Spain and Syria, the two most considerable in the empire, should be distributed by lot between Pompey and Crassus⁵².

The latter obtained Syria with such unrestrained licence in making war and raising armies, as gave him an authority little inferior to that formerly held by Pompey in the East. In that quarter Tigranes of Armenia, and Phrahates III. of Parthia, were dead; princes with whose history my readers are acquainted. The former was peacefully succeeded by his son Artuafdes; but the throne of Phrahates was disputed between his sons Mithridates and Orodes, the latter of whom was abetted and crowned by the Surena, an officer, in the Parthian government nearly corresponding with the Marishal in the old feudal monarchies of Europe. The person actually bearing that high dignity in Parthia was an able general, through whose exertions, Orodes suppressed and slew his elder brother Mithridates, and chastised the great city Seleucia Babylonia, which had espoused the cause of his competitor. Mithridates, during the dependency of his fortune, had applied to Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria; and that general had prepared to cross the Euphrates, when the mandate of Pompey sent him with an army into Egypt to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes⁵³. Crassus, appointed successor to Gabinius, was fully apprised of the events in the Eastern world. From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the mountains of Cilicia to Egypt, the Syrians were peaceful subjects. Armenia was an humble

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State of the
eastern
kingdoms.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 2.
B. C. 55.

⁵² Appian de Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Plutarch in Pomp. & Crass. tiq. l. xiv. c. 11. Dio. l. xxxix. & Plutarch in Crasso.

⁵³ Conf. Justin, l. xlii. c. 4. Joseph. An-

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Crassus
takes the
command
in Syria.

Invades the
dominions
of Parthia.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 3.
B. C. 54.

ally. Parthia, which had dismembered the Macedonian provinces in Upper Asia, and which had renewed, as it were, in those parts the pomp and splendour of the Persian empire, seemed a prize of inestimable value, yet easy to be won, as still suffering from the troubles by which it had recently been distracted.

Fired with the most sanguine confidence, the triumvir quitted Italy with indecent haste, crossed the seas in tempestuous weather, and in his way into Syria gave every sign of impatience and eagerness. In passing through Galatia, he found Dejotarus, the old Gallic prince whose zeal in the cause of Rome had been so munificently rewarded by Pompey, busied in erecting a new city. Crassus said to him, you have begun the work of building, Dejotarus! at a late hour of the day; nor do you, Crassus, the Gaul rejoined, set out to invade the Parthians by times in the morning. He was then turned of sixty³³; but hastened to this lucrative warfare in the East, with all the enterprize of youth stimulated by the avidity of old age. Regardless, when he reached Syria, of the civil affairs of the province, his whole care was to collect men and money, and to ransack for the latter every repository even the most sacred. The temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had generously spared, was robbed of ten thousand talents³⁴.

With a great army of Romans and allies (for his numbers in this first expedition are not ascertained in history), he proceeded towards the Euphrates, and crossed at the ordinary passage which the Greeks called Zeugma; the disorders in the Parthian empire, and the suddenness of his invasion presenting to him a frontier very feebly guarded. He was opposed, however, by the satrap Talymenos³⁵, commanding a body of Parthians near Ichnia, in Mesopotamia, a stronghold fifteen miles distant from the Euphrates, and nearly twice that interval from the well-known city, Charræ. The first resistless

³³ Plutarch in Crasso.

³⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. de Bell.

Judaic. l. i. c. 6.

³⁵ Dion. l. xl. p. 126.

impression of Crassus put the enemy to rout; Talymenos, severely wounded, made his escape four hundred miles southward to Ctesiphon, then the favourite palace, or rather the main encampment, of the Parthian kings. By his retreat, all the cities on both sides the Euphrates were left at the mercy of Crassus: Apamea, Nicephorium, and other places inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Macedonians, received the Romans as friends; for they abhorred the upstart dominion of the Parthians, and looked back with regret to the time when those now fierce usurpers had been despised subjects to the house of Seleucus. Crassus spent much precious time in the Greek cities, in which collectively, he left about 7,000 men; he also employed several days in weighing out the gold and treasures in Hieropolis, a seat of worship of the Syrian goddess, near the right bank of the Euphrates, and rivalling the splendour of Palmyra, as a rich inland emporium. His depredations in Hieropolis much offended Augarus, the Arab chief, whom Pompey, as we have seen, had established in that neighbourhood: the Arab, however, dissembled, for the present, his resentment, in order the more surely at a fit time to gratify it³⁶. If Crassus had availed himself of the first terror of his arms, he might have proceeded without opposition to Seleucia, and, together with that greatest and richest city of the East, have for ever annexed Mesopotamia to the Roman empire. But he had undertaken his expedition at an unusually late season; his haste to march had deprived him of many expected auxiliaries; and he was solicitous to deposit the treasures collected by him in safe custody.

Early in the spring, he was joined in Syria by his son of the same name, who had served four campaigns under Cæsar with distinguished glory. The son brought with other reinforcements to his father, a body of 1,000 Gallic cavalry, whose boldness and celerity were expected to prove peculiarly useful in an eastern expedition: he brought to him also letters from Cæsar, highly recommending to

His forces.

³⁶ Dion. l. xl. p. 129.

him

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Measures
taken by the
Parthians —
their em-
bassy to
Crassus.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 4.
B. C. 53.

him perseverance in the Parthian war. By this time the Syrian army was in readiness to march, and Artuafdes of Armenia had promised to join it with the whole force of his kingdom. Crassus' European army consisted of seven legions; his levies raised in Asia must have been considerably more numerous, since the whole is computed at a hundred thousand men⁵⁷. He was, however, extremely deficient in cavalry, which little exceeded four thousand.

To resist the invasion, the Parthians adopted measures no less vigorous than prudent. King Orodes immediately invaded Armenia, to give to Artuafdes sufficient employment at home. The frontier of the Euphrates and the Romans were assigned to the superior abilities of the Surena, at the head of the best troops in the empire. Crassus, meanwhile, proceeded as formerly to Zeugma; and, in his way thither, was met by ambassadors from Parthia. They told him that the warfare, if authorized by the Romans, would not be permitted to end until that people had paid the forfeit of their folly: but that, should Crassus, as they understood, have levied war by his own authority, they pitied his old age, and would allow him to withdraw his miserable garrisons now imprisoned in Mesopotamia. Crassus said, "This haughty language will be answered in Seleucia Babylonia;" upon which the eldest among the ambassadors, Vogises, rejoined, striking the fingers of one hand against the palm of the other, "hair shall sooner grow here, than you shall enter Seleucia⁵⁸."

The Romans
a prey to
superstitious
terrors.

The war indeed, as the Parthians insinuated, was so far from being agreeable to the Romans, that many sinister prodigies had been thrown in the way of Crassus to deter him from engaging in it. These childish superstitions had made a deep impression on his followers, and had prepared them for viewing as divine warnings very ordinary occurrences. It was said, that the standards, bearing the eagles, could scarcely be unfixed from the ground: the weather was

⁵⁷ Plutarch in Crass. ⁵⁸ Orosius, Florus, Plutarch, Dion.

stormy when the legions crossed the Euphrates; and they had hardly reached its eastern bank, when a gust of wind demolished their hastily constructed bridge. Crassus, in his attempt to console them under this last misfortune, declared that the ruined bridge was altogether unworthy of regard, for he purposed to conduct them homeward by a more northern route, adding, with an asseveration, "that by the way which they had come, none of them should ever return." These inauspicious words greatly deepened the dismay. The general had not presence of mind to correct them. His orders were obeyed mechanically; for the men were too much a prey to their own imaginary terrors, to understand the intent of any thing enjoined them⁹⁹.

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In relating the disasters which followed, historians, as if participating in the consternation which overwhelmed the Roman army, have treated so negligently the main points of time and distance, that it is not easy to extract from them any consistent narrative. Instead of keeping near the bank of the Euphrates, and thus proceeding through a fertile country to the rich kernel of Babylonia, and its capital, Seleucia, which ought to have been the great object of his labours, Crassus appears to have directed his march eastward, between the cities Charræ and Ichnæ or Ichnia, whose positions have been above assigned; preferring this rout, on the advice of Augarus, in opposition to that of his best officers, particularly his quæstor Caius Cassius. Augarus, long in secret correspondence with the Parthians, declared that he had reconnoitred their army: That its force was altogether inadequate to a battle, nor had it been raised for this purpose, but merely to cause diversion and delay, until the Parthians should remove into the Scythian desert, with the treasures of Ecbatana, Hecatompylos, Bactra, and other eastern cities. When the Surena was destroyed, and the wealth of the East occupied, the Romans would then find leisure to receive the willing submission of

The Romans
betrayed,
and surprised
on their
march.

⁹⁹ Plutarch in Crass.

Seleucia,

C H A P. Seleucia, and other Greek colonies. In prosecution of this design,
 XXVIII. Crassus is said to have led his army far from the Euphrates into a bare
 and barren plain, destitute of water, of trees, and of herbage, where, deprived of every accommodation, they were stifled with heat and dust, and subdued by the nature of their march, before they were buried under showers of Parthian arrows. But this catastrophe, which has been embellished by many tragic circumstances, is not reconcileable with other particulars communicated by the same authors, concerning the engagement. The Romans are said to have halted and refreshed themselves at the river Billicha, flowing on the west both of Charræ and Ichnia. Near this river, Crassus received messengers from Artuafdes, informing him of the invasion of Armenia, and of the obstacle thereby opposed to the intended junction of 16,000 Armenian cavalry with the Romans. Mortifying as this intelligence was, Crassus pursued his march into a country that was so far from being an unvaried plain, that the inequalities of the surface, shaded by many trees, afforded to the Parthians the opportunity for an ambush. The Roman scouts, and Augarus, who himself acted as a scout, declared that they could perceive no enemy in the neighbourhood, though they had discerned many tracts of departing cavalry. Crassus therefore hastened forward, his son preceding him at the head of the Gallic horse, and other troops best prepared for expedition⁶⁰.

Battle of
 Charræ.
 Olymp.
 clxxxi. 4.
 B. C. 53.

A body of Parthians, not considerable in number, at length made their appearance. Young Crassus advanced to engage them; they fled at his approach: he pursued with alacrity; and being carried to a distance from the legions, found himself encompassed by enemies; those whom he pursued having turned on his flanks, while others in front sprung on him from their concealments. His half-naked Gauls at first wounded by Parthian arrows, were next more fatally assailed by the long spears of Parthian cuirassiers, covered

⁶⁰ Dion. l. xl. p. 129. & seq. & Plutarch in Crass.

with

with Margian mail, on which their own swords and lances made but a feeble impression. In the beginning of the action, two Greeks of Charræ, accompanying young Crassus, advised him to an attempt for escaping by their assistance to the neighbouring and friendly post of Ichnæ. But he resolved to die with his detachment; and his head being fixed on a lance, was displayed before the Roman legions. The father, though smit with the deepest anguish, declared the misfortune to be a private one, and exhorted the troops not to lose heart at the death of a single soldier. By this time he was beset on all sides by Parthians, who had started from their lurking places; while their kettle drums sounded to the trembling legionaries like the yells of wild beasts, mixed with rending thunder. Neither the arms nor the tactics of the Romans could in the least avail them. Their short massy swords could not reach the Parthian cataphracts; even their bucklers were transpierced by the Parthian archers. When they extended their ranks, they were a prey to the resistless onset of the former; when they contracted themselves within a narrower space, they afforded sure marks to the latter. Continually receiving wounds, which they were unable to retort, they at length closed their shields, and being formed into a compact square, stood the remainder of the day like a battered citadel. At the close of evening, the Parthians took their departure, for as their bows were useless in the dark, and they were careless in fortifying their camp, they never remained in the night-time within reach of an enemy. Such was the overthrow near Charræ, towards which city Crassus, to avoid a new attack next day, hastened with all able to follow him, abandoning the badly wounded to the merciless vengeance of the victors⁶¹.

As the Parthians were little acquainted with the art of conducting sieges, Charræ might have long bid them defiance, had it been supplied with magazines adequate to the support of a numerous army.

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Disastrous
retreat of
the Romans.

⁶¹ Dion & Plutarch ubi supra.

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Death of
Crassus.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 4.
B. C. 53.

But as such stores were wanting, and the enemy was master of all the surrounding country, Crassus determined to escape in the night; and the better to effect this purpose, delayed his melancholy march till the wain of the moon. The disasters suffered by his army had destroyed subordination. Several considerable parties had taken their flight towards Syria, particularly five hundred horsemen, headed by Cassius, who, being advised to wait a few days till the moon should have passed Scorpion, said, that of all signs in the zodiac he feared only Sagittarius^a. Crassus soon afterwards moved in a dark night from Charræ towards the projecting branches of mount Masius, which separate Mesopotamia from Armenia. Could he reach this country, he entertained the hope of meeting with protection from his ally Artuafdes, though many of his officers were inclined rather to fear that, if they escaped the Surena, it would only be to fall into the equally cruel hands of his master Orodes, then ravaging Armenia. The former of these dread commanders was seen advancing in full speed upon the rear-guard of the Romans, at the same time that their van began to ascend the mountains. The Surena, who wished not to urge the pursuit in such unfavourable ground, summoned by his heralds Crassus to a conference; and himself mounting an eminence, unbent his bow in token of friendship. Crassus, though suspicious of treachery, was over-ruled by his men and officers: he descended therefore with the tribunes Octavius and Petronius, and a few other Romans, the Surena meeting him as had been agreed on, with an equal number of Parthians. They had no sooner come in presence of each other, than the Surena congratulated Crassus on gaining Orodes, the king of kings, for his friend. My master, he said, has sent you a present; and at the same time ordered to be brought to him a horse magnificently caparisoned. A groom then seizing Crassus threw him on horseback, while another began to scare the horse with shouts and lashes. Octavius, however,

^a Plutarch, p. 562.

seized

seized the reins, and having stabbed one of the Barbarians, was himself stabbed in the back by the other. In the bloody tumult that followed, Crassus was slain, and most of the Romans who had accompanied him; for the Parthians being apprised of the scene ready to be transacted, were prepared to spring forward to abet the base treachery of their general. After the death of Crassus, the greater part of the army surrendered; a feeble remnant still pursued its flight; of a hundred thousand men, legionaries or allies, that had entered Mesopotamia, it was computed that not one tenth part returned into Syria⁶³.

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Crassus, who thus perished a mockery to the Parthians, was one of three men who had for seven years domineered over the Romans, the proud tyrants of nations. His head was sent to Orodes in Armenia, who had by this time entered into a composition with Artabases, and who, at the time he received the ghastly present, was actually solemnizing the nuptials of his son Pacorus with the sister of the Armenian king. At the end of the entertainment these barbarous kings, as they are commonly deemed, were amused with hearing the recital of Greek verses. The Mænades of Euripides was the subject; this piece was in rehearsal under the direction of Jason of Tralles, a celebrated tragedian, who, upon the introduction of the Surenas' messengers, with their disgusting trophy, immediately assumed the mask of Agavè, and recited the words of that frantic princess, when she displayed the bloody head of her son Pentheus⁶⁴.

His head
sent to
Orodes.

Meanwhile, the destruction of the Roman army in Mesopotamia had laid all the Greek cities in that vast region at the mercy of the Parthians. In Seleucia, the principal of these cities, the Surena entertained the people with an exhibition that burlesqued the Roman triumphs; captives marching in chains, lictors bearing the fasces, empty purses suspended from poles, with crowds of Seleucian courtezans reviling, in licentious songs, the avarice and cowardice of the

Triumph in
Seleucia.

⁶³ Dion Cassius, & Plutarch, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Plutarch, *ibid.*

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Romans. To render these enemies as contemptible as they were odious, he shewed to the senators of Seleucia, (for that place, though tributary to the Parthians, still maintained internally the form of a Greek colony,) the obscene Milesian tales of Aristides⁶⁶, which had been discovered among the baggage of a Roman officer. The senators loudly condemned this instance of profligacy, but whispered among themselves that Æsop had wisely represented all men with two pouches; one before their eyes, containing the faults of others, and one tied behind their backs, filled with their own; for the Surena, it seems, who discerned the infamy of reading Milesian tales, was himself attended, even in his military expeditions, by waggons loaded with harlots⁶⁶. The senators also remarked to each other, that most of the Arsacidæ, even the most illustrious, were born of Milesian⁶⁷ and Ionian courtezans.

Views of
Pompey and
Cæsar—the
former sole
consul.
Olymp.
clxxxii. 1.
B. C. 52.

The power of Crassus had long formed a balance between that of Cæsar and Pompey. His destruction, therefore, with the ruin of his vast army, left a free scope to these chiefs, first in their views of trampling on the republic, and afterwards in their designs of supplanting each other. Cæsar was then engaged in his sixth campaign in Gaul, amassing treasures, and exercising armies in the suppression of rebellions excited by his boundless rapacity. Pompey was invested with command in both Spains, which he exercised by his lieutenants: he was also purveyor general of the empire, in which capacity he occasionally made voyages to the corn countries of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa; but his attention was chiefly directed to the affairs of the capital, the election of magistrates in Italy, and the appointment of governors or generals in the provinces. The year following Crassus' defeat, he was chosen sole consul, and exercised consular power without a colleague from the first of March to the

⁶⁶ The age of this Aristides is uncertain. Mor. Germanor. c. 18.

⁶⁷ This perhaps was ob nobilitatem, as Miletus is in Caria, a district separated by the Mæander from Ionia. Tacitus says of the German chiefs. De

beginning of August, when he was pleased to associate with him in office his father-in-law Metellus Scipio ⁶⁸.

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His consulate was distinguished by three decrees, important in their consequences: the first continued to Pompey his command in Spain for the space of five years, with an ample allowance of money for paying his legions: the second granted to Cæsar the privilege of standing candidate for the highest office at Rome, without personally appearing in that city, and thereby quitting the command of his army in Gaul: the third forbade all future consuls or pretors to be employed as governors of provinces till five years after the expiration of their magistracies ⁶⁹.

Three important decrees moved by him.

Amidst the personal interests which engrossed the heads of the republick, (for their usurpations met with continual opposition from the sounder part of the senate), no vigorous measures were taken for repelling the dangers that threatened on the side of Parthia. That haughty power prepared to follow up the dreadful blow which it had inflicted, by expelling the Romans from Asia. Shortly after Crassus' defeat, Syria became a prey to incursions, and must have been totally lost but for the zeal and spirit of Caius Cassius, quæstor to the late unfortunate governor. In virtue of this office, Cassius assembled the feeble remnant of Romans and allies that had escaped the disaster at Charræ; and the Parthians, who expected to find Syria at their mercy, thought fit to repass the Euphrates, purposing to return next year in more formidable numbers ⁷⁰. But before their second expedition, the Surena, whose glory offended the pride of a jealous master, had fallen a victim to royal ingratitude ⁷¹. Orodes placed, at the head of the invading army, his own son Pacorus, whose youth was assisted by the advice of Osaces, a general renowned in eastern warfare, but not destined to reap laurels in the west. By this time the Romans had sent as governor into Syria

Cassius defends Syria against the Parthians.

⁶⁸ Dion Cassius, Appian, Velleius, l. ii. c. 47.

⁶⁹ Plutarch in Pomp.

⁷⁰ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cviii. Velleius, l. ii. c. 46.

⁷¹ Plutarch in Crass.

Calphurnius

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Cicero pro-
consul in
Cilicia.
Olymp.
clxxxii. 2.
B. C. 151.

Calphurnius Bibulus, who had been consul with Cæsar eight years before. Cicero was also appointed to command in Cilicia, at the distance of a dozen years after his consulship, rendered for ever illustrious by the defeat of Cataline's conspiracy. These appointments happened in consequence of Pompey's law just mentioned; for as the ordinary magistrates were not allowed to hold provinces till five years after the expiration of their offices, it was thought fit that all those should cast lots for vacant provinces who had been consuls at home, but who had not hitherto been employed as proconsuls abroad. The honour, which chance conferred upon him, was extremely disagreeable to Cicero⁷²: his talents, he well knew, were better fitted for the senate or the assembly, than for the command of armies; he, however, put himself at the head of above 15,000 men in Cilicia, and circumstances enabled him, even in his military capacity, to perform signal service to his country.

The Parthians defeated and expelled from Syria.
Olymp.
clxxxii. 2.
B. C. 51.

Cilicia is contiguous both to Syria and to Cappadocia, but far more accessible on the side of the latter. Cicero, who had made sure of the assistance of the kings Ariobarzanes and Dejotarus, took post therefore on the Cappadocian frontier; but, upon learning that the enemy had in great numbers entered Syria, he made haste to cross mount Amanus into that province, where the Parthians had ravaged the open country, and shut up Bibulus in Antioch. Cicero's well judged movement determined them to raise the siege⁷³. In their retreat they fell into an ambush that had been laid for them by Cassius: Osaces, with great part of his army, was slain; and Pacorus, his royal pupil, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the victors. From this period the Roman subjects in Syria and Cilicia lived unmolested for a dozen years, by incursions or even by alarms on the side of the Euphrates; so that an easy task remained for Cicero, to chastise the predatory mountaineers of Amanus, who,

⁷² Epist. ad Attic. l. v. c. 10.

⁷³ Id. ibid. c. 20.

being

being natural enemies to law and government, had revolted from the Romans, and zealously co-operated with the eastern invaders⁷⁴.

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In the same year that brought to a conclusion this Parthian war, died Ptolemy XI. Auletes, father to the too celebrated Cleopatra III. the last Greek sovereign of Egypt. During the period of four years that had elapsed since his restoration by Gabinius and Mark Antony, the ascendancy of the Roman cohorts left to guard his person and throne was disturbed by only one transaction deemed worthy of record. The first Ptolemies spared no pains, as we have seen, to recommend to their Egyptian subjects the airy and elegant solemnities of Greece⁷⁵, and to wean them from disgraceful and dire rites, especially the abomination of brute worship. But amidst the growing degeneracy of the Greeks in Egypt, the natives of that country adhered more firmly to the strangest and the vilest of their ancient superstitions, which, being rivetted in their hearts, they were prepared to defend at the risk of their lives. Of this atrocious obstinacy an ill-fated Roman was the victim. In practising with some missile weapon, he shot accidentally a cat: the Egyptians were thrown into tumult by the murder of a god; neither the magistrates, nor the king himself, nor the interposed swords of Roman legionaries, could restrain the fury of their rage. They pursued the wicked delinquent to his house, and having dragged him from thence to the public place, inflicted on him their fiercest vengeance⁷⁶; thus superstitiously exerting, in the cause of this vile animal, a degree of manhood to which, in their own defence, no principle of reason or sentiment had, for many ages, been able to rouse them.

Last four
years of
Ptolemy
Auletes.
Olymp.
clxxxi. 2 —
clxxxii. 2.
B. C. 55 —
51.

Auletes, during his whole reign, had been a vassal and tributary to Rome, or rather to the chiefs of that republic. The gratuities with which he courted one description of Romans, he often borrowed

⁷⁴ Epist. Familiar. l. xv. c. 4.

⁷⁵ Among others, the procession of the *καρπώγος*, as mentioned by the Scholiast on Callimachus, Hymn first, and confirmed by

the decree for Ptolemy Epiphanes' deification. (See above) *καρπώγος Αἰτίας*, &c. line 5.

⁷⁶ Diodorus Siculus, l. i. f. 83.

from

C H A P. XXVIII. from the usurious avarice of another. In this way Rabirius, a Roman knight, had become his creditor to so prodigious an amount, that it was deemed expedient to appoint him collector of the king's revenues. Rabirius, however, continued but a short time in an office equally dangerous and invidious; and was happy to escape into Italy, robbed of great part of his fortunes".

His testament.

Shortly before his demise, Auletes settled the succession to his kingdom in a manner corresponding to the dependant condition in which it had long subsisted. By his testament, Egypt was left under the guardianship of Rome; and while the original of this instrument was retained in Alexandria, a copy of it, duly authenticated, was transmitted by ambassadors to Pompey, that it might by him be deposited in the Roman treasury". According to this instrument, as the king left two sons and two daughters, the elder of the sons (placed under the immediate tutelage of Pompey) was to marry the elder daughter, and to hold with her an associate sovereignty. The daughter Cleopatra was in her seventeenth year: her brother and husband was enthroned the year after his accession, when he attained the age of fourteen, under the title of Ptolemy XII. Dionysus.

Egyptian army—its disorders.

In this conjunct reign, the first event of importance proceeded from the licence of the soldiery, consisting of the Romans above-mentioned, intermixed with Asiatic Greeks, chiefly Syrians and Cilicians, many of them fugitive slaves, outlaws, and robbers; for, from the cowardice of the native Egyptians, or their aversion to a military life, all strangers of a martial description had been long welcome among them, and found ready employment in their army. These men, by close association with each other, were gradually moulded into one uniform character". They protected against the demands of justice, all by whom they were joined, and whom pro-

" Cicero Orat. pro Rabir.

" Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

" Cæsar, ibid.

fligacy

fligacy and audacity made worthy of becoming their companions. Their numbers exceeded 20,000; and no power in the kingdom, not even the irritable Alexandrians, venturing to oppose them, they plundered the wealthy citizens, set law and government at defiance, beset the gates of the palace, and called for the heads of ministers. Two thousand of them were cavalry, distinguished by superior appointments, and if possible by a fuller indulgence in all kinds of disorder. The sons of Bibulus, Roman proconsul in Syria, two youths of great promise, during a visit which they made to Egypt, incurred, we know not for what reason, the resentment of these Egyptian horsemen, and were cruelly murdered by them. The whole of the corps should seem to have participated in the guilt; but the perpetrators of it were few, and Cleopatra, or her ministers, had the spirit to seize their persons, and to send them in fetters to Bibulus. The behaviour of the proconsul and father is cited as a rare example of moderation. He remanded the murderers to Cleopatra, saying, that to require atonement for their crime belonged not to himself, but to the senate⁸⁰.

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Murder of
the sons of
Bibulus.

Shortly afterwards we find Cleopatra, probably for the part which she had acted in this business, precipitated from her throne, and driven in exile from her kingdom. The ministers of her juvenile husband were Pothinus, an eunuch, who had long had the care of his person, and Theodotus, a rhetorician, who had been employed as his preceptor. Through their perfidious selfishness co-operating with the resentment of the soldiery, Cleopatra was compelled to fly with her adherents and treasures into Syria; and Ptolemy Dionysus reigned for a few months without a partner. The queen returned, strongly reinforced, towards Pelusium. The king posted himself on that frontier to repel invasion. The hostile armies were encamped near to each other; that of the king commanding the city and harbour of Pelusium.

Cleopatra
expelled the
kingdom,
and her re-
turn opposed
by Ptolemy.
Olymp.
clxxxii. 2.
B. C. 51.

⁸⁰ Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 1.

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Roman civil
wars.

Olymp.

clxxxii. 3.

B. C. 50.

But this domestic quarrel was not left to be decided by the exertions of the parties engaged in it; for Cleopatra's whole subsequent history is involved in that of the contemporary period of Roman civil war⁸¹. Cæsar had finished his cruel conquest of Transalpine Gaul by cutting off the right hands⁸² of those who manfully defended Uxellodunum, a city of Guienne. He was at the head of twelve legions, for many of which he had found employment during eight campaigns, by provoking new enemies as soon as the old were subdued; and all of which his bravery and his indulgence had attached to his person. He commanded the resources of two great provinces, the nearer of which (Cisalpine Gaul) hung like a stormy cloud over Rome, the seat of elegance and power, frequented by all persons most distinguished in the empire. Such means of mischief, and such incentives to usurpation were in the hands of a man, who, from his first appearance in public life, had lost no opportunity to foment disorder and weaken government. His views were not only suspected, but denounced; and the sounder part of the senate, with all those among the people, who yet retained any veneration for the antient constitution, trembled at the thoughts of being laid prostrate, with their families and future hopes, at the feet of a military despot. Of all men concerned in this catastrophe, Pompey, long Cæsar's coadjutor, seemed the least to apprehend it. As Cæsar commanded both Gauls, Pompey was master of the two Spains, in which he had great armies at his disposal. By another extraordinary appointment, he

⁸¹ My narrative is thus brought back, through many dark and intricate stages, to the same sort of transactions and the same scenes, from which it commenced; the memorable conflicts in the East among Alexander's captains. The issues of the Grecian and Roman warfares differed, indeed, widely; since, by the former, the well harmonised empire of Alexander was divided; and by the latter, the dominions of Rome were reduced under one master. From the circum-

stances under which they happened, both revolutions were bad in themselves, and both were attended with still worse consequences. The extinction of the Greek kingdoms was succeeded by four slothful and tasteless centuries of imperial despotism; and the dissolution of Roman power was followed by a thousand years of dark barbarism and bloody anarchy.

⁸² De Bell. Gallic. l. viii. c. 44.

controuled

controuled all the shipping and commerce of the empire. His name was respected or terrible in the rich countries beyond the Hadriatic, where he had subdued kingdoms, and established proconsuls, and where the allies or vassals of Rome had long looked up to Pompey, and principally depended on his patronage. He had recently been sole consul, which made him a sort of king in Italy, in many parts of which his veterans had been rewarded with lands through the credit of their general. Upon his recovery from a short indisposition, public rejoicings were celebrated through the whole of that country, as for the safety of a great and beloved monarch. So much real power, swelled by such boundless popularity, made this credulous child of fortune form a false estimate of himself and his competitor. When told of Cæsar's great military force, and its nearness to Italy, he said he had only to stamp his foot, and armies would spring up from the ground. By the death of his wife Julia, Cæsar's daughter, he had not to endure any painful struggle in his resolution of taking arms against the father of that most affectionate woman; and when Cæsar disobeyed the senate, and refused to disband his legions, Pompey acknowledged the absolute necessity of the war, and entertained not the smallest doubt of his ability to bring it to a happy issue. He expected, however, that his rival would temporise, and long ponder his arduous undertaking before he passed the Rubicon. But the audacity and celerity of Cæsar disconcerted all his measures. Having passed the Rubicon in December, Cæsar was master of Rome and Italy, and had compelled Pompey, with all his adherents, to fly from Brundisium, before the end of the following January. He then hastened into Spain, and in a war which he has described with equal perspicuity and dignity⁶³, converted the hostile legions in that country into friendly auxiliaries. On his way thither, the siege of Marseilles threatened unseasonably to detain him; for the Massilians, aristocratic in their domestic policy, warmly espoused the

⁶³ De Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 37. & seq.

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Battle of
Pharfalia.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 1.
B. C. 48.

cause of Pompey and the senate. But having committed that siege in the spring, to the zeal of Decimus Brutus, he marched as above-said into Spain, and completed its conquest in the summer. In his return towards Italy in the autumn, he received the submission of Marseilles; he entered Rome in September; and on the 15th of October, set sail for Epirus, that, being paramount in the West⁸⁴, he might gain an equal ascendancy in the eastern division of the empire.

His warfare in that quarter, which he has himself also admirably described⁸⁵, is the most illustrious example in history, of a successful invasion against an enemy not only stronger by land, but absolutely master at sea. Pompey's admirals, Bibulus, Scipio, and his elder son Cneius, commanded fleets collectively amounting to 800 sail. Yet Cæsar found means to transport an army across the Hadriatic, and having in the course of a long campaign signalized his skill and prowess, completely out-generaled Pompey in the battle of Pharfalia. His heavy infantry amounted to 22,000; Pompey's, to 45,000. In cavalry and light troops he was still more decidedly inferior. Pompey had the river Enipeus on his right. He therefore flanked his left with the whole of his horse and archers, expecting that these forces, after repelling the inferior cavalry of Cæsar, would turn his right wing, and gain a complete victory. But that able antagonist, having drawn eight choice cohorts from the line, posted them in the rear of his own horse. This body of cavalry, as had been foreseen, was dispersed; but those who had defeated it were suddenly opposed in front by a new and unexpected enemy. The late victorious cavalry were thus put to the rout; and their precipitate flight left a prey to

⁸⁴ Pompey's flight from Rome rendered Cæsar eventually the master of Italy, and his flight from Italy enabled Cæsar to send detachments to Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, while he marched in person into Spain. Success every where attended his arms, except in the province of Africa, where his lieute-

nant Curio was cut off with his whole army, by Juba king of Numidia, the personal enemy of Curio, who, in his capacity of tribune of the people, had recently moved a decree for depriving that Numidian prince of his kingdom. De Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 37-44.

⁸⁵ De Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 1-100.

the

the legionary sword the archers and slingers that had been intermixed with them. Cæsar's select cohorts then turned on Pompey's left, and the havock made by them in this quarter speedily decided the engagement. With the loss of 200 men and 30 officers, Cæsar says that he destroyed 15,000 of the enemy, and made 24,000 prisoners⁸⁶.

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Pompey, after the battle, escaped to the sea coast, embarked for Mitylenè in Lesbos, where he took on board his wife Cornelia and his younger son Sextus, collected 2,000 men in Cyprus and Cilicia, and steered his course towards Egypt, that, until a more favourable turn of his affairs, he might find protection with young Ptolemy, his pupil. Upon the coast of Syria he learned, that the citizens of Antioch had come to a resolution not to receive him; he purposed therefore to proceed directly to Alexandria, when in his design of passing by Pelusium, he beheld many war gallies near the harbour, great numbers of men stationed on the shore, and all such marks of military preparation, as left in him little doubt that the king, to whom he came, was there present in person. He accordingly cast anchor, and sent a few of his officers to intimate his situation and his wishes. The king's counsellors were divided in opinion; if protection should be given to Pompey, they might provoke the resentment of Cæsar; if Pompey, after being rejected by them, should ever re-establish his affairs, they must expect his utmost vengeance: the wisest course, with so formidable a fugitive, which is said to have been suggested by Theodotus above-mentioned, appeared to be his immediate murder. The execution of this design was committed to Achilles, military commander in the district, and Septimius, a Roman tribune, now in the service of Egypt, and who had formerly followed Pompey in his war against the pirates. These men put from shore in a small boat, and rowed to Pompey's galley, on pretence of conducting him into the king's presence. The

Pompey's
flight to-
wards Egypt
—murder at
Pelusium.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. r.
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⁸⁶ De Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 86. & seq.

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meanness of the equipage, and the want of ceremony in the address, created suspicion in Pompey's friends, who, with his wife Cornelia and son Sextus, anxiously dissuaded him from leaving them. But having gone too far to recede, he repeated two lines of Euripides,

"Who ventures, thoughtless, on a tyrant's shore,
A Slave becomes, how free for'er before."

Two of his servants descended into the boat to assist him as he removed into it; not a word was uttered, until Pompey looking steadfastly at Septimius, asked whether they had not formerly been acquainted. The tribune only assented by a nod; upon which Achilles stabbed Pompey, and the work of death was instantly completed by his ruffian attendants. The king, at the head of his troops, was drawn up on the coast; Cornelia and Sextus stood on the deck of their vessel in trembling perplexity. The catastrophe could be seen from both sides; and the shrieks of the spectators at sea were distinctly heard by those on shore. As if a signal had been given, all the Roman vessels cut their cables and fled⁸⁷.

Thus perished the "Great Pompey," who had borne a longer sway in Rome than any citizen before him. His ambition, however, exceeded his abilities, and his fortune was loftier than his spirit. Great in war, he was ruined through an over-weening confidence; able in politicks, he was disgraced by a perpetual and useless dissimulation. He had determined, at any price, to maintain the pre-eminence to which a combination of favourable circumstances had raised him: He was solicitous, however, that his honours should be conferred, not usurped; whereas his now fortunate rival looked only to power, altogether regardless of the means by which he attained it.

Cæsar in pursuit of him arrives at

After the battle of Pharsalia, as it had been the only care of Pompey to provide for his escape, so the sole object of Cæsar was to pursue

⁸⁷ Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cxii. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. & Plutarch in Pompeio.

and

and overtake him. He arrived at Alexandria, only three days after Pompey had been slain at Pelusium, and a very short time after the news of that event had reached the former city. The forces, which Cæsar transported with him thither, amounted to no more than 3,200 legionary soldiers, and a body of 800 horse, under the convoy of ten stout Rhodian gallies and a few ships of war from the coasts of Lesser Asia. Twenty-two Egyptian vessels guarded the harbour; fifty well equipped gallies had been sent to the Ionian sea, to reinforce Pompey's fleet, and were now upon their return, after learning his defeat in Thessaly. There was also a considerable number of troops in Alexandria by way of garrison. Under these circumstances Cæsar thought fit to remain at anchor, until Theodotus, the prime mover in Pompey's murder, brought to him the head of this vanquished rival, at sight of which being seized, it is said, with a momentary compunction, he shed tears. He received, however, with complacence, Pompey's ring, impressed with an armed lion, and long respected as the signet by which his acts were attested over all parts of the empire". Upon coming on shore, Cæsar was attended in quality of consul with lictors bearing the fasces. This display of authority, by which the majesty of young Ptolemy seemed to be violated, offended the Egyptian soldiers in garrison, and still more the tumultuary populace of Alexandria. Cæsar condescended to remonstrate with and to soothe them; but to frustrate any effects of their returning resentment, fixed his abode in the strongest part of the palace adjacent to the sea shore, and defended on the land side by the theatre, which served him by way of citadel. During the following days, many of his soldiers met with insults in the streets, and a few of them were slain. Notwithstanding these unpromising symptoms, before any reinforcements arrived to him, he proceeded to exercise the jurisdiction to which he thought himself entitled as representing the Roman commonwealth. Accordingly, he issued his mandate

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Alexandria.

Olymp.

clxxxiii. 1.

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Requires
Ptolemy and
Cleopatra to
submit their
differences to
his arbitra-
tion.

" Plutarch in Pom. Conf. Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 189.

that

C H A P. that the kings, meaning thereby Cleopatra and her brother, should
XXVIII. suspend their mutual hostilities, and conformably to the injunction
 in their father's testament, submit the differences, which had armed
 them against each other, to the arbitration of the Roman consul.
 Agreeably to this command, both young Ptolemy and his sister sent
 agents to that division of the palace which Cæsar had occupied. The
 king still remained at the head of his troops near Pelusium; the
 queen had not yet ventured to set foot in Egypt⁸⁹.

Character of
 Cleopatra.

Only a few months before this period, and immediately previous
 to the rupture with her brother, Cleopatra had received a visit from
 Cneius, Pompey's elder son, to whom, besides committing to him
 an Egyptian squadron for his father's service, she is said to have sur-
 rendered her person⁹⁰. Seven years before, her opening charms had
 inflamed the profligate Mark Antony, when he served in Egypt
 under Gabinius⁹¹. Cleopatra was now in her twentieth year, bril-
 liant in person, and surrounded with all those graces that render
 beauty irresistible. Her voice sounded like the sweetest music. She
 spoke many languages with propriety and delicacy. She could assume
 all characters at will, which all alike became her; and being consci-
 ous of the full extent of her powers, employed them uniformly in
 the whole following course of her reign of eighteen years, in the
 service of an ambition as unprincipled as it was boundless.

Her clandes-
 tine visit to
 Cæsar.

The amorous character of Cæsar was a matter of public notoriety;
 and she doubted not, that by obtaining an interview, she should for
 ever fix him in her interest. To elude the vigilance of Ptolemy, and
 especially of his minister Pothinus, the chief instrument in her ex-
 pulsion, she trusted herself to a small skiff, and having reached the
 harbour of Alexandria, was, without the assistance of any other con-
 fidant than Apollodorus, a Greek of Sicily, carried by him as a
 package of goods into Cæsar's apartment. That conqueror delighted

⁸⁹ Dion Cassius, l. xlii. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. Plutarch in Cæsar. ⁹⁰ Plutarch in Pompeio. ⁹¹ See above.

in the wiles of love not less than those of war. Her device highly pleased him; he was subdued, or rather enslaved, by her person and conversation. She slept with him that night, and became pregnant of a son, called Cæsarion from his father⁹².

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The following morning a summons was sent to her brother to attend the consular tribunal. Ptolemy obeyed; but finding Cleopatra already in the palace, he rushed out of doors, and tearing the diadem from his head, proclaimed to the Alexandrians the conspiracy formed against him. To appease the rising tumult, Cæsar ventured to meet the citizens and soldiers in one of those assemblies, which from the popular institutions of the kingdom of Macedon above explained, were familiar to all the capitals belonging to that empire. The testament of Ptolemy Auletes was recited: Cæsar gave assurances that his only design was to procure an exact compliance with it: but in order to gain the whole assembly, whether partisans of Ptolemy or Cleopatra, he added, that in conformity to their father's will, not only Ptolemy Dionysus and Cleopatra should reign in Egypt, but that the two younger children of the late king, Ptolemy junior (for he never obtained any higher title) and Arsinoë, should be married according to the Egyptian laws, and hold an associate sovereignty in Cyprus⁹³. Nothing he knew could be more pleasing than this arrangement to the Alexandrians, who had testified the utmost displeasure at the recent usurpation of Cyprus by the Romans.

He endeavours to soothe the Alexandrians.

The war of Alexandria, as it is called, might have thus been prevented, could Pothinus, who guided the counsels of Ptolemy Dionysus, have reposed any confidence in the promised forgiveness of Cleopatra. But, as he well knew the relentless mind of that princess towards all who stood in the way of her ambition, he saw no other means of safety, either for himself or his master, than the excitement of ill-stifled animosities. By a number of low artifices,

War of Alexandria, excited by Pothinus. Olymp. clxxxiii. 1—2. B. C. 48—47.

⁹² Dion Cassius & Plutarch in Cæsar.

tarch in Cæsar.

⁹³ Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 201. & Plu-

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worthy of a long servile courtier and an eunuch, he contrived to agitate the minds of the Alexandrians, while he secretly moved to bolder designs Achilles, the murderer of Pompey, and a man of the utmost audacity, for whom, as the fittest person for his purpose, he had procured the command of the army recently assembled at Pelusium. Achilles was exhorted to march with all speed to Alexandria, that, by a sudden assault, he might crush the handful of Romans within its walls. The movements of the Egyptian army did not escape Cæsar's vigilance. At his desire Ptolemy sent, to penetrate Achilles' intentions, Dioscorides and Serapion, two persons of note, who, in the time of Ptolemy Auletes, had both of them headed embassies to Rome. Achilles had no sooner beheld them than, without listening to a word of apology, he ordered them to be seized and murdered. Upon learning this proceeding, Cæsar was more careful than ever to retain the young king in his power⁹⁴, that any act of hostility on the part of Achilles might be construed into rebellion.

His accomplice Achilles attacks Cæsar's quarters.

Sea-fight in the harbour, and burning of the library in Bruchion.

Meanwhile that general entered Alexandria. He commanded 20,000 mercenaries above mentioned, as the principal military force of the kingdom; and through the intrigues of Pothinus, his secret confederate, was assured of the co-operation of the fleet. Having occupied the contiguous parts of the city, he advanced towards Cæsar's quarters, but found all the avenues to them so skilfully fortified, and so manfully defended, that, with all his vast superiority of numbers, he was unable in any part to make an impression. While this warfare deformed the beautiful streets and noble edifices of Alexandria, one fiercer and more important raged in the harbour⁹⁵. Fifty gallees sent, as above mentioned, to the Ionian sea, had by this time returned into port. They were completely equipped: and, as they had recently failed to co-operate with the unfortunate Pompey, were

⁹⁴ Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

p. 495, & 641.

⁹⁵ For the localities referred to, see vol. i.

the more easily encouraged to oppose his victorious rival, now likely to be overwhelmed in his turn by Achillas and his army. This squadron of fifty gallees, with the twenty-two guardships in the harbour, attacked the Roman fleet. The combat would have been altogether unequal, but for the persevering valour and matchless skill of the Rhodians. Through their exertions Cæsar obtained a complete victory, and commanded the whole of the hostile ships to be burned, because he had not a man to spare by whom any of them could be occupied. The fierceness of the conflagration destroyed the arsenal, from thence communicated itself to the contiguous buildings, particularly the corn magazine, and having finally seized the library in Bruchion, consumed that noble edifice, containing 400,000 volumes⁹⁶. In the midst of this ruinous scene, Cæsar availed himself of the confusion occasioned by it, to seize with little difficulty the light house on the isle of Pharos, and to secure it by a garrison⁹⁷.

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The disaster which happened to the noblest quarter of their city, afflicted the Alexandrians, without suspending their exertions. Besides the harbour in which their ships had been burned, there was another west of the isle of Pharos, in the recesses of which were many gallees that had been laid up by the precaution of former kings and ministers, and which might easily be refitted. Many others might be collected from the various mouths of the Nile. The country abounded with sailors, sufficient to man fleets the most numerous; and materials were at hand to equip them, in a city that had long commanded the commerce of the world. While the utmost diligence was used for rendering these maritime resources available, a stubborn war raged within the walls of the city. The Romans endeavoured to extend their quarters by levelling the contiguous buildings, which, from the small quantity of timber in their construction, were not to be destroyed by fire⁹⁸. They were not held

Operations
within the
city.

⁹⁶ Tit. Liv. apud Senec. de Tranquillitat. Anim. c. 9. Aulus Gellius, l. vi. c. 17.

⁹⁷ Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. ult.

⁹⁸ Hirtius Lib. de Bell. Alexandrin. c. 1.

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together by wooden frames, but contained solely between walls and vaults, consisting of rough or polished stone. Such was their solidity, that it became necessary to bore holes in the walls to pass the battering rams from one house to another; for the Alexandrians had reared triple ramparts at the head of all their streets and lanes. These ramparts of square stone, were some of them forty feet high. The lower parts of the city were defended by towers rising in ten stories; other moveable towers, of equal height, were ready to be wheeled forward wherever their batteries might be serviceable. In raising these works and engines the townsmen shewed equal ingenuity and alacrity: they were themselves fertile in inventions, and imitated those of the Romans so closely, that it seemed impossible to tell which were the originals⁹⁹.

Arfinoe escapes from
Cæsar's
quarters.

During all this time Cæsar had the king in his power; whom he desired to shew himself from the balcony of the fortified palace, and to command his subjects to desist from rebellion. But they disregarded his orders as coming from a king in captivity. Besides this Ptolemy Dionysus, and his brother, yet a child, Cæsar had in his custody Cleopatra, a willing prisoner, and Arfinoe her sister, younger than Cleopatra, but not less artful or less daring. Notwithstanding the vigilance with which the whole of the royal family was guarded, Arfinoe contrived means to escape from Cæsar's quarters, and to offer herself to fill among the Egyptians the place left vacant by the desertion of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Her coadjutor was Ganymede, an attending eunuch, but who being still a man in his mind, was well qualified to second his mistress' views of ambition. The flight of Arfinoe made Cæsar doubly vigilant in guarding her brethren the Ptolemies; and he condemned to death Pothinus, long suspected, and now convicted, of a traitorous correspondence with Achilles. Achilles did not long survive his accomplice; for Arfinoe having become all-powerful with the Alexandrians and the mercenaries, they

⁹⁹ Hirtius, c. 2, 3.

readily

readily sacrificed their general to make way for her favourite Gany-
mede ¹⁰⁰.

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The eunuch signalized his entrance on command by a measure highly perplexing to the Romans, and those Alexandrians residing within their protection. The whole of Alexandria was supplied with fresh water by the Nile only. The turbid river communicated, by subterranean conduits, with vaults under the city, in which, depositing the viscid sediment, it gradually purified into an wholesome beverage. Ganymede cut off these conduits from the canal of the Nile which supplied them, and forced into them sea water by means of hydraulic engines. The effect was at first remarked with more surprize than terror. Those inhabiting the extremities of the Roman quarters complained of brackish water; those residing more inward, declared the water in their vaults to be good. At length the latter became infected with saltness, and the former grew altogether unfit to drink. The vast multitude of people, and the difficulty of supplying them in due time, in sufficient abundance, with this necessary of life, excited the wildest clamour. Many were eager to quit their houses or bulwarks, as no longer tenable, and immediately to put to sea, that on some part of the neighbouring coast, they might have it in their power to slake their burning thirst. Cæsar, with no small difficulty, composed the cowardly agitation, by assuring them, that on the shore of Alexandria, as on every other, fresh water might always be found by digging to a due depth. All hands were accordingly employed in the work of constructing wells, which were soon plenteously supplied with the bubbling element ¹⁰¹.

Ganymede takes the command, and deprives the Romans of fresh water.

The day after this occurrence, an advice boat entered the harbour, and brought news to Cæsar, that the 37th legion from Asia, with corn, arms, and military engines, had been carried by the east wind far beyond its destination. To protect this convoy, Cæsar put to

Cæsar again fights at sea to protect a convoy with reinforcements.

¹⁰⁰ Hirtius, c. 4.

¹⁰¹ Id. c. 5—9.

sea,

C H A P. XXVIII. fea, and gave command that his whole fleet should follow him. He left orders that none of his men should embark, because none could be safely spared from the war in Alexandria. In coasting the Chersonesus, a narrow neck of land between the sea and the lake Marcotis, a party of sailors were sent on shore to water, and some of them, straying into the country for plunder, were made prisoners. By this means, it became known at Alexandria that Cæsar had taken none of his soldiers on board; which encouraged the enemy to set sail with a view to intercept his return. The hostile fleets met, and through the bravery and skill of his Rhodians, Cæsar obtained the victory; having captured one of the enemy's quadriremes, and sunk another. The whole might have suffered similar misfortunes, had not night put an end to the battle. The east wind still continuing to blow, the Roman transports were towed to Alexandria by the victorious gallies¹⁰².

Another sea-fight—gallantry of the Rhodians.

This defeat only increased Ganymede's exertions to obtain the superiority at sea. In all the mouths and harbours of the Nile there were many armed vessels, employed in collecting port duties and other revenues; these he commanded to be sent to him; even merchant-men and transports he contrived to make useful. Besides this small-craft, he added to his former squadrons twenty-two quadriremes and five quinqueremes. Cæsar's fleet amounted to thirty-four ships of war, of which only fifteen exceeded the rate of trireme gallies. A new sea-fight was desired by both parties; though the risk was unequal, because Cæsar, if defeated, would have been completely ruined; but his enemies, in case of misfortune, had still the means of recovery. Notwithstanding this consideration, which had occurred not only to himself, but to all on board his armament, he sailed round the eastern promontory of Pharos in order to offer battle. The enemy also sailed round the western promontory of that island, with the same intention. The fleets, when they came

¹⁰² Hirtius, c. 11.

in sight of each other, perceived that they were separated by shallows, into which neither of them wished to be the first to venture. They lay, therefore, on their oars, the Egyptians with signs of defiance. Upon this Euphranor, admiral of the Rhodians, spoke as follows to Cæsar, "you fear to enter these shallows with your van, lest with it you should be forced into battle, before the remainder of your fleet finds time to expand. Commit the business to the Rhodians. We will sustain the engagement, unless I much deceive myself, until the other squadrons form. That the Egyptians should assume such insulting airs in our presence, both shames and grieves me." Four Rhodian gallies advanced, and were engaged by a far greater number of the enemy. But skill baffled superior force. The Rhodians keeping on the defensive, never exposed their sides, were never struck on their oars, but always opposed the firmest part of their prows to every hostile assault. Meanwhile the remainder of the Roman fleet gained time in fit order to join the battle: the issue was favourable: two Egyptian vessels were taken, and three sunk; the rest sheltered themselves under the batteries on the isle of Pharos, and on the mole¹⁰³ which joined that island to the city¹⁰⁴.

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The tower or light-house, which stood on the north-eastern point of the island, and which commanded the entrance of the harbour contiguous to the Roman quarters, had already, as we have seen, fallen into Cæsar's hands. But in the isle of Pharos, there was a street of houses little inferior in loftiness and solidity to those of Alexandria. This street extended westward from the vicinity of the mole; and by the towers and bulwarks interspersed in it, formed a sort of fortified chain of no inconsiderable strength. The mole also was fortified by two castles, one on the side of Alexandria, another on that of the island: and, though in other parts solid, had in it two wide arches supporting the two castles, under the protection of

Cæsar's danger in assaulting the Heptastadium.

¹⁰³ The Heptastadium. See above, ¹⁰⁴ Hirtius, c. 13—16. vol. i. p. 497.

which

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which Egyptian vessels often darted through, to the great annoyance of the Romans. Cæsar began with the island, and his assaults were successful: the enemy abandoned even the castle nearest to it on the mole. Many of them precipitated themselves into the sea from bulwarks thirty feet high, and swam 800 paces across the harbour Eunostus to the city. Next day, he assailed the second, and far stronger castle. He had expelled from it the garrison, filled up the arch under it, and was employed in strengthening it against the adjacent quarter of Alexandria, when the citizens sallied forth, and opposed him with equal impetuosity and obstinacy. They fought from a wide area between the mole and the city: Cæsar's soldiers on the mole originally consisted of only three cohorts, because more had not room to form: but, upon sight of the unexpected battle, crowds joined them from the fleet, partly through curiosity, and partly through a desire of fighting, and who having come in a tumultuary manner, without consideration and without colours, no sooner perceived themselves cooped up within a narrow space, and in danger of being attacked on all sides by the Alexandrians, than they hastened precipitately to re-embark, involving Cæsar and his men in their flight. The pursuit of the Alexandrians augmented the confusion, which must have reached the utmost height, since even the vessel into which Cæsar had entered, was overloaded and sunk. But foreseeing this evil, he threw himself into the sea, and swam across the harbour to his ships, from which he immediately sent assistance to those whom they might yet find in distress. In the battle, four hundred legionaries had fallen, and a greater number of sailors and marines. It must not be omitted that Cæsar, when he swam to his ships, carefully preserved some papers which he happened to hold in his hand when the sudden attack was made on him; it is said also that he dragged after him, in his teeth, the purple garment worn by the Roman generals in battle, and thereby saved from disgrace this proud ornament. A contrary report, however,

ever, states Cæsar's purple to have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, and to have been by them displayed on a trophy, which they speedily erected on the scene of action ¹⁰⁵.

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For several following days the Alexandrians strove to avail themselves of this victory, and the Romans laboured still more strenuously to repair the bad consequences of their defeat. Ptolemy Dionysus' situation had meanwhile continually been growing more irksome to him. Though treated with external marks of regard, all Cæsar's partialities were on the side of Cleopatra. The king's name was used with the Egyptians to serve political purposes; and when these were answered, Cæsar might destroy him as useless, to make room for the sole dominion of Cleopatra, his sister, his wife, and most relentless enemy. Such reflections sharpened the invention of a youth (he was then in his 17th year) who had grown up amidst intrigues and danger, and made him devise a plan by which he might obtain his freedom, even with Cæsar's consent. For this purpose some Alexandrians, with whom he secretly corresponded, sent proper agents to the Roman quarters, intimating that the government of Arsinoë had become altogether odious to them; and still more, the cruel domination of her minister, the eunuch Ganymede. That with Ptolemy, a lawful king, at their head, they would be ready, notwithstanding the opposition of Arsinoë and her abettors, to comply with such terms of accommodation as the Romans thought fit to prescribe. To enforce these words of delusion, Ptolemy, with tears in his eyes, begged Cæsar that he would not send him from his presence; a presence far dearer to him than his crown. The artifice, though suspected, was successful; for Cæsar considered that if the Alexandrians really meant peace, he could not prudently withhold it from them; and, if they persevered in war, a young prince, ignorant of that art, would be of little use to them, but would prove a more honourable antagonist to himself, than a woman and a eunuch;

Ptolemy's
artifice—
he joins the
Egyptian
army.

¹⁰⁵ Conf. Plutarch in Cæsar. & Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 204.

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Reinforce-
ments to
Cæsar under
Mithridates
and Antipas.

and afford him a fairer pretence for reducing the kingdom (as was his desire) under the fold dominion of Cleopatra. Ptolemy having thus obtained his liberty, briskly joined the army, deriding Cæsar's credulity.

His party, however, was disconcerted by news that had not yet reached Cæsar, of the approach of Roman reinforcements from the side of Syria. At the same time many transports and victuallers were expected on the coast. To intercept the latter succours, an Egyptian squadron sailed to Canopus; part of the Roman fleet followed it under Tiberius, father to the future emperor of that name; a few ships, belonging to his island, were commanded by Euphranor the Rhodian; a man who had hitherto commanded victory in all Cæsar's sea-fights¹⁰⁶. But, on the present occasion, he was betrayed by his own courage, or the pusillanimity of those who acted with him. Having, according to his usual custom, led the van in attacking the enemy, he sunk one of their gallies, and was carried in pursuit of another, into the midst of the hostile fleet. The Romans, and even the Rhodians, were slow in supporting him; he was closely beset and sunk, with all on board his long victorious quadrireme¹⁰⁷.

Meanwhile the reinforcements from Syria had continued to advance, until their progress was interrupted by the garrison of Pelusium. They consisted far less of Roman legionaries, than of Syrians, Cilicians, Pergamenians, Jews, and Arabs: and were commanded by Mithridates of Pergamus, a man who derived his name from the great Mithridates of Pontus. He was not, however, son to that prince, but a captive taken in war, allied on the mother's side to the antient royal house of Pergamus. From partiality to the mother, whose husband, a Gallic tetrarch, he murdered, Mithridates shewed much favour to the son, and caused him to be liberally educated. After the ruin of his benefactor, young Mithridates submitted to the

¹⁰⁶ Euphranor, sine quo nulla unquam dimicatio marittima, nulla etiam parum feliciter confecta erat. Hirtius, c. 25.

¹⁰⁷ Unus (viz. Euphranor,) ex omnibus eo prælio bene rem gessit, solus cum sua quadriremi victrice periit. Id. ibid.

protection of Rome, and being commissioned to conduct the above-mentioned reinforcements to Alexandria, shewed no less ability than zeal in the performance of this important service, for which he was afterwards rewarded by Cæsar with the crown of Pontus¹⁰⁸. Throughout his whole expedition, Mithridates was ably seconded by the courage and counsels of Antipas or Antipater, an Idumæan by country, and a Jew in religion: particulars the more worthy of record, because the merit of Antipas, on this occasion, afterwards recommended his family to the good offices of Rome, and eventually made his son Herod, king of the Jews¹⁰⁹.

Mithridates having overpowered the garrison of Pelusium, and removed all danger from any enemy behind him, instead of proceeding directly westward, through the canals and marshes of Lower Egypt, pursued the route towards Memphis, and from thence advanced into that part of the Delta which is nearest to Alexandria. In his march he was often opposed by forces assembled in the districts through which he passed; and by others which Ptolemy sent against him. He defeated both: and by force or well-concerted stratagem, surmounted every difficulty that either the enemy or the nature of the country threw in his way, until he arrived at Canopus, the most western branch of the Nile.

Both Cæsar and king Ptolemy had been apprised of his progress, and both in consequence of this news sailed about the same time from Alexandria; the former to co-operate with Mithridates, the latter to resist his invasion. Ptolemy chose the shortest navigation along the branch of the Nile just mentioned, where he was powerful in shipping; and at the end of his voyage, encamped between that river and the marshes of the lake Mareotis. Cæsar also proceeded eastward from Alexandria, as if he likewise intended to remount some branch of the Nile, but in the night changing his course and extinguishing his lights, he sailed round the Chersonesus

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Total defeat
of the Egyp-
tians and
death of
Ptolemy.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 2.
B. C. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Appian, Mithridatic. c. 121. ¹⁰⁹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2. De Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 5.

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or peninsula formed between the lake Mareotis and what was called by the Alexandrians the sea of Africa, and thus landing on the south-west of that city, proceeded with silence and celerity to fall unexpectedly on Ptolemy wherever he might be found¹¹⁰. He accordingly surprised him in his encampment, made a dreadful havock of his men, and forced him to attempt his escape in such hasty trepidation, that the vessel into which he threw himself for that purpose was overset, and the king drowned in the Nile¹¹¹. Thus perished Ptolemy XII. Dionysus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a reign of three years and eight months; a youth not deficient either in craft or courage.

Submission
of the Alex-
andrians,
and Cæsar's
long stay
among
them.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 2.
B. C. 47.
January,
April.

Cæsar's decisive victory made him master of Egypt. To appease his resentment, he was received at Alexandria by priests in solemn procession, and by the principal citizens bearing emblems of supplication. The kingdom, and all ranks of persons in it, were entirely at his disposal; and as no obstacle remained, there needed not to have been much delay in adjusting their different pretensions, and settling the future condition of their country. Yet notwithstanding the urgency of affairs that will be mentioned presently, Cæsar continued three months longer in Alexandria. The curiosities of various kinds united in the capital of such a renowned kingdom, and the pre-eminence of its schools in so many branches of useful knowledge, might prove resistless allurements to a conqueror who, amidst the warmest pursuits of ambition, was sedulously attentive to every ingenious art, and in matters of literature disdained not the minutest researches¹¹². But his stay was unseasonably prolonged, chiefly through the wiles by which Cleopatra, young as she then was, had ensnared him. Every thing was settled agreeably to her pleasure; and being associated with Ptolemy *Junior*, a child in his eleventh year, she was left sovereign of Egypt and Cyprus, with three Roman legions to support her authority. Her sister Arsinoë,

¹¹⁰ Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 205.

¹¹¹ Hirtius, c. 31.

¹¹² Sueton in Cæsar. c. 56.

whose character might have alarmed her jealousy, was carried as a captive to Rome, that, in the year following, she might be subjected to an ignominious death, after she had adorned the victor's triumph. But the youth and beauty of Arsinöe inspired pity even into the vile populace of Rome, and into the Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar durst not offend. She was allowed to remove into the province of Asia, and to reside in safety there, under the protection of Greek temples, until, five years afterwards, Mark Antony sacrificed her life to the relentless cruelty of Cleopatra ¹¹³.

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In the war which raged for six months in Alexandria, the inhabitants of that city, though degenerate from their ancestors, and divided amongst themselves, still exhibited memorable examples both of ingenuity and of vigour. Egypt, deformed indeed, by the vices and follies of those who had long ruled it, still abounded, however, in the resources of men and money, of skill and industry; and still contained the materials of a great naval power. In the course of the war, not less than 110 gallies, which may be computed to have contained about 40,000 men, were destroyed by the Romans and Rhodians; notwithstanding which misfortunes, the Egyptians continued to equip new fleets, and found no difficulty in manning them ¹¹⁴, when Cæsar's victory by land decided the doom of their ill-fated country.

Observations
on the war.

¹¹³ Plutarch in Cæsar. & in Anton. ¹¹⁴ Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. passim.

CHAPTER XXIX.

*Cæsar every where victorious.—His Murder.—Views of the Conspirators.—
Their Abettors and Opponents.—Second Triumvirate.—The Proscription.—
Octavius' War with Sextus Pompey.—State of the Eastern Provinces.—Cruel
Exactions of Brutus and Cassius.—First and Second Battles of Philippi.—
Opposite Proceedings of Octavius and Antony.—War of Perusia.—Parthian
Invasion.—Pompey's Fleet defeated in the Bay of Naulochus.—Octavius Master
of the West.*

CHAP.
XXIX.

Cæsar's de-
lay in Alex-
andria allows
his enemies
to gather
strength.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 2.
B. C. 47.

CÆSAR'S long stay in Egypt, unaccountable on any motive of sound policy, afforded time for his enemies, in many quarters, to gather strength. Pharnaces, king of Bosporus, laid claim, in right of his father the great Mithridates, to the far more powerful kingdom of Pontus, and justified his pretensions by a decided victory over Domitius Calvinus proconsul in Asia¹. The destruction of Curio, at the head of a great army by Juba king of Numidia, enabled Scipio and Cato to possess themselves, in name of the senate, of the Roman province of Africa². The sons of Pompey failed from Africa to Spain, and found means to recover the authority long held in that country by their father³.

He defeats
Pharnaces at
Ziela in
Pontus.
Olymp.
clxxxiii. 2.
B. C. 47.

Such were the tidings which roused Cæsar from his dream of pleasure. He disentangled himself from the snares of Cleopatra; “came, saw, and conquered” Pharnaces. That unfortunate prince was slain in his flight from the scene of action near Zela or Ziela⁴, one of the rich sacerdotal cities in Pontus, which we have formerly

¹ Appian, Mithridat. c. 120.

² Id. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 44. & seq.

³ Ibid. c. 87.

⁴ Veni, vidi, vici. Sueton in Cæsar. c. 37.
Conf Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 91.

⁵ Dion Cassius, l. ii. p. 207.

commemorated.

commemorated⁶. Having trampled on this upstart enemy in the East, Cæsar returned through the Lesser Asia and Macedon into Italy. There, during his delay in Alexandria, Mark Antony had been entrusted with a vicarious authority, which he displayed in all the terrors of military despotism. Careful solely to flatter his soldiers, the citizens were treated by him with cruelty embittered by contempt. While he paraded ostentatiously the high-ways of Italy, his chariots were filled with harlots, and sometimes drawn by lions⁷.

The mutinous temper of troops inflamed by victory and indulgence, retarded Cæsar's departure for repressing his enemies in Africa. He failed, however, for that coast against Scipio, precisely two years after he had crossed the Hadriatic against Pompey; for, upon the same motive as formerly, he determined to undertake his voyage during the autumnal equinox, the season least suspected. The campaign lasted only five months. Scipio was totally defeated at Thapsus; and Cato stabbed himself in Utica, that he might die free, without exposing his friends to a hopeless conflict⁸. Next year the war was carried into Spain against the Pompeys Cneius and Sextus; and the well fought battle of Munda decided the fate of that warlike province. Above thirty thousand of the enemy perished in the engagement; and the head of Cneius, the elder brother, was presented shortly afterwards to Cæsar, while he advanced to the neighbouring city Hispalis or Seville⁹.

Having crushed his opponents in the three divisions of the world, the conqueror returned into Italy, fully possessed of the sovereignty to which he had long and openly aspired. Pompey, his less daring or less unprincipled rival, had been many years king of Rome, without appearing to aim at that dignity; and Cæsar was encouraged to usurp absolute power, by seeing the height to which

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Mark Antony his lieutenant in Italy.

Cæsar's victory at Thapsus. Olymp. clxxxiii. 3. B. C. 46.

And Munda. Olymp. clxxxiii. 4. B. C. 45.

His return to Rome and assassination. Olymp. clxxxiv. 1. B. C. 44.

⁶ See above, & Strabo, l. xii. p. 559.

⁷ Plutarch in Antonio.

⁸ Hirtius de Bell. African. Plutarch in

Caton. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 99.

⁹ Auſtor. de Bell. Hispan. Dion Caſſius,

Appian, Plutarch in Cæſar.

Pompey

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Pompey had almost unconsciously ascended. As plain undisguised dominion was his object, he rejected none of the most extravagant honours, which the servility of the senate was forward to heap on him: and when its members came in a body to announce to him his deification itself, he did not once rise from his throne, placed, not without design, before the temple of Venus Genitrix, from whom, on the faith of the vilest legends, he now boasted his descent. In the latter period of his civil wars, the most revered temples had not escaped his rapacity. He brought the value of twelve millions sterling into the treasury, and distributed that of a hundred pounds to each legionary soldier. The number of Roman citizens entitled to receive corn from the public granaries, he reduced, however, from 320,000 to half that number. Many hundreds of mean persons were received by him into the senate; the rolls of the people, on the other hand, he ennobled by admitting on them all foreigners resident in Rome, who cultivated liberal arts, or exercised learned professions¹⁰. With the assistance of Sosigenes, a mathematician of Alexandria, he reformed the Roman calendar¹¹. Men eminent in arts or letters, belonging to that city, now frequently transported themselves to Rome; several of them, we may suppose in the train of Cleopatra, who came thither repeatedly to visit Cæsar, in whose family she resided at the time of his murder, regarding him as an absolute prince, and treating scornfully the noblest Romans as his subjects¹². Cæsar's pride was gratified with every mark of obedience that was offered to him; and his ostentation¹³ of power, still more than his power itself, provoked his assassination in the senate house by a conspiracy of above sixty¹⁴ indignant members of that long degraded council.

¹⁰ Sueton & Plutarch in Cæsar.

¹¹ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 106. &

¹² Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 25. Conf. Sueton. seq.
in J. Cæsar. c. 40.

¹⁴ Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 18.

¹³ Cicero ad Attic. l. xv. c. 5.

At the time when this enormity was committed, precisely twelve months after the battle of Munda, its perpetration was more likely to eclipse the splendour of Rome, than to restore the Romans to liberty. Shortly before his murder, Cæsar had projected an expedition against the Parthians, the only hostile power which it remained for him to humble. Seventeen legions, with a body of 10,000 horse, destined to that service, he had partly transported across the Hadriatic: and, as the subjugation of so powerful and so extensive an empire must be the work of time, he had fixed, as a preliminary to his departure, the succession of magistrates at Rome, and of commanders in the provinces, for a period of five years¹⁵. Both before and afterwards, the arms and tactics of the legions shewed themselves highly incompetent to the exigencies of a Parthian warfare. Cæsar's consummate abilities as a general, might have remedied their defects. He might have adopted the Macedonian spear, the most efficacious manual weapon against cavalry; he might, by continued attention and exercise, have improved the rapid impulse of the Roman squadrons; and thus, emulating the resistless career of Alexander, have carried his arms in triumph over the vast central plains of Asia. But his death, at the age of fifty-six, intercepted all such projects, without affording, in compensation, any well grounded hope of restoring the commonwealth, whether we examine the authors of that design, the instruments with which they had to work, above all the opponents whom they had to encounter.

At the head of the conspirators, historians¹⁶ place Caius Cassius, and the two Bruti, Marcus and Decimus. We have seen Cassius second in command in Crassus' unfortunate expedition, and afterwards defending Syria against an irruption of Parthians¹⁷. In the civil war that followed, he commanded part of Pompey's fleet; and

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Measures
previously
taken against
the Parthi-
ans.

Character
and views of
the conspi-
rators.

¹⁵ Conf. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. p. 244. & seq. c. 106. Dion Cassius, l. xliii. p. 239. & Plutarch in Cæsar & in Bruto. Plutarch & Sueton in Cæsar.

¹⁷ Cicero. Phillippic. l. ii. c. 11.

¹⁶ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 110. &

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after the battle of Pharsalia, hesitated whether to crave pardon of Cæsar, or to seize an opportunity of murdering him. From the latter purpose he was diverted by a mere accident. Cæsar, in the pursuit of Pompey through Cilicia, landed on a different side of the Cydnus, from that on which Cassius expected him; and the disappointed assassin hastily made his submission¹⁸. He was a man of more enterprise than constancy; daring in his resolutions, and precipitate in his measures. Marcus Brutus, his accomplice, and then his colleague in the pretorship, descended from the first and great champion of Roman liberty; and the dignity of the name he bore, was sustained by the purity and gravity of his own life, and his ardent zeal for freedom¹⁹. Though hating Pompey, who in the civil wars of Sylla had slain his father, and though so much the favourite of Cæsar, that many suspected him to be his son, (Servilia, the mother of Brutus, being no model of chastity,) he was taken fighting on the side of Pompey and the republick at Pharsalia. The victor protected and pardoned him; and disarmed, as he had reason to believe, all future hostility, by appointing Brutus commander in Cisalpine Gaul, and shortly afterwards pretor in the city. To such high favours even the coldest mind could not remain insensible; but Brutus, after the early loss of his father, had been brought up under the direction of Cato, his maternal uncle. From him chiefly, he imbibed the stern maxims of Stoicism; maxims at much variance with the benignity and softness of his natural temper. His name was familiar to the people as an able pleader of causes: he was in esteem with the great as a proficient in letters and philosophy. By all ranks he was thought qualified to fill an high destiny; and his abhorrence of tyranny, even in the hands of a benefactor, being whetted by the indignant Cassius, was stimulated into action by the desire of proving to the world and himself that he preferred his

¹⁸ Suetonius & Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 188.
Conf. Plutarch in Bruto.

¹⁹ Plutarch in Bruto.

principles to his feelings. Decimus Brutus had served under Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and when his general marched into Spain, had been entrusted by him with the important siege of Marseilles. He had continued to live with him through all stages of his fortune in the closest intimacy, in so much that Decimus, jointly with Mark Antony, was named executor of Cæsar's will, and guardian to his young kinsman, Octavius. To this youth, grandson to his sister Julia, Cæsar had bequeathed the inheritance of his name and fortune; constituting, in the same deed, Decimus Brutus his second heir²⁰. Bound by such a weight of obligation it is possible that Decimus approved not the conspiracy even in his own breast: and he acknowledged on a future occasion, that he was drawn into it by a certain resistless malignity in his fortune²¹. United with these three principals, there were many inferiors who thought themselves neglected by Cæsar; several whom his contumely had offended²²; a few sanguine tempers, who hoped to re-establish the antient commonwealth; a greater number who aimed chiefly at avenging its downfall in the usurper's blood.

Had the projectors of the revolution been qualified to act with systematic energy, little success could be expected from the only instruments which they had it in their power to employ. The whole fabrick of the government had long hung on Cæsar. The armies and the provinces were in the hands of his dependants. Lepidus, recently his master of horse, commanded a legion in the suburbs. Mark Antony, after his patron's murder, remained sole consul; and two brothers of Antony, Caius and Lucius, filled respectively in Rome the offices of pretor and tribune. By the admission of per-

Their instruments and opponents.

²⁰ Sueton in J. Cæsar. c. 83.

²¹ Se enim non sponte, sed fatali quodam infortunio tractum ad conspirationem esse. Oros. l. vi. c. 18. Conf. Appian, l. iii. c. 97.

²² Among others, the tribune Pontius Aquila, who, not rising from his tribunical

bench when Cæsar passed in triumph, became an object of mockery. The dictator promised nothing to any one for several days afterwards, without adding, "si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit." Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 78.

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sons into the senate, who had no other merit but devotion to Cæsar's will, that council, now consisting of nine hundred members, had been doubled and debased. The Roman people, numbered at four million on their rolls, bartered liberty for bread and public shows; and the founder part, either of the people or of the senate, were sure on every occasion, to be outvoted, overpowered, and stifled even in their murmurs, by the terrors of an armed force. Italy was filled with discharged veterans, who owed their lands to Cæsar; the capital itself was at this time crowded with them: part had come to see their generous benefactor before he marched against the Parthians; a greater, to solicit new favours from his bounty²³.

Antony
likely to step
into Cæsar's
power.

Under such circumstances the conspirators found that, by destroying the usurper, only a small part of their work was done. In vain they paraded Rome with the cap of liberty. While the extent of their enterprize was unknown, they excited suspicion and terror: they were heard by most with such astonishment, and by all with such faint approbation, that they thought fit, on pretence of returning thanks to the gods in the capitol, to take refuge in that stronghold. Mark Antony temporised, while he still feared for his own life, and knew not by how many the conspiracy was abetted. Actually sole consul, and formerly Cæsar's vicegerent in Italy, he might entertain fair hopes of succeeding to his patron's power; for his abilities as a general were equal to his ambition; he had dexterity to manage the rude military mind; and his manners endeared him to those licentious troops, whose rapacity he indulged, and whom he personally outdid in all kinds of profligacy²⁴. While he meditated fit means for gaining Cæsar's veterans, he immediately, by virtue of his high office, seized the public treasures in the temple of Ops, exceeding in value eight millions sterling: in quality of executor to Cæsar's testament, he at the same time obtained the custody of all

²³ Dion Cassius, l. xlv. Appian. Bell. Civil. l. ii. Plutarch in Cæsar. & in Bruto.

²⁴ Plutarch in Anton.

his papers. The whole scheme of usurpation was wisely conceived and ably executed. In addition to troops and treasures, the natural instruments of a tyrant, Antony, through Cæsar's papers, containing plans and hints for the future government of the empire, possessed himself as it were of the mind of the late dictator: and, as he quickly procured from the senate and people a decree for ratifying all Cæsar's acts, he was enabled, under that sanction, to exercise an uncontrouled authority at home and abroad, and to command at will the persons and properties of every community and every individual dependant on the Roman empire²⁵. He would thus have stepped, as it were, at once into Cæsar's throne, but for the sudden appearance of a rival, from whose youth and inexperience he had apparently little danger to apprehend. This was Octavius, just spoken of, now only in his nineteenth year. He had accompanied his adoptive father in his late war in Spain against the sons of Pompey; and that he might be ready again to attend him in his Parthian expedition, had sailed to Apollonia in Illyricum, a city well known to the readers of this history, in which he had assiduously employed himself six months, under eminent Greek masters, in the study of letters and philosophy. Neither the tears of his mother Attia, nor the remonstrances of his step-father Philip, nor the admonitions of his most respected friends, could prevent Octavius, upon hearing of Cæsar's death, from appearing at Rome to claim the inheritance of his name and fortune²⁶. This design, in its full extent, I mean the inheritance of Cæsar's power as well as property, Octavius prosecuted with an admirable mixture of caution and courage, steadily advancing to his end, while he dexterously varied his means. In the first year of his public life, he was a zealous patriot; for the twelve years following, he acted the part of a bloody triumvir; during a reign of forty-four years, he has been called the father of the empire. Treated scornfully by Antony, he affected to adopt the sentiments of the more dignified

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Finds an unexpected competitor in Octavius.

His courage and dexterity.

²⁵ Id. *ibid.*

²⁶ Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 60.

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During the
competitions
of Octavius
and Antony,
the conspira-
tors gain
strength in
the East.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 44.

Measures of
Antony.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 44.

part of the senate, and to be implicitly guided by Cicero²⁷, who though not admitted into the secret of the conspiracy, was of all men the most forward to fan the generous flame which it had kindled, that, through Cæsar's death, he might bring the commonwealth to life.

With indefatigable industry Octavius laboured to divide with Antony the affections of the veterans; during their struggle for which most important object, several conspirators, who had escaped from home amidst tumults that threatened their lives, gained strength²⁸ in the provinces assigned them by the late dictator's arrangements preparatory to his Parthian warfare. Decimus Brutus thus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; Trebonius in Asia, or Pergamus; Cimber in Bithynia; Brutus and Cassius, the year of their pretorship not being yet expired, had been superseded by Antony in the great governments of Macedon and Syria, to which they had been destined by Cæsar. In lieu of provinces he granted them commissions for providing Italy with corn. He afterwards assigned the province of Crete to Brutus, and that of Cyrenè to Cassius; with these inferior appointments they were greatly dissatisfied. Availing themselves, therefore, of the fleets entrusted to them as purveyors, they crossed the Hadriatic, and, in the manner that will be explained presently, collected a mighty force, not less than twenty legions, in the East.

In this quarter, the fate of the empire was to be decided a second time: but previously to the main action at Philippi in Macedon, a more intricate though inferior scene had been carried on at Mutina in Italy. While the principal eastern provinces fell into the hands of the conspirators, those in the west remained with men secretly adverse to their cause. Plancus commanded five legions in Transalpine Gaul; Pollio commanded two legions in the Farther Spain; and Lepidus marched with seven legions into the nearer division of that country. Meanwhile the senate held its usual meetings: the tribes

²⁷ Cicero ad Attic. l. xiv. c. 10, 11.

in Bruto.

²⁸ Appian, Dion Cassius, & Plutarch.

occasionally

occasionally convened to vote; but the resolutions of these bodies were often contradictory to each other, and the decrees of both were moulded at will by the two military chiefs who alternately prevailed. When Antony was sole master, he had obtained a vote of the people conferring on himself the province of Macedon, and Syria on Dolabella, his colleague in the consulship. He afterwards reversed the former part of that decree. Macedon was transferred to his brother Caius, and he himself took in exchange Cisalpine Gaul. The motive of this alteration was obvious. Vested with authority over Macedon, he had a right to send orders to the legions in that province, and accordingly commanded part of them to return into Italy. Possessed of this reinforcement, the government of Cisalpine Gaul would have placed him with an army at the gates of Rome, and fortified him, as it were, in that citadel from which Cæsar had assailed and entirely overset the commonwealth. That his design failed may be ascribed solely to the opposition of Octavius²⁹. By expending the whole of his private fortune, by the disbursement of every sum that he could beg or borrow, by the lavishness of his promises, above all, by the dexterity and energy which shewed him born for command, he confirmed the fidelity of his own troops, and brought over to him many of those who had sworn allegiance to his adversary. Antony, to prevent still further defections, led his army, about 30,000 strong, into Cisalpine Gaul, that he might employ it in dislodging Decimus Brutus from that province. Octavius followed the enemy at a due distance to watch his motions, and was joined successively by the new consuls Hirtius and Panfa, bringing with them considerable levies for the public service.

Defeated by
Octavius.

Before their arrival, Decimus Brutus had thrown himself with two legions and auxiliaries into the strong city of Mutina or Modena. Antony besieged the place. To relieve it, various battles were hazarded; in the first of which Panfa was mortally wounded; and in

Siege of
Mutina.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 1.
B. C. 44.

²⁹ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 21. & seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. p. 371. & seq.

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Antony
crosses the
Alps—his
views there-
in.

Breach be-
tween Octa-
vius and
Decimus
Brutus.

Flight and
murder of
the latter.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

the last, his colleague Hirtius, after storming the enemy's camp, was slain near the pretorium, or general's pavilion. During this latter action, Decimus had made a vigorous sally; and, if he and Octavius had zealously co-operated after Hirtius' death, there is little reason to doubt that they might have overwhelmed the common enemy³⁰. Antony had lost half his army in battle; he knew that, though he had been proscribed by the senate, the forces in Transalpine Gaul and in Spain were attached to his cause and his person: Ventidius also, actually a Roman pretor, had, in defiance of higher authority, been levying troops for his service. Under these circumstances, he had fled northwards in the night, with a view of waiting for the junction of Ventidius, and, if necessary, of passing the Alps, that he might be able to resist his pursuers.

The danger was less than he apprehended. Decimus Brutus had no confidence in Octavius. A conference between them only widened the breach. The death of the two consuls opened new views to the adopted son of Cæsar, who now declared, more sternly than ever, his purpose of bringing to punishment the murderers of his father. The senate, after employing his aid against Antony, showed an indiscreet suspicion of its auxiliary³¹. Orders came from Rome placing the whole of the combined army under the command of Decimus Brutus; regardless of which, Octavius not only retained under his standard the veterans attached to him, but gained many of the new levies made by the late consuls, and continued with this force in Italy, while Decimus, with a few broken legions, marched in pursuit of Antony into Gaul. There Decimus soon found it necessary to become himself the fugitive. In collusion with its commander, the great army under Lepidus had declared itself for Antony³²: the forces under Plancus and Pollio prepared to follow the

³⁰ Sueton, Appian, Dion, Cicero ad Familiar. l. x. c. 30. & seq. & Philippic, l. xiv. c. 10.

³¹ Velleius, l. ii. c. 62. Sueton. in August.

c. 12.

³² Cicero ad Familiar. l. x. c. 21. 35. Conf. Velleius, Appian.

example.

example. The audacious Ventidius, after failing in a conspiracy for destroying Cicero and all the more dignified portion of the senate, brought three legions to the same standard. Decimus, threatened by so many enemies, hastened towards the Rhætian Alps, in order to escape by that intricate rout into Macedon. He was deserted by his army, and cruelly slain in the neighbourhood of Aquileia³³.

Meanwhile Octavius availed himself with great ability of the favourable situation in which fortune had placed him. He confirmed the affections of the troops by which he had been recently joined. They, as well as Cæsar's veterans, regarded him as rightful heir to the dictator. Rome was in consternation at the junction of Lepidus with Antony. Brutus and Cassius were at a distance; and Octavius, at the head of a great army in Italy, seemed the only present help against an enraged usurper abetted by perfidious rebels. Under these circumstances, the young Cæsar intimated his intentions of standing candidate for the consulship. Such a pretension in a man under his twentieth year was not cordially supported even by his friends. But a party of centurions being sent to solicit for him, asserted his strong claim by pointing to their swords³⁴. He entered Rome with his army, but again evacuated the city, on pretence of leaving the elections free. Q. Pedius, a senator entirely at his devotion, was united with him in the consulship. Having left the management of civil affairs to this obsequious colleague, Octavius marched from Rome apparently with a design to combat the public enemies in Gaul. His real purpose, however, was far different; he secretly negotiated with these enemies, and finding the views of Antony and Lepidus entirely conformable to his own, thought it no longer necessary to keep any measures with the republick. By orders communicated to his creature Pedius, the decree against Antony and Lepidus was reversed, and the attainder passed on them was directed against Brutus

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Octavius
elected con-
sul.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

³³ Valer. Maxim. l. xiv. c. 7. Orof. l. vi. c. 18. Appian, Velleius.

³⁴ Sueton. in August. c. 18. Dion, Appian.

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Second tri-
umvirate.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

The pro-
scription.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 43.

and Cassius. It was afterwards extended to all their accomplices and abettors, and to the opponents of the Cæfarean cause in every part of the empire.

Meanwhile Antony and Lepidus passed the Alps: they advanced towards Mutina, the scene of recent warfare, and were met by Octavius on the banks of the river Rhenus, which flows in that neighbourhood from the Apennine into the Po. According to concert, each had brought with him five legions. The three generals held continual conferences during three days in a little island in the Rhenus, and adjusted among them the terms of the second triumvirate. It agreed precisely with the first in the authority which the triumvirs assumed over Rome; its laws, revenues, armies, and provinces³⁵. But the first triumvirate was a secret transaction, announced only in its effects; the second was a public and formal deed³⁶, declared by proclamations, and commemorated by medals³⁷. It was to have force, like the former, during a period of five years; for it was still thought prudent to amuse the state, and even the army, with the shadow of returning liberty. But before this could be realised, it was necessary that the murderers of Julius Cæsar should be brought to condign punishment; Cæsar, once the bulwark of the empire, and now rather worshipped as a god, than revered as the most glorious of departed sovereigns. The second triumvirate therefore began in blood. The names of 300 senators and 2,000 persons of the equestrian order were published in the execrable tables of proscription³⁸. These men, as irreconcilable enemies to the Cæsa-rean party, were subjected to military execution. Antony resigned

³⁵ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. iv. c. 2. & seq. & Dion, l. xlv. p. 326. An exclusive authority was assigned to Lepidus in both Spains and in Narbonese Gaul: a similar authority to Antony in all the rest of Gaul on both sides the Alps: Octavius, for his peculiar province, had Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But these arrangements had no immediate effect, and were speedily altered.

³⁶ Appian, l. iv. c. 7.

³⁷ A silver medal of Octavius, (C. Cæsar III. vir) has on the reverse an altar with three figures sacrificing, and victory presenting them with a crown: the inscription *Salus generis humani*.

³⁸ Appian, Dion, Plutarch in Anton. Velleius, l. ii. c. 65.

to death his uncle; Lepidus his brother; and Octavius, the man whom he once professed to love, and whose talents and virtues he never ceased to revere. His sacrifice of Cicero is represented as reluctant and painful; but Antony was inexorable; the orator's life must atone for the philippics which he had pronounced: this condition was indispensable; rejected, Antony declared that the conferences must end³⁹: Octavius yielded most disgracefully, the immortal fame of Cicero for ever branding his sordid cruelty, and aggravating his sanguinary breach of friendship. The proscription once begun, was carried farther than the authors of it intended. Rapacity and private vengeance multiplied executions; and Italy, especially Rome, was left for several days at the mercy of a licentious soldiery. Trampling on all besides, the triumvirs were solicitous solely about gratifying their troops with every present indulgence, and every alluring prospect. It was determined, therefore, in addition to other advantages bestowed on them, that at the conclusion of the present war they should be put in possession of twenty of the finest districts of Italy, and hold them in perpetual property, without the smallest regard to the rights of former owners⁴⁰.

Having made these arrangements in common, the triumvirs separated their forces, Lepidus, with the smallest division, remained in the administration of Rome. Antony marched to Brundisium with a view to cross the Hadriatic against Brutus and Cassius. Octavius purposed in due time to follow him, but meanwhile proceeded to the opposite coast of Italy, that he might suppress, on that side, two very considerable enemies. The first of these was Cornificius, propretor in the Roman province of Africa, who, holding his commission from the senate, refused to resign it to the officer whom the triumvirs sent to supersede him. After a long resistance against Octavius' lieutenants, Cornificius was defeated and slain⁴¹. The men

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Octavius' war with Sextus Pompey. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B. C. 42.

³⁹ Plutarch in Anton. Conf. Dion, l. lvii. p. 331. & seq.

⁴⁰ Id. ibid.

⁴¹ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. iv. & Dion, l. xlviii.

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of any name in his party either put themselves to death, or took refuge in Sicily. In this island, the standard of the republick had been raised by Sextus, the surviving son of Pompey. Amidst the conflict of parties, after Cæsar's murder, Sextus, who had long wandered an exile in Spain, was reinstated in the possessions of his family, exceeding in value four millions sterling⁴²: he was even entrusted with the important authority of prefect on the western coast. The fleet committed to him in this character, he was diligent to augment: it rendered him master of Sicily, and was employed by him during the rage of the proscription, in saving many who escaped to the sea-coast from the dagger of assassins. To dislodge this enemy from Sicily, Octavius advanced to Rhegium: his lieutenant, Salvidienus, was defeated in a naval engagement⁴³, and Pompey, confident in his superiority at sea, defied the 20 legions of his adversary.

State of the
eastern pro-
vinces.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

In this posture of affairs, Octavius was urged by Antony to join him with all possible expedition. The rich possessions in Asia formed incomparably the most valuable portion of the empire, and the storm gathering in that quarter, required, he said, their united and immediate exertions to dispel it. Brutus and Cassius indeed, since their obscure flight from Italy, had been carried on a tide of uninterrupted prosperity. In consequence of his long and splendid employment in the East, particularly his signal service in repelling the Parthians from Syria, the name of Cassius stood high with the legions in that and the neighbouring provinces. With another description of persons of no small weight, the fame of Brutus was unrivalled. The Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, were frequented by young Romans of distinction, who there prosecuted those refined studies in which Brutus excelled, and heard the professors of that lofty philosophy which Brutus had reduced to practice. In the ashes of Athens a new fire began to kindle; Cæsar was branded as a tyrant

⁴² Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 75. Cicero, Philippic. l. xiii. c. 5.

⁴³ Dion & Appian.

worse than Pisistratus; and the statues of Brutus and Cassius were placed above those of Harmodius and Aristogiton ⁴⁴. The contagion seized the neighbouring cities: it spread from Greece to Macedon, from Macedon to Lesser Asia. Trebonius, who commanded in the last named province, supplied Cassius with money and troops: Hortensius resigned Macedon to Brutus: to the same leaders the quæstors in the inland parts brought the revenues under their charge, and the cities on the coast afforded the use of their shipping. The veterans of Pompey, still numerous in the countries which had been subdued by him, particularly Syria, flocked to a standard raised to avenge the cause of that long admired chief. Cassius thus assembled twelve legions in Syria, and Brutus half that number in Macedon: a vast convoy was also captured near Demetrias bringing back, by orders of Antony, the arms and stores which Cæsar had provided for his purposed expedition against the Parthians. Caius Antonius and Dolabella had been respectively appointed, as mentioned above, to the governments of Macedon and Syria. Caius had scarcely entered his province, when he was made prisoner by Brutus ⁴⁵. He was committed to the custody of Hortensius, and afterwards put to death by Brutus' orders, to avenge the execrable murder of Cicero. Dolabella's proceedings were as capricious as his mind was unprincipled. He had been destined, though under age, for the consulship by Cæsar. He warmly approved of the assassination of his benefactor; yet insisted on the ratification of all the usurper's acts, because among them was his own appointment to office. He thus became colleague to Antony, who gained him to his views, by transferring to him from Cassius, the rich government of Syria. On his way thither, supported by a fleet and army, he surprized Smyrna, and slew Trebonius, governor of the province, with shocking circumstances of cruelty ⁴⁶. Having advanced into Syria, he made an unsuccessful

⁴⁴ Cicero, Philippic. l. x. c. 4. & seq. Ad Brutum. l. ii. 7.

⁴⁵ Plutarch in Bruto.

⁴⁶ Cicero, Philippic. l. xi. c. 2, 3.

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Cruel ex-
actions of
Brutus and
Cassius there.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 2.
B. C. 43.

attempt on Antioch, where the gates were shut against him. He was admitted, however, into the maritime city Laodiceæ, where, trusting to promised aid from Cleopatra, he purposed to make a vigorous defence; but being blocked up by sea and land, and finding Cassius, through a conspiracy of the garrison, ready to enter the place, he withdrew by a voluntary death from the just vengeance of his enemies⁴⁷. Cassius, thus master of Syria, purposed to invade Egypt, that he might punish the hostility of Cleopatra, and raise heavy contributions on her kingdom.

The affairs of the friends to liberty were in this happy posture in the East, when they learned the complete triumph of the opposite party in the West, and the bloody proscription with which it had been accompanied. Upon this intelligence Brutus, who had sailed into Asia to co-operate with Cassius, strongly urged their immediate return into Italy, that they might deliver what yet remained of the republick, from the hands of merciless assassins. But unfortunately Cassius was of a different opinion. Among the troops which both of them commanded, were many who had served under Cæsar: these men, unless gratified in all their hopes, might revolt to the enemy: they had large arrears due to them; the rich cities of Lesser Asia lay at their mercy; some of these, amidst the dissensions of Rome, affected independance; others had recently given assistance to Dolabella: it would be imprudent to return into Europe, while such enemies remained behind in Asia; on which pretence, waving for the present his expedition against Egypt, Cassius concerted with his colleague, as a readier expedient for raising money, the exaction of heavy contributions from all those places in Lesser Asia, which had either opposed their views, or appeared lukewarm in their cause. In this manner an army, raised professedly to support liberty, was employed in measures stamped with the cruelest despotism⁴⁸. From the province of Asia, once forming the little

⁴⁷ Dion, Appian, Cicero, Epist. Familiar, l. xii. c. 13. 15.

⁴⁸ Appian, l. iv. c. 62. & seq. & Plutarch in Bruto.

kingdom of Pergamus, the revenues of ten years were extorted at a single payment. The plunderers spread over the whole peninsula, and accumulated in particular places in proportion to the resistance which their enormities provoked. A great fleet, as well as army, was necessary for the reduction of Rhodes, which indignantly submitted to Cassius. Xanthus, long head of 23 confederate republicks in Lycia, was assailed with equal vigour by Brutus. It stood a long siege, and retorted in desperate sallies the evils inflicted on it. At length exhausted and hopeless, the Xanthians set fire to their city, and perished by their own hands in a general massacre. Shortly after, Lentulus, commanding the fleet which had recently acted against Rhodes, gained the Lycian city Andriaca, by breaking the chain which stretched across its harbour; and being, in consequence of this success, reinforced by a Lycian fleet, set sail to the well-known strait between Abydus and Sestus, to wait the land forces and assist in their transportation from Asia into Europe⁴⁹.

During these transactions the conduct of Cleopatra bore a doubtful aspect. She had purposed to give powerful assistance to Dolabella, but the swift destruction of that audacious man frustrated her design; and Serapion, her viceroy in Cyprus, had, in contempt of her authority, joined forces with Brutus and Cassius. She put to sea with a great fleet, to assist Octavius and Antony in transporting their troops from Brundisium to Epirus, but had not long left the harbour of Alexandria, when stormy weather obliged her to put back with much loss by shipwreck. Murcus, a republican admiral, who had been stationed at Tenarus the southern cape of Peloponnesus, in order to intercept Cleopatra in her voyage to Italy, hearing of the queen's return into port, immediately steered, with 100 ships, for Brundisium, that he might obstruct the embarkations there. He arrived, however, too late for this purpose. The triumvirs, anxious to remove the war at a distance from Italy, where their recent

Octavius and
Antony cross
the Hadria-
tic.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

⁴⁹ Id. *ibid.* & Dion Cassius, l. xlvii.

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Brutus and
Cassius re-
view their
army.

cruelties exposed them to so many enemies, had already sent the greater part of their force across the Hadriatic: Octavius and Antony availed themselves of a favourable gale to follow, in spite of Murcus now reinforced by fifty galleys under Ænobarbus, an intrepid commander. Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius having arrived on the coast of Thrace, reviewed their army near the bay of Melanes, which washes the eastern side of the Chersonesus. In foot, they mustered about 80,000: their cavalry exceeded 20,000; the latter consisting wholly of foreigners; Thessalians, Illyrians, Galatians, Arabs, and even 4,000 Parthians. The triumvirs, who by this time marched through Macedon to encounter them, were equally strong in foot: but they had only 13,000 horse. The review near the bay of Melanes, concluded with a speech from Cassius, worthy, as it is handed down to us, of being pronounced to Roman citizens in arms, in the happiest times of the republic⁵⁰. The generous sentiments which it breathed, might touch the noble Romans who were present, many of them persons of consular and senatorian dignity. But the praise of those institutions which had rendered their commonwealth great and happy, could not be highly relished by strangers who had long smarted under the Roman yoke: nor could the prospect of equal laws and impartial freedom delight soldiers of fortune, corrupted by indulgence, and enured to rapacity. They were more sensible to the donatives distributed among them by their generals from the recent spoils of Asia. But this wealth disqualified them, as we shall see, from combating on equal terms a poorer enemy.

Proceed to
Philippi.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

It was the object of Brutus and Cassius to proceed directly through the well known route of Ænos and Doriscus, and thus to pass the mountainous frontier of Thrace into Macedon. But they found the ordinary passes which led into the rich plain between Philippi and Amphipolis already occupied by advanced parties of the enemy.

⁵⁰ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. iv. c. 90. & seq.

By Rhascupolis, however, a Thracian chieftain who accompanied them, they were conducted through circuitous tracts to the neighbourhood of Philippi, a city opposite to the isle of Thasos, and mentioned on many former occasions in this history. It stood ten miles north of Neapolis, regarded as its harbour; and thirty miles east of Amphipolis a famous Athenian colony. Brutus and Cassius, it might have been expected, would immediately have fallen on the advanced guard of the enemy, which, under Saxa and Norbanus, had possessed itself of the ordinary passes. But these generals had been joined by Rhascus, brother to Rhascupolis. The two Thracians had concerted to secure an interest with both parties, that whichever prevailed, they might be themselves safe, since he who happened to espouse the winning side, would easily, it was hoped, procure pardon for his brother. By timely intimation from Rhascus, Saxa and Norbanus fell back to Amphipolis; where they were quickly joined by the army under Antony, for Octavius was detained by sickness at Dyrrachium⁵¹.

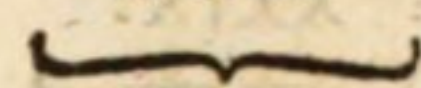
Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius fortified two camps on rising ground, between Philippi and Neapolis. The former place was on their right. Their left was flanked by a marsh extending to the sea. Neapolis afforded a safe harbour for their shipping. The isle of Thasos served as a magazine for the surplus of their provisions and stores. In this secure position, masters of the sea, and amply provided with every accommodation, they bade defiance to invaders, whose circumstances were in all respects less favourable. Antony had taken post at a mile's distance, in a low situation, overlooked by the enemy, and in a district liable to torrents from the hills; an inconvenience the greater, as winter was fast approaching. When joined by Octavius, imperfectly recovered from indisposition, they formed two camps: Octavius opposing himself to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The country behind them had been already foraged,

First battle
of Philippi,
and death of
Cassius.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

⁵¹ Dion, Appian.

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and provisions were to be obtained only by the sword. The urgency of their affairs required an immediate decision, and for several weeks they employed various expedients to provoke the enemy to battle. The marsh itself was pierced, a work of vast labour! by one side; but the passage made in it was traversed by the other. If Brutus and Cassius had continued thus to act on the defensive only a few days longer, the invaders must have retreated in disgrace. But the soldiers were intoxicated with the good fortune that had hitherto attended them, and in haste to enjoy the riches which they had accumulated in Asia. In consequence of their impatient clamours, a general engagement was fought, in which Brutus penetrated to the camp of Octavius, and Antony to that of Cassius. In both scenes of the battle, the loss was great on the side of the vanquished. Cassius lost eight, and Octavius sixteen thousand. The victors, Brutus and Antony, instead of following up their advantage, being equally anxious to learn the fortune of their respective colleagues, returned about the same time, and passed each other on the field. In this manner Brutus approached towards an eminence overlooking Philippi, where Cassius had rallied and taken post, sending out Titinnius, a centurion, to bring him intelligence of the enemy. Titinnius was speedily involved in a squadron of Brutus' cavalry, who rapidly advanced with him towards Cassius. This just discomfited general believing Titinnius in the hands of enemies, and the whole irretrievably lost, presented his breast to the sword of Pindar, a Greek slave, and died. Titinnius, reproaching himself as the occasion of such fatal precipitancy, accompanied Cassius in death; Brutus arrived shortly afterwards to hear the sad story. On viewing the dead body of Cassius, "this," he said, "was the last of the Romans".

Murcus and
Ænobarbus
capture a
great convoy
with rein-

Brutus, having sent the body of Cassius to Thasos for private interment, to avoid the inauspiciousness of a public funeral, spared no pains to restrain the boiling passions of his followers. Their loss in

⁵¹ Plutarch in Bruto.

action was less than that of the enemy. Where Brutus fought, they had completely conquered. They insisted on again meeting their opponents, that they might no longer endure their proud insults. Meanwhile an event happened, which made Octavius and Antony more anxious than ever to engage. On the day of the former battle, a great convoy from Brundisium had been taken or destroyed by Murcus and Enobarbus. The transports conveyed two entire legions, with many squadrons of horse, and auxiliary infantry. They were escorted by 17 stout galleys, which the soldiers in the transports endeavoured to support in fight, by grappling with the enemy's vessels, and thereby obstructing their motions. But they were repelled with great dexterity, especially by burning darts; the troops, taken, swore allegiance to Brutus and Cassius. Domitius Calvinus, who commanded this ill-fated embarkation, after being five days at sea, returned to Brundisium with his single vessel³³.

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forcements
to the
enemy.

The news of this event which, with the one army, enforced the necessity of a speedy decision, filled the other with an unseasonable ardour. Brutus reluctantly abandoned the certain advantages which must have resulted from a prudent delay. He only exhorted his men to render illustrious by their valour a victory, the fruits of which their alacrity obliged him prematurely to gather. In this second battle, which was fought twenty days after the first, neither the first arrangements nor the subsequent movements are described³⁴. The field was long disputed with obstinacy, and with great slaughter on both sides, until the troops recently defeated under Cassius began gradually to

Second bat-
tle of Phi-
lippi, and
death of
Brutus.

³³ Appian & Plutarch in Bruto.

³⁴ The battles at Philippi, as they decided the great cause between republicans and imperialists at Rome, were deformed by fictions and inconsistencies, to which the spirit of party naturally gave birth. The contradictions of contemporary authors, incapable of being moulded into any probable narrative, reduced future historians to the necessity of

expatiating on circumstances, striking indeed in themselves, but common to most ancient battles: the pomp of religious ceremonies, the harmony of mingled music, the fury of close assault, fierce confused murmurs breaking now into shouts of victory, and now into cries of despair. Conf. Dion, Appian, Plutarch, ubi supra.

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give way. Their retreat, at length manifest, disheartened the rest of the army, while the few who had engaged in this warfare on principle, exerted all the heroism which glory and liberty inspire. Among the Romans of dignity, who defied death in the thickest ranks of the enemy, historians mention the nephew of Cassius, the son of Lucullus, and the son of Cato. Brutus, mindful of his duties as a general, should seem to have intended to rally the fugitives on the heights behind his encampment. But soon learning that the route was general, and that his party was closely pursued by Antony, he presented his breast to the sword of Strato of Edeffa, a literary friend who accompanied him; and who reluctantly performed the act of kind cruelty required at his hands, after the office, which he had declined, was ready to be executed by a slave⁵⁵. Thus died Brutus, in his thirty-eighth year; a man who, being the unfortunate champion of a good cause, has in all ages met with his full share of renown.

Surrender of
the republi-
can army—
separation of
the fleet.

The great army, which he commanded, was either cut in pieces, or surrendered to the conquerors. Octavius and Antony thus augmented their legions by the number of 20,000 men. The various squadrons belonging to the enemy assembled in the Hadriatic, under Murcus and Ænobarbus. The former of these admirals, with more than half the combined fleet, sailed towards Sicily, and there joined Sextus Pompey; Ænobarbus declined to acknowledge for a superior Pompey, to whom he avowed dislike, both on account of his hereditary arrogance, and of his personal ferocity. He therefore kept his station with upwards of fifty galleys in the Hadriatic, ready, as he declared, to co-operate with every one who, by persevering in hostility to the triumvirs, approved himself a friend to his country⁵⁶.

Division of
armies and
provinces

Meanwhile the victorious triumvirs divided their spoils, consisting in armies and provinces, with little regard to the interests of Lepidus,

⁵⁵ Plutarch in Bruto.

⁵⁶ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 2. & seq.

their

their absent colleague. In the former division of the empire, the two Spains, together with Narbonnese Gaul, had been assigned to the exclusive authority of Lepidus. But the two Spains were now claimed by Octavius, and the Narbonnese Gaul was demanded by Antony: the other countries comprehended under the name of Gaul already acknowledged his jurisdiction. If Lepidus prepared to resist, with any vigour, the injury done to him, it was agreed that he should be pacified by a grant of the Roman province of Africa. Octavius, still labouring under bad health, prepared to return into Italy, that he might establish the victorious veterans in the districts assigned to them in that country. Antony chose, for his department, the settlement of the eastern empire. His more uninterrupted exertions against the common enemy, entitled him to reap the richest fruits of victory. In the contributions, however, which he levied, the legions bearing the name of Octavius on their shields were to have their due share. Two of these legions prepared to accompany Antony to the East; Octavius was to receive two legions in return, then serving in Cisalpine Gaul. Having thus adjusted all matters amicably between them, they recorded their compact in writing, exchanged duplicates, and repaired to their several destinations; Octavius crossing the Hadriatic into Italy, and Antony the Hellespont into Asia⁵⁷.

The routes pursued by these generals did not differ more widely than did their future employments. Antony's progress in Asia was a safe and inglorious triumph: Octavius's undertakings in Italy were accompanied with difficulty and extreme peril. At the head of a victorious army, the former found it easy, in the exhausted and humbled provinces of the East, to trample on religion and government, on all laws of justice, and even decency. The inhabitants of ancient Greece, and particularly the Athenians, he distinguished with some symptoms of regard, in consideration of the glory of

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between the
conquerors.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 3.
B. C. 42.

Proceedings
of Antony in
Asia.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

⁵⁷ Dion. l. xlviii. p. 357. & seq. Appian, l. v. c. 1. & seq.

their

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their ancestors. In Lesser Asia and Syria, a few places, recently ruined by Brutus and Cassius, were repaired; but the general course of his proceedings was equally cruel and contumelious. At Ephesus, long regarded as the capital of Ionia, he was met by ambassadors from free cities, and by deputies from all the districts that formerly composed the kingdom of Pergamus. From his imperial tribunal, he told them that he had come into the East chiefly with a view to collect money for armies amounting collectively to 400,000 men. That his colleague Octavius had gone to Italy, that he might provide the veterans of these armies with settlements; in other words, that he might transplant the cultivators of Italy, and make a total revolution in the state of its landed property. "As for you, Greeks of Asia! you shall be treated more favourably; your farms shall remain unviolated, you shall enjoy your houses, temples, and the honoured tombs of your ancestors. But you must compensate for these indulgencies by large pecuniary contributions. To the murderers of Cæsar, who was always your friend and protector, you advanced in two years the revenues of ten; we shall be contented with demanding the same sum, provided it be paid in the course of one year." The deputies and ambassadors were thrown into consternation. One bolder than the rest told him, that it would be impossible to comply with his requisition, unless he had the means of creating in one year ten seed times and ten harvests. After the humblest supplications of the deputies, some of whom prostrated themselves on the ground, assuring him, that to make former disbursements much plate, and even many sacred ornaments, had been already coined into money, Antony abated somewhat of the exorbitancy of his demands: he consented that instead of ten years, the revenues of only nine should be raised, and that the space of two years should be allowed for collecting them⁵⁸. Arrangements of a similar kind were made with the sacerdotal principalities scattered over Lesser

⁵⁸ Plutarch in Anton.

Asia, with the allied kings on the eastern frontier, and with those whom the Romans mocked with the appellation of free cities.

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In the estimate of pecuniary resources, Egypt was not to be overlooked; and in the triumvir's progress eastward, Cleopatra had been desired to meet him in Cilicia, that she might explain the ambiguities above mentioned in her conduct. This at least was the ostensible reason for demanding her attendance. But Antony, when he served in Egypt under Gabinius, had been wounded by the charms of Cleopatra, then in her 12th, but now in her 29th year, and well entitled, by her attainments, to regard a meeting with such a man as a sure triumph, both from his personal character and the notorious profligacy of those by whom he was accompanied. In the free raillery which he permitted to the companions of his revels, Antony finding that they described his faults truly, believed them equally sincere when they flattered. Intoxicated by the incense offered to him, he assumed the character of the god of wine, and as such was attended by a fraternity long known among the Greek cities of Asia under the name of artists in the service of Bacchus⁵⁹. They consisted of players, machinists, musicians, boxers, tumblers, jugglers, and all sorts of showmen. In the idle and voluptuous cities of Lesser Asia, these were the great amusers of the people at the sacred fairs and other public assemblies. Their strolling parties were joined by many who, though not themselves artists, were professed lovers of such arts; who frequented the sacred groves, who held nocturnal revels in temples, who united most criminal pursuits with the idle frolics of mirth and mummery. The whole scenical train had incorporated itself into an order or community which assembled successively at Teios, the native city of Anacreon; at Ephesus, Myonnesus, and Lebedus. Antony adopted this congenial tribe for his own. Its members, chiefly, engrossed his favours; and notwithstanding his promise just made to the convention at Ephesus, that

Artists in the
service of
Bacchus.

⁵⁹ 'Οι περί του Διονυσίου τεχνίται. Plutarch in Anton. p. 942. Conf. Athenæus, l. v. p. 212.

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Antony a
prey to the
wiles of
Cleopatra.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

he would be content with money alone, the estates and elegant mansions of many wealthy landholders in Asia became the boon with which unfeeling tyranny rewarded frontless impudence and unblushing profligacy⁶⁰.

Cleopatra, duly informed of these proceedings, came indeed with rich presents to soothe the angry triumvir, but came at the same time in a shape more likely to extort tribute. Her appearance was that of Venus wafted up the Cydnus to Tarsus, that she might frolic with the new Bacchus. Poetry has copied faithfully from history a scene which cannot by fancy be embellished: the galley of Cleopatra, resplendent with gold in the stern, its sails of Tyrian purple, the silver oars moving with sweet symphonies, the queen of love reclined in her tiffued pavillion; the Cupids, Graces, and Nereids by whom the goddess was attended, and by whose delicate hands her soft barge was navigated. A voluptuous perfume, which diffused itself on both sides the Cydnus, announced her arrival: Tarsus was deserted; even the tribunal of Antony, then giving judgment in the market place. Bacchus and Venus mutually visited and entertained each other⁶¹: and from this time forward the triumvir, forgetting his dignity, his family, and his country, surrendered himself the willing slave to a harlot, whose dominant passions were ambition and vengeance.

His cruelties
and depre-
dations.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
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Her prospective cruelty had recently destroyed Ptolemy *Junior*, her destined partner in power, as he advanced to the age of manhood. Her sister Arsinoë, whom Cæsar had spared, was now torn from a temple at Miletus, because she had once presumed to be her rival. Serapion, the disobedient viceroy of Cyprus, was dragged from the altar of Tyrian Hercules: the Aradians were compelled to surrender a youth who had personated her unfortunate brother Ptolemy Dionysus⁶². According to the will of Cleopatra, Antony constituted friends or ene-

⁶⁰ Plutarch.

⁶¹ Plutarch, *ibid.* & Athenæus, l. iv.

⁶² Appian, l. v. c. 9. Joseph. *Antiq.*

l. xv. c. 4.

mies to Rome, displaced governors, superseded generals, plundered the staples of commerce, and violated the temples by which they were protected. On this side the Euphrates, Palmyra still formed one of the principal links of communication between India and Lesser Asia, between the dominions of Parthia and those of Rome. From the banks of the Orontes, a body of Roman cavalry was sent to surprize a place, which carrying on commerce between two jealous empires, deserved the good will of both. But the Palmyreneans prepared for their defence: ready caravans transported their most valuable effects to the left bank of the river: the invaders returned with mortification from strong walls, containing nothing within them to justify the dangers of an assault⁶³. Careless of this disgrace, Antony put his troops into winter quarters; and as Cleopatra had returned to Alexandria, hastened to join her in that city. There, he lived many months divested of all ensigns of authority, habited now as an Athenian, now as an Alexandrian citizen, treating Cleopatra as his queen and sovereign, yet requiring her frequently, as his mistress, to participate with him in his drunken debaucheries, and the disgraceful frolics that accompanied them.

While the master of the Roman dominions in the East thus exhibited his worthlessness in a manner as undisguised as ever was done in succeeding times by the worst and basest of the emperors, Octavius was called to the performance of a very different part in Italy; a part demanding the united exertions of craft and courage. He returned to Brundisium with half the army that had conquered at Philippi, upon the declared design of settling the veterans belonging to that army, and others yet unprovided for who had served under Julius Cæsar, in about twenty of the richest districts in Italy, which they had selected for the retreats of their old age before engaging in the late warfare⁶⁴. The undertaking was highly invidious: Octavius still laboured under the same infirm state of health in which he

Proceedings;
of Octavius
in Italy.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4.
B. C. 41.

⁶³ Appian, Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 9.

⁶⁴ Appian, l. v.

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had left Macedon: his abilities, however, were great; his diligence was indefatigable; and he had most useful counsellors and coadjutors in Agrippa and Mæcenas, whose different talents, the one in military, the other in all civil affairs, were destined to uphold the stability and glory of his future reign. As the army had been long masters in Italy, and an army flushed with victory seemed the better entitled to domineer, Octavius commenced his odious task with alacrity, and entertained hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion, when a bold opposition arose to him from a quarter the least to be suspected.

His opponents there.

Antony had sent into Italy a confidential agent named Manius, a man of intriguing ambition, who sought to make himself of importance with his superiors by fomenting their mutual jealousies. He had connected himself with Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had participated in all her husband's ostentatious dissoluteness when he was vicegerent to Cæsar; in all his execrable cruelties when he became triumvir with Octavius; who had learned, under the incendiary Clodius, her first husband, every art calculated to inflame popular discontent and delude the credulous multitude. With Manius and Fulvia was confederate Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's surviving brother; for the death of Caius Antony, we have seen, had ill-atoned for the murder of Cicero. Lucius held the office of consul, which, since the establishment of the first triumvirate, had been a mere titular dignity, but to which Lucius, a man of a high mind and sanguine temper, expected, through his credit with the triumvir Marcus, to restore its pristine splendour⁶⁵. Octavius was greatly perplexed by the machinations of persons so intimately connected with his partner in the empire. When, according to his written agreement with Antony, he desired that two legions should be resigned to him, in return for an equal number bearing his own name on their shields, which had passed with that general into Asia, these persons

⁶⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. Appian, l. v. c. 12. & seq.

found means to elude his just demand. They maintained also that Antony, or themselves as his representatives, should participate in the satisfaction and honour of settling the veterans in the lands allotted to them. In support of this claim, Fulvia ventured to appeal to the army itself. Sometimes in a military garb, sometimes as a mother bearing with her Antony's young children, she paraded through the military quarters, demanding justice for her husband. Jealousies were thus sown between the soldiers of Octavius and his absent colleague. The life of the former was often exposed to danger. Lucius Antonius, in quality of consul, made great levies through Italy. The troops devoted to Antony in the different divisions of Gaul and Spain, under Pollio and Plancus, Canidius and Ventidius, were put in motion; and, at the prospect of a new civil war ready to break out between the triumvirs themselves (Lepidus condescending to act in abject dependency on Octavius who was present), the republican party in Italy began once more to revive; while the communities and districts whose lands had been occupied, or which were on the point of being wrested from them, uttered complaints mixed with threats. They arraigned the injustice and cruelty of driving them from their possessions: "if their fields were to be usurped, compensation ought at least to be made to them in money; lands throughout all Italy, not districts partially selected, should be assigned to the veterans: each proprietor should yield his fair proportion, or all landholders be compelled to cast lots, and submit to the equal decision of fortune." To vindicate these just claims, many crowded to Rome, demanding support for themselves and families; others had boldness to repel by force those who sought to divest them of their paternal acres; the labours of husbandry ceased; and to accumulate the public distress, many parts of the western coast were ravaged by Sextus Pompeius from Sicily, and of the eastern by Domitius Ænobarbus, still cruising in the Adriatic. By such means, the vast populousness of Rome was deprived of the necessities of life. The rents of houses

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War of Perusia.
Olymp.
clxxxiv. 4—
clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 41—
40.

houses fell more than one half in value: many streets were totally deserted⁶⁶.

Meanwhile a war of the fiercest nature raged in Perusia in Tuscany, a strong city in the very centre of Italy. Octavius was compelled to take the field against the consul Lucius Antonius, while his lieutenant Agrippa opposed the armies on the side of Gaul, expected to join that magistrate. Ventidius and other generals commanding those armies, suspecting, however, that the measures of Lucius were not altogether conformable to the will of his brother Marcus, made little haste to bring assistance to the former. Lucius, therefore, at the head of six legions, threw himself into Perusia. Octavius besieged the place, repelled many bold sallies, blocked it up on all sides, and finally reduced it to famine. In the struggle between himself and the representatives of his absent colleague, the greater part of the soldiery indeed adhered to him, but many noble and wealthy Romans had embraced the opposite party; and above four hundred persons, of senatorian or equestrian rank, had thrown themselves with the consul into Perusia. They had discerned the resolute ambition of Octavius, and thought that usurped power might be more easily wrested from the unsteady hands of the Antonies, or that such men might be better inclined to resign it.

Its strange
and horrid
termination.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

The famine in the garrison had come to the utmost extremity⁶⁷, and the multitude of dead bodies threatened to occasion a pestilence, when Lucius, attended only by two lictors, proceeded towards the camp of the besiegers. Upon intelligence of his approach, Octavius hastened beyond the rampart to meet him. Their conference was private, but the substance of it is preserved in one of those extracts which have come down to us from the commentaries of Octavius⁶⁸, under his higher name of Augustus. Lucius began by observing, that if he had fought in a bad cause, or against an ignoble enemy,

⁶⁶ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 359. & seq.

⁶⁷ Velleius, l. ii. c. 74.

⁶⁸ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 45.

he should have withdrawn himself by a voluntary death from the humiliation of a surrender. But he had taken arms for the sake of Rome and of his hereditary dignity against a patrician not less illustriously descended than himself, who could boast Hercules for his progenitor⁶⁹. Neither the anger of Fulvia nor the intrigues of Manius, nor the complaints of families divested of their landed property, had instigated him to the unfortunate contest, in which he was foiled, not through want of valour or perseverance, but by famine only. "I wish," he said, "to be clearly understood; it would be now vain to dissemble. My purpose was not to defeat the claims of the veterans: I myself have established many of those deserving men in the districts assigned them. Neither was it my ambition to defeat you, Cæsar! that I might succeed to your power. My sole object was to illustrate my consulship by destroying the tyranny of the triumvirate; by restoring the hereditary aristocracy of Rome, the jurisdiction of legal magistrates, and the authority of the senate. Into a concurrence with this measure, I doubted not to be able to persuade my brother; and therefore used freely against himself, the whole weight of his name and of his power. My adherents are guiltless of any such design: on me let the whole weight of your resentment fall." Octavius replied, "My resentment is disarmed by this voluntary surrender, for I have now to consider not what my enemies might justly suffer, but what it will be most graceful for me to do: the latter consideration preponderates, on account of the gods, myself, and you Lucius! that you may not be disappointed in the expectations formed of my clemency⁷⁰." The army of Octavius interceded for that of Lucius, which joined the standard of the conqueror. But the magistrates of Perugia, together with the Roman senators that had been shut up with them in that city, being regarded as peculiarly hostile to the cause of Octavius and the veterans, were committed to strict custody; and on the following

⁶⁹ Conf. Plutarch in Antonio.⁷⁰ Appian, *ibid.*

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Octavius
master of the
West, with
the excep-
tion of Sicily
and Venetia.
Olymp.
cxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

ides of March, upwards of three hundred of them were, by an act of horrid superstition, sacrificed to the manes of Julius Cæsar⁷¹. It had been intended to gratify the soldiers with the spoils of the place, which had made such a fierce and almost frantic resistance; but Perugia was set on fire by the desperate rage of its own citizens, and entirely destroyed: the temple of Vulcan alone escaped the fury of the flames⁷².

The events of this short war of Perugia crushed the hopes of Antony's partizans in Italy, the seat of empire; and in the great provinces of the West, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Several commanders attached to him were deserted by their armies, some armies were deserted by their generals. Part fled to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily; the far greater crossed the Hadriatic into Greece. The former route was pursued by Julia, the aged mother of Antony; the latter by his wife Fulvia. In this general trepidation of those dependant on him, his cause, however, was still supported by Asinius Pollio, who collected a considerable force in the district of Venetia. Amidst the marishes of that remote corner, Pollio bade defiance to Octavius; and greatly benefited Antony's affairs by procuring for him an alliance with Ænobarbus, still commanding a great fleet in the Hadriatic⁷³. With the exception of Venetia and Sicily, Octavius was acknowledged in the West; throughout which division of the empire he commanded armies, levied contributions, appointed or superseded all magistrates or generals. The vanity of Lucius Antony was flattered with a nominal command in Spain, and detached from the cause of his brother by this empty honour; for he was supplied with five lieutenants, who controuled all his measures, and vigilantly observed all his actions⁷⁴. About the same time, some bodies of men of doubtful fidelity, amounting collectively to seven legions, were

⁷¹ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. & Sueton. in August. c. 15.

⁷² Dion, *ibid.* p. 365.

⁷³ Dion Cassius, Appian, Velleius, l. ii. c. 76.

⁷⁴ Appian, l. v. c. 54.

sent under Lepidus into Africa⁷⁵. In this quarter, their defection would be unimportant in the struggle which must soon take place between the rival triumvirs.

Before intelligence of these distressing events reached Antony, he was withdrawn from his idle pleasures in Alexandria, by disasters more deeply affecting that neighbourhood. Orodes, king of Parthia, had learned from Palmyrenean merchants, the cruelties exercised by the triumvirs over all nations on their side the Euphrates⁷⁶. But Orodes was determined to an invasion of the Roman provinces in Asia, chiefly by the representations of Labienus, son to a general of that name, who had served under Cæsar during his wars in Gaul, but who had deserted him in the civil war⁷⁷. The son, animated by equal love for the republic, had been sent by Brutus and Cassius to treat for assistance from the Parthians; and after the defeat of his friends at the battle of Philippi, still continued to reside at the court of Orodes, with whom he had obtained much credit as a counsellor⁷⁸. Labienus informed his master of the Peruvian war in Italy, of the discontents, amounting almost to rebellion, in the eastern provinces of Rome, of the scandalous and careless life led by Antony in Alexandria; on all which considerations, he recommended the present as the fittest time for retorting the injuries of the Romans by the invasion of Syria and Lesser Asia. The proposition was acceptable to Orodes, and still more to his son Pacorus, the appointed heir to the crown, a prince generous and brave, and who from his earliest youth, had been at once the pride of the king, and the darling of the people⁷⁹. Clouds of Parthian cavalry began to move westward; Labienus and Pacorus were their generals. An irruption so powerful and unexpected was not to be resisted in Syria. Many of the soldiers in that province having served under Brutus and Cassius, joined Labie-

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Parthian invasion of the eastern provinces. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

⁷⁵ Ibid. c. 53.

⁷⁶ Appian Histor. Parthic. Conf. de Bell. l. iv. c. 9. Civil. l. v. c. 9.

⁷⁷ Plutarch in Cæsar. & in Pompeio.

⁷⁸ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 371. Florus,

⁷⁹ Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 404.

nus,

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Parthian in-
vasion of the
eastern pro-
vinces.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 1.
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Civil war
prevented by
Antony's
marriage
with Octavia.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

nus, the now victorious friend of those patriots. Saxa bearing authority from Antony, slew himself. The Parthians made many captives, ravaged the open country, plundered treasuries or temples. From the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean they diffused their ravages to the western shore of Lesser Asia. Caria, in the farthest corner of that peninsula, paid dearly for its resistance by the sack of Mylassa and Alabanda. Stratoniceæ, in the same district, was defended by the strength of its walls; as Tyre in Phœnicia had been, by its insular situation: for the Parthians wanted ships, and were unprepared for sieges: strong cities and islands afforded, therefore, a refuge to the Romans, and the unhappy provincials who adhered to them, or rather, who dreaded subjection to still more relentless conquerors⁸⁰.

Antony was informed, almost at the same time, of his ruined interest in Italy, and of the devastation of that part of the empire which he had chosen for his peculiar province. With a fleet of 200 sail, belonging to himself or Cleopatra, he proceeded with all haste to Tyre. The recovery of Syria and Lesser Asia, he found, must be a work of considerable difficulty. He determined to postpone the undertaking, especially as he received at Tyre most lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. He failed to meet her in Athens, and is said to have reprimanded her severely, as well as her coadjutor Manius, for embroiling his affairs in Italy. Fulvia was capable of any enormity, but her proud heart could not brook reproach. She retired in bad health to Sicyon, and died there soon afterwards⁸¹. Antony, meanwhile, reinforced by part of his troops from Greece and Macedon, met his new ally, Ænobarbus, in the Hadriatic. Sextus Pompey also sent to him his mother Julia from Sicily; and was earnest to gain his friendship, that they might unite their arms against Octavius. But as no declared breach had yet taken place

⁸⁰ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 373. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23.

⁸¹ Plutarch in Anton.

between

between Antony and his colleague in the triumvirate, he declined any formal alliance against him. He thanked Pompey, however, for the proposal; and for the kindness he had shewn to his parent. Octavius was equally guarded: he prepared to defend Brundisium and other sea-ports, not against Antony, but against Ænobarbus. This demonstration of jealousy was construed, however, into equal hostility to both. Antony made descents on the coast, and having occupied several places of less strength, laid siege to Brundisium: all the rage of civil war was thus likely to be again rekindled, when the flames were suppressed by the cautious coldness of the soldiers on both sides. From the licence in which they were indulged, and the flatteries with which they were courted, the Roman legionaries had discovered the secret of their own importance; they had learned to reason and to calculate: Octavius had the stronger army; Antony was the better general; the secure benefits of peace out-balanced the hope of augmenting them on either side by the chance of victory. The death of Fulvia, which became known at this time in Italy, seemed an event highly favourable to a reconciliation between the triumvirs. Fulvia had been the main promoter of dissention; but as one woman had occasioned disunion in the empire, there was another well qualified to restore concord. This was Octavius' sister, recently a widow by the death of her husband Marcellus, a woman of exquisite beauty, endowed with every shining accomplishment, yet admired for her severer virtues as the pattern of Roman matrons. By the marriage of Octavia, Antony sealed his accommodation with her brother. According to their contract, Lepidus was left in possession of Africa. The western provinces of Europe were to remain under the jurisdiction of Octavius: Antony was to govern all the countries eastward⁸¹ from the Illyrian city Scodra, a place well known to the readers of this history.

⁸¹ Dion, Appian, & Plutarch in Anton.

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Naval power
of Pompey
— alarming-
ly distressing
to the trium-
virs.

Olymp.
clxxxv. 1.
B. C. 40.

The Parthians and Sextus Pompey formed now the only dangerous enemies to the empire. As the Parthians, in their irruptions on this side the Euphrates, had in view rather depredation than conquest, it was expected that the hurricane having spent its force, the effects of it might easily be repaired. Levies, however, being made for the Parthian war, were, until Antony should return to the East, committed to his lieutenant Ventidius, a man well qualified, as we shall see, to employ them to the best advantage. The ravages of Sextus Pompey were matters of nearer concern, and deeply affected every part of Italy, but most of all the capital. Pompey commanded above 300 gallies. His squadrons were of the boldest description, manned chiefly by Greeks, and under skilful commanders of that nation; Menas, Menecrates, Demochares, and Apollonphanes. In addition to Sicily, he had possessed himself of Sardinia and Corsica, islands in that age of much importance, especially the former, on account of its abundant crops of corn, which made it one of the principal granaries of Rome. He had occupied the small islands near Italy; he had seized fastnesses in that country; the whole coast was subject to his ravages; commerce was entirely at a stand; and Rome always dependant on foreign supplies, suffered extreme scarcity of bread⁸².

They make
peace with
him on his
own terms.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 2.
B. C. 39.

Under these circumstances the triumvirs turned all their thoughts to the suppression of Pompey. Their cavalry could have trampled him down; the tenth part of their legions was fit to overwhelm him; but they wanted power to cope with him at sea, to assail his strongholds, or even to approach them. To provide instruments for such a war, heavy taxes were imposed on the score of ship-money. The Romans, scarcely able to purchase bread, murmured against these new burthens. In the games of the Circus, the pageant of Neptune, with his controuling trident, reminded them of the

⁸² Appian de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 15. & seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 375. & seq.

aval ascendancy of Pompey; who had assumed that emblem of maritime sway, and thrown aside the imperial purple to cloath himself in a sea-green vestment. The spirit of sedition spread from the citizens to the soldiers. The statues of Octavius and Antony were thrown down; even their lives were in danger: and, as mutinies in their respective armies had recently reconciled the triumvirs with each other, a general insurrection of the people now produced the reconciliation of both with Pompey. Shortly before this time, Pompey, as we have seen, had done good offices to Antony; and Octavius, fearful that these might terminate in an alliance between them to his own prejudice, had concerted with Mæcenæ the means of defeating such a project. For this purpose he sent back Clodia, whom he had betrothed, the daughter of Antony's wife, by her first husband Clodius, and married Scribonia, sister of Scribonius Libo, father-in-law to Pompey, thereby creating suspicions between his rivals, and conciliating Pompey to himself. In conformity with the public will, and with minds not altogether hostile, the three chiefs met on the coast of Campania, and held repeated conferences at Puteoli and Misenum; the triumvirs, attended by their respective legions, and Pompey by his fleet. At the last of these meetings, all differences were done away. Pompey, in addition to the territories which he held, was to obtain possession of Achaia, a name then comprehending the greater part of Greece; the exiles under his protection were to regain their country, and the fourth part of their forfeited property. In return, he promised to restore freedom to navigation, and to supply Rome with corn. In making this arrangement, the parties met on a platform erected on piles in the sea, and communicating on one hand with the shore, and on the other with Pompey's galley. The news of a final adjustment was received with acclamations from a vast crowd of spectators, who rejoiced in the restoration of public tranquillity, and warmly sympathized with the embraces of those friends, who being ranged on opposite sides

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in the civil war, had long been debarred from the sight of each other. The chiefs mutually exchanged invitations to celebrate the feast of peace; and agreed to decide by lot which of them should give the first entertainment. Fortune favoured Pompey; who, at receiving his guests on board, said briskly, this ship is now my *Carinæ*, alluding to his father's house⁸³ in Rome, actually the property of Antony. Before the entertainment closed, Menas above-mentioned, as the boldest of Pompey's captains, whispered in his ear, let me cut the cable, and your rivals are no more. Pompey replied; "this might have been done without consulting me, but my faith must remain sacred, I cannot violate hospitality⁸⁴."

Peace in the
West—Ven-
tidius defeats
the Parthi-
ans.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 2.
B. C. 39.

After the adjustment of some lesser matters, particularly Pompey's share in the nomination of consuls and other magistrates, long become merely titular honours, that chief now at once the admiral and purveyor of the commonwealth, sailed towards Sicily; while Octavius and Antony returned to Rome, where, united by the conciliating virtues of Octavia, they conducted public affairs with great harmony. During upwards of twelve months spent in this manner by the triumvirs, there were petty wars among the vallies of the Pyrenees, and in Dalmatia; and Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant, delivered the eastern provinces from the Parthians. Flushed with their past success, the invading cavalry ventured to fight twice on unfavourable ground, first among the ridges of Taurus that overhang Cilicia, and next at the Syrian gates. They were defeated on both occasions with great slaughter; and the Parthian retreats being as sudden as their attacks, Pacorus hastened across the Euphrates with the remains of his discomfited army: Labienus, his coadjutor, was made prisoner, and perished obscurely in the hands of the enemy⁸⁵.

⁸³ It stood in a street of Rome called *Carinæ*. Varro. de Ling. Latin. l. iv. c. 8. Horace 1 Epist. vii. v. 48.

⁸⁴ Dion Cassius ubi supra. Plutarch in Anton.

⁸⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 380. & seq.

Antony

Antony meanwhile crossed the Hadriatic to govern in person that division of the empire peculiarly belonging to him. He was accompanied by Octavia to Athens, where he received the news of Ventidius' victories. Such intelligence, at a place which had been the scene of former follies, and among a people so well calculated to encourage and heighten them, overset the lightness of his mind: he resumed his character of Bacchus, in which he again committed every extravagance: at the same time he levied contributions on Achaia; and, on the ground of arrears due to him, refused, before their entire liquidation, to surrender the province, as in compact bound, to Pompey. This chief happened also to be set at variance with Octavius. The latter, before his twenty-fourth year, had in his matrimonial connections been twice guided by interest. To cement his friendship with Antony, he had betrothed Clodia: to divert the hostility of Pompey, he had married Scribonia. But in his choice of a third partner of his bed (though Scribonia had born to him a daughter named Julia, afterwards so famous for her gallantries and her misfortunes), he was guided by inclination only. Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, and the wife of Tiberius Nero; both of them declared adversaries to the Cæsarian party, and the latter of whom had returned to Rome only in consequence of the indemnity recently granted to exiles. Livia had already born her elder son Tiberius, destined to empire, and was six months pregnant of his brother Drusus. With the consent of her husband, Octavius espoused Livia; and to make way for this connubial tie, which on his part lasted in kindness and confidence through life, repudiated Scribonia, the kinswoman of Pompey⁸⁶. Besides this cause of disgust, the compact between these chiefs was ill observed on either side: Sicilian cruizers still retained lurking places on the coast of Italy: the foreign traffic of Rome, particularly the importation of corn, was still subject to interruptions; some pirates who were

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Antony's
follies—
animosities
between
Octavius and
Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 3.
B. C. 38.

⁸⁶ Sueton. in August. c. 62. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 10.

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taken denounced Pompey as their abettor; and the revolt of Menas brought growing animosities to a crisis. This man probably judged his master unfit for empire, from the time that he was hindered by him from cutting the cable, and making Antony and Octavius his prisoners. Whatever might be his motive, whether this or some new displeasure, or merely the capricious perfidy of his nature, he certainly brought over to Octavius the island of Sardinia and a fleet of sixty gallies⁹⁷. His enormity could not be extenuated; but restitution was demanded in vain, though no end had been formally put to the late compact. Ever since that transaction Octavius had strenuously exerted himself for the increase of his force by sea as well as land. The accession brought to his fleet by Menas, seemed to put him in a situation to invade and conquer Sicily.

War of three
years be-
tween them.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 3—
clxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 38—
36.

In this manner a war, chiefly naval, was kindled and carried on three years with many vicissitudes of fortune. In the course of it Menas twice revolted, once to Pompey and again back to Octavius. The first object of the triumvir was to bring round to Rhegium, or the Straits of Messina, his squadrons that had been equipped in the harbours of Tuscany and Magna Græcia. Pompey's army bore no proportion to his own. The only difficulty was to land on the island. This required many transports, and the protection of numerous gallies. In the attempt to assemble a sufficient force at Rhegium, various actions were fought, in which Pompey and his Greek captains generally prevailed, notwithstanding the defection of Menas, who signalized his skill and prowess on the side of the enemy. The losses sustained by Octavius, both in the battle and by shipwreck, required the labour of more than a twelvemonth to repair. Many thousands of slaves were manumitted, and carefully trained to the labour of the oar; and as much inconvenience had arisen from the want of a secure retreat for ships on the coast of Campania, Agrippa, who delighted in works at once magnificent and useful,

⁹⁷ Dion, Appian, Orosius, l. vi. c. 18.

formed the Julian harbour, by uniting the bay of Baiæ with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, thus converted into secure basins⁸⁸. At the same time Antony, whose assistance had been repeatedly craved by his colleague, landed at Brundisium, and having received two legions for his Parthian expedition, of the ill success of which we shall speak hereafter, reinforced Octavius' fleet with an hundred gallies. Lepidus also, still a nominal sharer in the triumvirate, was required to co-operate in the warfare; and obeyed the more willingly, because Pompey's cruisers had recently infested his government, the Roman province of Africa. It was determined, therefore, that Sicily should be invaded at once on its three sides: on the shore nearest Africa by Lepidus; on the eastern coast by Statilius Taurus; and on the northern by Agrippa. The last named commander gained a sea-fight near Mylæ, where the tide of success was completely turned against Pompey, and thirty of his ships were destroyed. Lepidus made a descent in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum: Octavius attended in person the landing of part of his forces on the shore of Taurominium. Through the movements which followed, Pompey was driven towards Messina, at the northern corner of the island. In this neighbourhood his whole force was assembled, except a detachment under Plennius, which had ineffectually guarded the coast of Lilybæum against Lepidus.

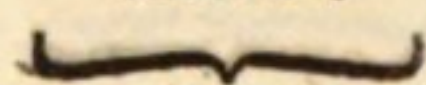
Being in danger from an enemy far superior by land, Pompey challenged Octavius to a sea-fight. The challenge was accepted, it is said, through shame, though the battle was fought on both sides by proxies; Agrippa on that of Octavius, Demochares on that of Pompey. The scene appointed for the combat was the bay of Naulochus, between the promontory of Phalacrum and that of Mylæ. Six hundred gallies engaged; the two admirals were equally zealous, but they were very differently seconded by the captains serving under them; and the battle is chiefly memorable for the very inef-

Sea-fight in
the bay of
Naulochus.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 36.

⁸⁸ Dion Cassius, Appian. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cxxiii.

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ficacious resistance on the part of a fleet which had long rode the seas in triumph. Agrippa lost only three ships; whereas the whole of Pompey's gallies, except only seventeen that fled towards Messina in the beginning of the action, were stranded, sunk, burnt, or captured⁸⁹. The sea-fight was beheld from the hostile encampments near Naulochus. Pompey escaped from that place, without leaving orders for his army, and hastened to Messina, where embarking in a vessel provided for him, he sailed to Mitylene in Lesbos, an island much indebted, as we have seen, to his father. He had himself resided in it in his youth; and from thence, twelve years before this period, had been carried after the battle of Pharsalia, to witness, as above mentioned, his father's cruel murder at sea, near the coast of Pelusium.

Octavius sole
master in the
West.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. r.
B. C. 36.

Pompey's forces in Naulochus being in haste to surrender on terms, Plennius' detachment came too late from Lilybæum to be included in the capitulation. Plennius therefore threw himself for safety, with seven legions, into Messina. Agrippa, with part of his fleet, occupied the harbour; Lepidus was at hand with the whole army which he had brought from Africa; Octavius was necessarily detained at Naulochus. Under these circumstances, Lepidus, notwithstanding remonstrances from Agrippa, who desired him to wait Octavius' arrival, received the submissions of Plennius, and thus incorporated that general's legions with his own. The great military force, of which he saw himself the master, inspired Lepidus, long the most obsequious of men, with a sudden fit of ambition⁹⁰. He insisted that Sicily should be annexed to his own province of Africa, as both united were nothing more than an equivalent for Spain, which had been unfairly withheld from him. In urging such a pretension, Lepidus reckoned on the affections of his troops, which he had endeavoured to secure by allowing them to plunder Messina. His error was fatal to him. Armies were now become deliberative

⁸⁹ Appian, Dion, Orosius, l. vi. c. 18.

⁹⁰ Velleius, l. ii. c. 80. Sueton. in August. c. 16.

bodies,

bodies, they calculated remote consequences, and upon a fair comparison of the rivals, sent a deputation to Octavius, begging to know whether Lepidus should be made prisoner, or immediately put to death. Octavius only deposed the unhappy man from his authority⁹¹, and allowed him to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards in an obscurity suiting the mediocrity of his talents, after holding nominally a third share, for the space of seven years, in the dominion of the Roman world. Statilius Taurus was sent to replace him in Africa. Through the degradation of this contemptible colleague, Octavius became all powerful in the western part of the empire: besides his victorious fleet, amounting to 800 ships of war, he was at the head of 37,000 light-armed troops, 25,000 horse, and forty-five legions. Success, both by sea and land, sanctioned all his measures; and, at his return to Rome, he chose or rejected at pleasure among the innumerable honours that were offered to him⁹².

⁹¹ Appian, l. v. c. 124. & seq. Dion, l. xlix. in Prefat. vers. fin. p. 398. & seq. Senec. Nat. Question. l. iv. ⁹² Appian, Dion, Sueton. Oros. ubi supra.

CHAPTER XXX.

Successes of Antony's Lieutenants. — Extinction of the Asmonæan Dynasty. — Antony's upstart Kings. — Tragic Events in Parthia. — Antony's Parthian Expedition. — Projects and Death of Sextus Pompey. — Octavius' able Management. — His Military Expeditions. — Antony's Invasion of Armenia. — His extravagant Proceedings. — Battle of Actium. — General Submission to Octavius. — He invades Egypt. — Death of Antony and Cleopatra. — Confirmed Dominion of Augustus. — Reflections on the Ruin of the Greek Kingdoms — And Greek Commonwealths in their Neighbourhood.

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Follies of
Antony—
his lieute-
nant Venti-
dius defeats
the Par-
thians.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 2.
B. C. 39.

DURING Octavius' war of three years with Sextus Pompey, Antony had been kept on good terms with his colleague, through the winning virtues of Octavia, sister to the one triumvir, and wife to the other. The greater part of this time he had spent in Athens, never revisiting Alexandria, the scene of former follies. He delighted in the amusements and licence of great cities, and the better to enjoy them would divest himself of imperial ensigns and cumbersome attendance, but again relapse capriciously into the most extravagant ostentation; assume the character of Bacchus, and, under the protection of that disguise, give free scope to the wildest suggestions of pride, anger, or voluptuousness'. In such a mad career he was enabled to indulge, without totally ruining his affairs, through the conspicuous successes of his lieutenants. Ventidius, in particular, after repelling the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, set himself to repair the effects of their invasion; but before his work was complete, and he had either fortified weakness or conciliated disaffection,

' Plutarch in Anton.

he was threatened with a new and more formidable irruption, again headed by Pacorus. To obtain time for mustering his forces and for inspiring confidence into the provincials, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Pretending to fear lest the Parthians, instead of passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, where the country was hilly and unfavourable to their cavalry, should descend the eastern bank of the river, and pour their resistless squadrons into the opposite plain, he was careful to intimate this apprehension to Channan, a man of authority in Syria, and who, he well knew, secretly corresponded with the enemy. Channan apprised the Parthians of what Ventidius affected to fear, and which, accordingly, was what they determined to carry into execution. The delay, occasioned by a long circuitous march, and the construction of a new bridge over a far broader part of the river, afforded time for assembling the flower of the legions and of their auxiliaries in the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, the most warlike in the province. The Parthians crossed the Euphrates unopposed; advanced without meeting an antagonist; and emboldened by the apparent reluctance of the Romans to encounter them, entered the Cyrrhistic region in full confidence of victory. But Pacorus, at the head of his cataphracts having ventured to attack Ventidius' encampment, was slain in a sudden irruption of the Romans, as efficacious as it was unexpected. A fierce combat ensued around the dead body of the royal general. The Parthians were defeated with great slaughter; those of them who fled towards their newly constructed bridge, were intercepted, and put to the sword: a remnant of their mighty host found refuge with Antiochus of Commagene in his strong capital Samosata². While Ventidius marched thither to demand the fugitives as his slaves, the head of Pacorus was carried in solemn procession round the cities of Syria and Lesser Asia. This was not done through ostentation merely.

² Conf. Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 404. & seq. Appian, l. v. c. 65. & seq. Eutropius, Orosius.

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On the western side of the Euphrates, Pacorus enjoyed the praise of justice and clemency, not less than of valour; by the most certain evidence of his death, it seemed necessary to destroy any hopes which the disaffected to Rome might yet entertain from the protection of his virtues³.

Antony in
the East—
Samofata
ransomed.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 3.
B. C. 38.

Antony, having received accounts at Athens of the first successes of Ventidius, hastily left that city to eclipse the glory of his exploits. Before he landed in Asia, he learned the death of Pacorus; and soon afterwards being informed that Ventidius had laid siege to Samofata, he dispatched orders that no capitulation should be granted, until he appeared in person before the place. He arrived; surveyed the strength of Samofata: the besiegers were ill pleased at being checked in their operations; they were offended by the mean jealousy which Antony shewed of his lieutenant; and the triumvir being eager to revisit Athens and Octavia, with whose beauty he was at this time captivated, entered into a hasty composition with Antiochus, and allowed him to ransom his capital for 300 talents. The soldiers affirmed, that Ventidius had been offered a thousand; any complaints, however, on the part of that general, were prevented by his immediate dismissal to Rome, to enjoy the honours of a triumph. He had slain Pacorus on the 9th of June, the anniversary of the Vestalia, precisely fourteen years after the defeat of Crassus, and he triumphed at the distance of half a century from his first entrance into Rome among other captives attending the car of Pompeius Strabo, at the conclusion of the Marfic war⁴.

Extinction of
the Asmo-
nean dy-
nasty in
Palestine.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 4.
B. C. 37.

While Antony resumed his wild amusements at Athens, his lieutenants continued successful in many parts of the empire. They quelled insurrections among the Illyrians and Thracians, nations always ready for rebellion; they rivalled the victories of the Great Pompey in Iberia and Albania; and Sosius having succeeded to Ventidius in the government of Syria and Cilicia, completed in those

³ Dion, *ibid.* ⁴ Conf. Dion. *ubi supra.* Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 43. Aulus-Gellius, l. xv. c. 4.

provinces the work of his predecessor, and cleared them of Parthian partisans⁵. Of these partisans the most considerable had been Antigonus, king of the Jews, a title abolished, as we have seen, by Pompey, but which Antony had revived in favour of Herod, a man related to the royal line only by marriage, and the son of Antipas, an Idumæan, of whose merits with Julius Cæsar we have before made mention⁶. Upon the last total defeat of the Parthians, Antigonus, whom they had lately reinstated in his birthright, made an obstinate resistance in Jerusalem, followed by a most abject submission. At the instigation of Herod, he was executed like the vilest malefactor, by the rods and ax of a Roman licitor⁷. In this unhappy prince ended the illustrious Asmonæan dynasty, after subsisting 129 years, if dated from the command assumed by Judas Macabæus; and 126 years, if dated from the peace granted to the Jews as an independent nation by Antiochus Eupator⁸.

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About this time other nominal kingdoms were erected, for Antony was lavish of the royal title, through a capricious generosity to the instruments of his rapacity, or of his pleasures. Thus Amyntas, who had been a clerk in the service of Dejotarus, was declared king of Galatia; and Archelaus became king of Cappadocia, through the credit of his mother Glaphyrè, a noted courtesan; while Darius, a reputed descendent of Mithridates, and Polemon, the son of a Greek rhetorician of Loadicæa, were adorned with the same magnificent appellation, and respectively set over Pontus and Cilicia⁹: they were the most expert and merciless collectors that the rapacious triumvir could employ.

Antony's
upstart
kings.

Having committed the affairs of Asia to his lieutenants and tributary kings, Antony sailed from Greece into Italy, and sealed his last friendly transaction with Octavius, by lending him, as we have seen,

Tragic
events in
Parthia.
Olymp.
clxxxv. 3, 4.
B. C. 38. 37.

⁵ Dion, l. xlix. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 27.

⁸ Josephus Antiq. l. xix. c. 28.

⁶ See above, c. xxviii.

⁹ Plutarch in Anton. Conf. Dion. l. xlix.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. & de Bell. p. 411.
Jud. l. i. c. 13.

a powerful

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a powerful fleet to be employed against Sextus Pompey and Sicily. In the course of this visit to the seat of empire, intelligence from Syria required his presence in that country. Orodes, king of Parthia, had been supplanted by his son Phrahaes, a fierce and crafty tyrant. The circumstances were deemed peculiarly tragical, even in the barbarous court of Parthia. Orodes, in the extremity of old age, had shewn himself inconsolable¹⁰ for the loss of his son Pacorus, whom he had long destined for his successor, and by whom chiefly he had administered the government. His grief first appeared in a lethargic insensibility to every object around him; and when he roused from his stupor, it was only to invoke the name of his beloved Pacorus, to address the dumb phantom ever present to his fancy, and then melt into tears of unutterable anguish. The interests of the crown required, however, that some one among his remaining sons should be named to wear it. He had thirty of them by different women, of whom those born to him by females of the house of Seleucus, seemed from their maternal splendour the best entitled to empire. Careless in his present state of mind, of examining into nicer pretensions, he raised his eldest son to the throne, under the name of Phrahaes IV. This tyrant quickly sacrificed his brothers to his resentment, and his aged father to his impatience of reproach. Even a son of his own, because on the verge of manhood, was the victim of his jealousy. He determined that none of the royal line should live, on whose head the Surena might presume to place the diadem. It should seem that this high office was then held by Monæses. He is called the chief of the Parthian nobles; and having fled with many persons of high quality into Syria, Phrahaes spared no pains to procure his return¹¹. The kings of Parthia were held lawful only when crowned by the Surena, and their government was always more firm when sanctioned by the concurrence of that magistrate.

¹⁰ Justin, l. xlii. c. 4.

¹¹ Plutarch in Anton. Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 406.

Antony having left in Rome Octavia, who had already born to him two daughters, and was now in an advanced state of pregnancy, hastened to the field of glory which called him, purposing, amidst the distractions in Parthia, to execute his long meditated revenge. But with his congenial inconsistency, he had sent before him his elegant¹² friend Fonteius Capito, to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Her meeting with Antony gratified strong passions on both sides: the lover had the person of his mistress, and the mistress had the grant of new territories in Syria and Cilicia, in Crete and Cyrenè. Herod was in danger of losing by her his newly acquired kingdom; he yielded a part, and ransomed the remainder by large sums of money. In idle dalliance with Cleopatra, Antony consumed the most precious of all possessions, time. The Parthians had leisure to assume a posture of defence; and Monæses, foreseeing nothing but ruin under so imprudent a leader, at length accepted the conditions of reconciliation offered him by Phraates. Antony permitted his return, and even sent ambassadors along with him, hoping to deceive Phraates by the proposal of a treaty. Meanwhile, with an army of 80,000 foot, and nearly 20,000 horse, he prepared to pass the Euphrates; but found the left bank of that river strongly guarded. His unseasonable delay in Syria had enabled the enemy to take this precaution; and Antony being as eager to return to Cleopatra as he had reluctantly parted from her, hastened to achieve some splendid enterprise. Phraates headed his forces in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, accompanied by the hereditary satrap, or king of the Lesser Media. This satrapy, well known to the readers of the present history, contained an important stronghold, called Praaspa, situate three hundred miles beyond the Araxes¹³, an hundred miles

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Antony's
Parthian ex-
pedition.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 36.

¹² Ad unguem factus homo.

Horace.

¹³ The Araxes was considered as the boundary between Armenia and this Lesser Media, otherwise called Media Atrapatena.

Antony's Parthian expedition is strangely perplexed in our Roman histories, the latest of which confound the Lesser Armenia with the Greater, and the Greater Armenia with Media.

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south of the Caspian sea, and nearly as many due west from the Caspian Gates. If Antony should surprize Praaspa, furnished with a treasury, with magazines and arsenals, he would not only possess himself of a prize most valuable in itself, but attain a favourable situation for invading, next campaign, the southern or Greater Media, the largest and finest province in the Parthian empire. Towards carrying into execution this design²⁴, he reckoned on the zealous co-operation of Artuafdes, king of Armenia, the old and hereditary ally of the Romans, and then actually at variance with the king of the northern or Lesser Media, who happened to bear the same name with himself. Antony accordingly proceeded by forced marches into Armenia. The king promised him, besides other assistance, a reinforcement of 16,000 cavalry. Thus assured, he hastened through Armenia, crossed the Araxes into northern Media, and in the hope of gaining Praaspa by surprize, left his heavy engines to follow under Oppius Statianus.

He besieges
Praaspa.

But rapidity formed the characteristic of Parthian warfare. Phra-hates had come in force into northern Media. Statianus, with his escort of two legions, were surrounded, attacked, and entirely cut off. Upon the first alarm of their danger, Antony returned with a detachment to support them, leaving his main army before Praaspa. He found the field strewed with their dead bodies; no enemy was in sight: nor had the king of Armenia advanced with his promised reinforcement. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Antony persisted in his design of making himself master of Praaspa, and, having assaulted it without success, began the siege in form, and persevered with obstinacy in the undertaking, until his foragers had exhausted all the neighbouring country. When reduced to the necessity of spreading themselves widely in search of food, they were surprized and many of them cut to pieces by the Parthians. Antony sent out stronger parties: on one occasion he came to a fort

²⁴ Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 407. & seq.

of general engagement with the enemy, and drove them apparently into such complete rout as flattered him with the belief of an important and decisive victory. But, on examining the result of the action, he found only fourscore Parthians slain, and thirty made prisoners. This battle being fought at a considerable distance from Praaspa, the garrison made a vigorous sally, and produced great ruin among the works of the besiegers.

The increasing difficulty in point of supplies, especially as winter approached, made it necessary to think of a retreat. An embassy was sent to Phraates, who received it in the field, (for the imperial city Ecbatana was six days journey from Praaspa,) seated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bent bow. He reproached the Romans with great bitterness, but, provided they ceased from hostilities, intimated his permission for them to depart unmolested. This, however, was far from his intention. The siege was no sooner raised, and the march begun towards Armenia and the Araxes, than the Parthians were in motion to harass the legions in flank and rear, to obstruct every difficult passage, to remove all corn and cattle, and to destroy, as much as possible, every supply of fresh water. Under these distressing circumstances, the Romans pursued a march of twenty-seven days to the Araxes, at the rate of fourteen miles daily; during which time they fought eighteen battles with the enemy, and lost above the fourth part of their army. Upon arriving in Armenia, Antony thought fit to dissemble his resentment against Artabases, to whose want of co-operation he chiefly ascribed his disasters. He needed this king's good offices towards facilitating his return into Syria, which he immediately undertook, though the districts in Armenia, through which he had to pass, were then thickly covered with ice, and the cold was peculiarly destructive to his wounded soldiers. Eight thousand of them are said to have perished in this unseasonable and hasty march, at the end of which, Antony, after braving every fatigue, and danger, and disgrace, met Cleopatra, at a place

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The siege
raised—dis-
astrous re-
treat of the
Romans.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 1.
B. C. 36.

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Bold designs
of Sextus
Pompey.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 35.

called Leucocomè, on the coast of Phœnicia, and returned with her to Alexandria, to dissipate his uneasy reflections, amidst the shew and riot of that voluptuous capital¹⁵.

How far this disastrous expedition had shaken his authority in Asia, appeared from an important transaction that almost immediately ensued. Sextus Pompey, after the battle of Naulochus, escaped, as we have seen, to Lesbos, an island with which he was connected in hereditary friendship. Momentous concerns, that will be explained presently, occupied Octavius, and prevented him from farther molesting a dispossessed and seemingly ruined adversary. But Pompey had carried with him considerable treasures from Sicily: he had been joined at Lesbos by the remnant of his discomfited fleet; with this he had been successful in his old trade of piracy: he had the merit of good offices with Antony; he had still the means of being useful to him; and, amidst the Parthian expedition, had sent to solicit that triumvir's friendship, and to promise a hearty co-operation in all his views. But, upon learning the complete miscarriage of Antony at Praaspa, and his disastrous retreat into Syria, Pompey conceived loftier projects. The name of his father still sounded high in that and the neighbouring provinces. Many Romans, settled in the East, owed their establishment to the conqueror of Mithridates. The soldiers, who had served under that conqueror, viewed with partial favour the last remnant of his family; a family still dear to the Roman people. Actuated by such considerations, and stimulated by the natural audacity of his character, Pompey increased his shipping, hired troops, and, instead of becoming an auxiliary to Antony, embraced measures for supplanting his power. The design was carried on with the craftiness of a corsair mingled with the arts of a politician, who had long stood at the head of a party. Pompey's agents were busy among the Parthians, the most formidable enemies to Rome; among the Armenians, whose king had recently

¹⁵ Plutarch in Anton. Dion Cassius ubi supra.

betrayed the interests of the triumvir; among the Thracians and Illyrians, nations ever turbulent and disaffected. Notwithstanding all this, he continued to negotiate with Antony, and endeavoured even to dispel his alarms, after the emissaries had been seized and detected whom he had clandestinely sent to the Parthians. During these proceedings, the slave of Cleopatra still lingered in Alexandria, dissolved in sloth and pleasure. Titius, however, one of his lieutenants, was at length sent from that city, to make head against Pompey. He conducted for this purpose a great fleet from Egypt, and had orders to reinforce the soldiers serving on board it from the legions in Syria. Pompey, by this time, had collected his squadrons in the narrow seas, and had made himself master of the harbours of Lampacus on the Hellespont, and Nicomedia on the Propontis. He had penetrated with three legions into the inland parts of Bithynia, and gained its ancient capital Nicæa, on the lake Ascanius. Furnius, proconsul in the neighbouring province of Pergamus, had opposed him ineffectually, and suffered a considerable defeat. Thus victorious by land, Pompey flattered himself with still more brilliant success on the element which had so long been propitious to him.

But, from these high hopes, though his army had much augmented in consequence of his victory over Furnius, an unexpected occurrence precipitated him into one of those fits of despondency to which he had become subject through his many and cruel reverses of fortune. Titius had scarcely arrived in the Propontis with 120 sail, when he was joined in that sea by the fleet of nearly equal strength, which Antony, as formerly mentioned, had lent to Octavius. At sight of this combined armament, Pompey, in despair of combating it, set fire to his own ships. This frantic action caused the desertion of all his best friends, even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo. While they surrendered to the enemy, Pompey, with the forces which still adhered to him, purposed to fly into Armenia, but being intercepted on that side, directed his course to the sea coast, in hopes, it

Their failure
—his death.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 35.

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Octavius'
able ma-
nagement.
Olymp.
clxxxvi. 2.
B. C. 35.

is said, of surprising and burning Titius' fleet. He was pursued by that commander, by Furnius, and by Amyntas the newly made king of Galatia. Having fallen into the hands of this upstart, he was surrendered to Titius, and by him put to death at Miletus¹⁶.

During all this time, no open breach had taken place between Antony and his more prudent colleague. Octavius even dissembled at Rome the disasters in the Parthian war, and caused public rejoicings for the defeat and death of Sextus Pompeius¹⁷, whom he affected to represent as a very formidable enemy. By the expulsion of that chief from Sicily, and the deposition of Lepidus, he had obtained, in the preceding year, undivided sovereignty in the West. The main danger to his government arose from the difficulty of managing his own instruments, consisting, (besides a fleet of six hundred sail which from the humble pretensions of ancient seamen occasioned to him no trouble), of forty-five legions, with sixty thousand light armed troops or cavalry. This great military force, which, though many legions were incomplete, exceeded 250,000 men, had been raised on different occasions, and served under different generals, most fighting for usurped power, some in the cause of the republic. The troops themselves consisted of various nations; Italians, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans: they were persons also of various conditions; Roman citizens, provincials, freedmen, and innumerable slaves; for all sorts of recruits had been accepted in times of relentless civil war. Before leaving Sicily, Octavius dismissed, with donatives, from this body about 20,000 veterans, the boldest in their pretensions, and the most sensible of their power to dispose of the empire¹⁸. At his return into Italy, he purged the

¹⁶ Appian, l. v. c. 122. & seq. Dion, l. xlix. p. 402. & seq. In this transaction, Antony incurred much blame for his cruel orders, and Titius, for his forwardness in executing them, was, many years afterwards, obstructed in his design, of celebrating games in the theatre of the great Pom-

pey; and under the necessity of sinking in disgrace from a solemnity, of which he defrayed the whole expence. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 79.

¹⁷ Dion. l. xlix. p. 403.

¹⁸ Appian, Dion, Orosius.

army of another corrupt ingredient, if not the ablest to lead, yet the most likely to follow, in any scheme of sedition. The slaves serving in it were to be secured, and all such as were claimed, to be restored to their masters¹⁹. As slaves exercising arts and manufactures constituted, in ancient times, the most important description of personal property, this reform benefited, in another view, the great designs which Octavius entertained, and which, thenceforward, he prosecuted with incomparable ability. Through his influence with his uncle's army, he had trampled on liberty and property. He now began to express extraordinary zeal for both: to re-establish and support the distinctions of civil rank; to maintain the inexorable impartiality of law; and to cherish peaceful industry. Comparing the calm, enjoyed under his administration, with the tempests immediately preceding it, the servile adulation of the Romans was converted into heartfelt praise; and both in the capital, and over the whole country, his effigy was worshipped among other most revered idols of tutelary gods. No usurper, indeed, ever shewed more dexterity than Octavius, before he had completed his 29th year, in conciliating the interests of the public with those of his personal ambition. By convening the senate and people, and complying with the forms, and even with the spirit, of a legal constitution in all matters of private justice, he raised up a majestic and marvellous machinery, fitted alike for attack or defence. Having conquered law by the sword, he now, by the bare image of law, controuled and overawed his army. To uphold this delicate fabric was his great subsequent employment, and the skill with which he performed it, constitutes the merit of a reign, next to that of Alexander, the most glorious in history. The army was cleared of those parts which had a tendency to contaminate or inflame it, but not materially lessened in point of strength. This could not be done with safety, either to the empire, or to him who

¹⁹ This business was executed with much different legions, and opened, all of them, caution. Sealed orders were sent to the on the same day.

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now aspired to become its sole master; for if Octavius, when he assumed the name of Cæsar, was checked by many formidable obstructions in his hope of succeeding to Cæsar's power, the lofty undertaking was about this time brought clearly within his reach, through the follies and vices of Antony; his own increasing fame and now maturer age; the uniform success attending him, contrasted with the recent disasters of his colleague; above all, the happy choice of friends, by whom he was seconded with equal zeal and ability.

His military
expeditions.
Olymp.
clxxxvj. 2, 3.
B. C. 35, 34.

The struggle was likely indeed to be a rude one; and the young Cæsar was careful to prepare himself, by keeping on foot a great army, and finding for it perpetual employment. Wars were successively planned against the shores of Africa and of Britain; and the legions moved, for these purposes respectively, into Sicily and Gaul. On each occasion Octavius put himself at their head; but neither expedition took place, being alike interrupted by events on the side of Illyricum. As the honour of the state was concerned in maintaining old conquests, rather than in achieving new ones, Octavius twice made war on the rugged and fierce nations inhabiting between the Hadriatic gulph and the Danube. Near the eastern shore of that gulph, he fought with the Dalmatians and Liburnians. He penetrated northwards into the woods of the Savi and Pannonians, who had infested, by bold incursions, the Illyrian dependancies of Rome. The stronghold of Siscia, situate at the conflux of the Save and the Culpa, was defended by those barbarians both by land and water; and the river combats are memorable for the death of Menas, formerly admiral under Sextus Pompey, and who now signalized his skill and valour in a humbler warfare, but under a far worthier master. He fell in a battle against the enemy's boats on the Save. Throughout the whole of these expeditions, Octavius' courage was conspicuous. He received many wounds through the fearless exposure of his person; and his firmness shewed itself convincingly in the obstinate contention with the Japydæ, the most stubborn people in

in Liburnia. At the siege of their chief stronghold Metulum, he was thrown down with the batteries which he had erected; but though dreadfully bruised in the ruin, he quickly renewed the assault, and made such determined exertions to prevail, that notwithstanding the presence of Agrippa, a general of renown equal to his merit, the resoluteness of Octavius is said chiefly to have contributed towards the encouragement of his own men, and the intimidation of the enemy. The defenders of Metulum surrendered, and received a garrison; but repenting speedily of their surrender, they flew in the night the whole garrison which they had admitted. After this unpardonable enormity, they destroyed their wives and children, set fire to their houses, and perished by their own hands; not one single prisoner consoled the avarice of the victors²⁰.

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Besides these Illyrian wars, which ended in most places by the reception of hostages, and the imposition of tribute, Octavius carried on others equally successful, by his lieutenants. About this time he received the submission (we know not through what general) of the Salassi or Savoyards, the hardiest mountaineers in the Alps; and shortly afterwards Crassus, son to the unfortunate triumvir of that name, triumphed over the Mæsiæ and Bastarnæ, powerful and fierce nations on the Danube.

Contemporary ones by his lieutenants.

But Octavius' success in arms was not to be his brightest glory. The fame of his policy far eclipsed his military achievements, whether in person or by his lieutenants. Upon his return into Italy, he was diligent in enacting equal laws and distributing impartial justice; and in the encouragement of every institution or usage which had a tendency to promote the wellbeing of the people, or encrease their enjoyments. His views were ably seconded by Mæcenas, a man who never reached any higher condition than that of a Roman knight, in which he was born; and by Agrippa, who, though he had commanded and conquered as consul, submitted, for the public benefit,

His policy and ministers.

²⁰ Dion, Appian.

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to accept and exercise the far inferior functions of edile; to exhibit popular shows, to improve in size or conveniency the resorts for public amusements, to repair the old aqueducts, or erect new ones. The clearing of the common shores, which had been neglected during the civil wars, was numbered among the noblest of his labours²¹. These works of the minister redounded to the honour of the master. Octavius reserved for his own peculiar largess, the establishment of a great library. It bore the name of his sister Octavia, and was intended by him to perpetuate the remembrance of that excellent woman, whose virtues would have been admired in the best ages of the republick²².

Antony invades Armenia, and makes captive king Artuafdes. Olymp. clxxxvi. 3. B. C. 34.

While Octavius and his coadjutors were acting like just and diligent stewards of the commonwealth, Antony displayed in the East all the mad extravagance of a despot. Polemon, the son of a Rhetorician, and one of his upstart kings, being made prisoner in the war against Phrahates the Parthian, and Artuafdes the Mede, had the address to recommend himself to the latter of these princes, and completely to gain his confidence. He returned to Antony in Alexandria; told him that the Mede had taken umbrage at the injustice of the Parthian, many of whose provinces were ripe for revolt; and that assistance of the offended Artuafdes would be ready in any future expedition against Phrahates, or in chastising the Armenian Artuafdes, whose perfidy had been so fatally experienced in the late warfare. Pleased with this intelligence, Antony quitted his scenes of disgraceful riot, and having repaid the services of Polemon with the grant of Lesser Armenia (a strip of land on the right bank of the Euphrates) he hastened to Nicopolis in that district. At this city, he stood on the frontier of the kingdom which he came to conquer; and, to avoid the fatigues which might attend him in the invasion of so strong a country as Armenia, descended to the base duplicity of inviting its king to join him in Nicopolis, that they

²¹ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

²² Dion. Conf. Plutarch in Marcello.

might

might seal their mutual friendship by a marriage between the daughter of that prince and one of his own sons by Cleopatra. When the Armenian, who had entered into a secret correspondence with Octavius, and who knew how indignant the Romans were at Antony's devotion to the queen of Egypt, declined obeying a summons intended merely to ensnare him, Antony invaded his country with a great army, advanced towards the capital, Artaxata, and by operating alternately on the hopes and fears of the king, gained possession of his person. With a whimsical kind of respect, he confined him in chains of gold; and in that state of captivity, carried him round the various castles and treasuries in Armenia, that he might exact contributions for his ransom. The commanders in many of these strongholds defended their walls with obstinacy; the Armenians flew to arms under Artaxias, a hereditary name, eldest son to Artuafdes; a fierce but short war ensued, in which Artaxias, being totally defeated, was compelled to fly into Parthia. Antony left his army in the kingdom which he had just conquered, and returned to enjoy a triumph in Alexandria, not inferior in magnificence to any ever celebrated in Rome. Artuafdes, with his wives and children, (for Artaxias alone escaped the victor's grasp,) were required to prostrate themselves in presence of Cleopatra. But the Armenian remembered that he was the son of Tigranes, the proudest king of the East; and scorned, for the sake of life, to prostitute his dignity. He and his whole family were condemned to close confinement, and destined to a future execution².

The wildness of Antony's proceedings, when made known at Rome, gave much concern to his friends, and filled with grief the dutiful though much injured Octavia. On the part of that admirable woman, the suggestions of personal pride were easily sacrificed to the quiet and safety of the empire. Having communicated the design to her brother, she determined to sail in quest of her husband,

His new designs on Parthia — Octavia repulsed by him. Olymp. clxxxvi. 4. B. C. 33.

² Dion, l. xlix. p. 411. & p. 415. & seq.

C H A P. carrying with her, besides other valued gifts, 2,000 pretorian guards,
 XXX. with which she meant to present him. Her letters from Athens
 found Antony in Syria, to which province he had proceeded early
 in the spring, that in concert with his ally Artuafdes the Mede, he
 might invade Parthia, again torn by a civil war. In return for her
 offered visit, Octavia was enjoined not to proceed farther, Antony
 being on his march against the Parthians. He also rejected her pre-
 sents. Thus repulsed, she returned to Rome. Her brother desired
 that she would take up her abode there with himself; but she con-
 tinued to live in the house of her husband, carefully watching over
 the education of his children by herself and by Fulvia; and serving
 by the utmost exertions of her interest such of his dependants as
 had favours to solicit in the capital; a conduct infinitely more
 hurtful to Antony with the public, than could have been all the just
 vehemence of reproach²⁴.

The Par-
 thian expe-
 dition pre-
 vented
 through
 Cleopatra's
 artifices.
 Olymp.
 clxxxvi. 4.
 B. C. 33.

Antony dis-
 members the
 empire in
 favour of
 Cleopatra

In the unworthy treatment of Octavia, his own capricious profligacy was exasperated by the artifices of Cleopatra, who had accompanied him into Syria. At the name of this virtuous wife, the royal harlot sickened. She was found often in tears, which she dried up hastily, as if anxious to conceal them. Startled at Antony's approach, she pined in languor at his departure: every semblance was put on of the deepest heartfelt love, and every contrivance was employed by her attendants to persuade the credulous voluptuary that his mistress' life was in danger. To prevent the threatened catastrophe, and dissipate the melancholy that might occasion it, the Parthian expedition was deferred; and the lovers returned to Alexandria, where Antony, in the character of the Grecian Bacchus, declared, in presence of a general assembly in the Gymnasium, his nuptials with the Egyptian Isis. A formal divorce was shortly afterwards sent to Octavia. Cleopatra, with Cæsarion, her son by Julius Cæsar, were invested with the kingdom of Egypt, to be en-

²⁴ Plutarch in Anton.

joyed in the utmost amplitude in which it had been held by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Of her sons born to himself, the elder Alexander, as destined to be king of Syria, appeared with the cloak and cap worn by the Seleucidæ; the younger Ptolemy, as destined to be king of Ariana or Parthia, was adorned by the Median robe and erect tiara, worn by the great kings of the East: for Antony affected not to entertain a doubt of his ability to subdue the Parthian empire, and to transmit that conquest to his posterity".

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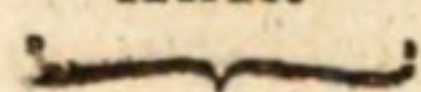
and her
progeny.

This solemnity, in which the dominions of Rome were dismembered in favour of a foreign queen and her adulterous progeny, completed the measure of Antony's insufferable outrages. The numerous friends, whom his long enjoyment of power still gave him in the capital, could not extenuate the enormity of his proceedings; they endeavoured to discredit or conceal them. Such was the mode of defence adopted by Ænobarbus and Sosius, then actually consuls, for Antony, as partner in the triumvirate, continued to exercise the right of conferring in turn all offices of magistracy. Sosius, not satisfied with denying the crimes charged on Antony, ventured to retaliate in accusations against Octavius: but the latter, having fixed a future day for proving the whole extent of his colleague's guilt before the senate, the consuls thought fit previously to quit Italy, and were followed by many adherents to the same desperate party. Shortly afterwards, Plancus, with his nephew Titius, escaped from Alexandria to Rome. Plancus, as we have seen, was one of Antony's earliest abettors; and Titius was the person recently employed by him, in the murder of Sextus Pompey. Both these men quitted the triumvir's service through disgust at his folly, and gave information of a most obnoxious transaction, which they had unitedly witnessed. This was Antony's testament, to which Plancus and Titius had affixed their names, and which, for the sake of security, had

His offensive
testament —
he is deposed
from the tri-
umviral
power, and
war declared
against Cleo-
patra.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 1.
B. C. 32.

* Dion, p. 416. Conf. Plutarch in Anton.

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been sent to Rome, and deposited with the vestal virgins²⁶. Antony desired that, wherever he happened to die, his body should be interred in Egypt; and, in many other clauses appeared to have totally divested himself of the feelings of a Roman citizen. It was thought fit, therefore, that his nomination to the office of consul should be annulled; that he should be deposed from his triumviral power; and that war should be solemnly declared, not, indeed, against himself, but against his queen and sovereign Cleopatra, the mistress who had enthralled his soul, the sorceress who had infatuated his understanding²⁷.

Antony
plunders
Armenia,
particularly
the district
Anaitis.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 1.
B. C. 32.

Octavius' grounds of quarrel with Antony were many and obvious. Antony complained in his turn, that Octavius had not sent back to him the whole number of ships that he had borrowed for his war against Sextus Pompey, and that he had not given him his share in the spoils, either of this conquered enemy, or of Lepidus their deposed colleague. But whatever secondary causes tended to inflame animosity, it appeared to actors and spectators through every part of the empire, that the original source of discord was the jealousy of ambition, and the necessity of deciding between the two sharers of the empire, which of them should be master of the whole²⁸. At the prospect of this inevitable warfare on the side of Europe, Antony, as if he had intended to secure every thing behind him in Asia, moved into his recent conquest Armenia, and on the banks of the Araxes confirmed his alliance with Artuafdes the Mede, by resigning to him part of Armenia, and taking in marriage his daughter Jotapè for Alexander the elder of his own sons by Cleopatra²⁹. As many eastern provinces belonging to the Parthian empire were still

²⁶ This deed was fraught with clauses more obnoxious than the destinations made in the late solemnity at Alexandria. Octavius desired much to possess himself of the original, although the secrecy of a testament was inviolable until the death of the testator: the vestals refused to resign their sacred deposit, intimating, however, to Cæsar, that he might come and take it. Plutarch in Anton. Conf. Sueton. in August.

²⁷ Dion, l. l. p. 421.

²⁸ Plutarch in Anton. Conf. Dion, p. 419.

²⁹ Dion, p. 418.

in a state of insurrection, the contracting parties had purposed to avail themselves of this crisis for overwhelming the tyrant Phra-
 hates IV. But news of Octavius' preparations made Antony hasten westward, after he had exchanged part of his infantry for some squadrons of the excellent cavalry, in which Artuafdes abounded. In his march through Armenia into Syria, his chief care was to collect money. Though the former country had submitted so completely that part of it had been bestowed by him on his Median ally, it was subjected to cruel exactions throughout, and the district Anaitis, containing the principal seat of Armenian commerce and superstition¹⁰, was a prey to military rapine. Even the golden statue of the goddess was broke in pieces, and its fragments tossed carelessly among the spoil¹¹.

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While he returned from the mountains of Armenia towards the Mediterranean coast, Antony sent orders to his lieutenants, and commanded the stipulated reinforcements from his tributary kings. Cleopatra needed not any summons. She met him in his progress into Lesser Asia, and undertook to assist him with 200 gallies, with 20,000 talents, and with corn to be conveyed by her transports for his whole army, wherever he might think fit to encamp. Accompanied by the queen of Egypt, he proceeded to Ephesus, which he had appointed for the rendezvous of his fleet: Canidius, the most favoured of his lieutenants, because the most subservient to the will of Cleopatra, was already in that neighbourhood at the head of sixteen legions¹².

Prepares to
 resist Octa-
 vius.

Meanwhile Octavius carried on his preparations judiciously and strenuously. The defeat of Sextus Pompey had raised his fleet to 500 stout gallies, which he equipped in the most perfect manner, especially careful to keep the rowers in perpetual exercise. His army, which had been swelled to 45 legions by the deposition of Lepidus,

Forces on
 either side.

¹⁰ See above, p. 673.

l. xii. p. 559.

¹¹ Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 4. Conf. Strabo,

¹² Plutarch in Anton.

but

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but which had been purged, as we have seen, from corrupt parts that threatened to infect the whole, may be computed at 200,000 men; of which nearly one half might be transported across the Hadriatic. Great as this force appears, it fell considerably short of Antony's³³; whose gallies, besides being more numerous, were of much superior rates, with five, seven, and ten tier of oars; and who had the means of still augmenting his fleet from a wider amplitude of populous coasts and sea-faring cities. His legionary troops amounted to 100,000; and the contingents to be furnished by his tributaries and vassals, probably exceeded that number. But the greatest advantage on the side of the eastern potentate, for in that light the triumvir may be viewed, was his boundless resources in money; and the facilities for rendering them available, afforded by the arbitrary maxims that had long prevailed in his part of the empire. His immense riches sufficed for every demand of the service by sea and land, and enabled him to transport large sums into Italy, for disturbing the government of his rival: whereas the greatest danger experienced by that rival flowed from the necessity of imposing a new war-tax: it consisted in a fourth part of the income of citizens by birth, and an eighth part of the property of freedmen worth 50,000 denarii, about 1,500l.³⁴ Such were the discontents excited by this heavy impost, that Italy might have been invaded in a state of distraction, amounting almost to civil war, had the supine negligence of Antony allowed him to profit by the crisis³⁵.

Antony's extravagant proceedings in Samos and Athens. Olymp. clxxxvii. 1. B. C. 32.

But from the moment that he was joined by Cleopatra, the approaching conflict with Octavius became a secondary concern. Legions and squadrons were indeed ordered to their respective destinations, but the master who was to employ them, fixed his voluptuous abode in the soft island of Samos, into which the new Bacchus,

³³ Dion, l. l. p. 422.

³⁴ A Denarius is equal to 7p. 3f.

³⁵ Plutarch in Anton. Conf. Dion, p. 424.

425.

husband

husband to the Egyptian Isis, collected only instruments of luxury and ministers of pleasure. While neighbouring coasts re-echoed the jarring sounds of military and naval preparation, this serene island breathed only soft amorous murmurs, or the nicely cadenced harmony of artists in the service of Bacchus. Instead of reviews and exercises of soldiers, or manœuvres and races of galleys, Samos exhibited religious shows and processions, intermixed with dramatic entertainments, and such frolicksome pastimes as are adapted to places of the greatest idleness, and seasons of the most secure peace³⁶. To supply the perpetual feasts accompanying the sacrifices, the most distant provinces were charged to contribute whatever they respectively produced most rare and costly; a mandate, imitating the despotic arrangements of Assyrian and Persian kings, whose tribes of courtly menials were subsisted at vast expence, by commodities transported to them from all parts of the empire³⁷. From Samos, Antony proceeded to Athens, where he only varied the form of his follies. In this city he had formerly resided with Octavia, who had received from the affections of the Athenians, those honours which every illustrious visitant derived from their flattery. But all preceding addresses of adulation were to be surpassed in the decrees presented to Cleopatra; of which her lover, in the character of an Athenian citizen, was the bearer.

From Athens, Antony was withdrawn by reports of hostile squadrons descried, it was said, near the isle of Corcyra. He failed towards that island, but finding the alarm to have been occasioned by a few galleys sent out on observation, moved for the remainder of winter to the antient Achæan city Patræ. Many of his ships had arrived in the neighbouring sea-ports of Peloponnesus. The legions under Canidius, reinforced by innumerable auxiliaries, had passed from Asia into Greece. As the season for naval operations approached, great part of the fleet and army assembled on the coast looking to-

Antony's
fleet and
army assem-
ble—de-
scription of
the Ambra-
cian gulph.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 2.
B. C. 31.

³⁶ Plutarch, *ibid.*

³⁷ See above, vol. i. p. 167.

wards

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wards Italy, where the territories of Epirus and Acarnania are divided by the *Ambracian* gulph; a name derived from Ambracia, a very ancient free city, afterwards more renowned as the capital of king Pyrrhus³⁸. This gulph, as it proceeds from the Ionian sea to the city Anaetorium, is scarcely half a mile broad: it then swells to a breadth of six miles; it again narrows at the temple Actium, also in Acarnania; and beyond Actium, expands to a breadth of ten miles, reaching thirty miles inland from the open sea, and twenty from Actium. The whole Ambracian gulph, therefore, consists of two bays, and two straits: the inner bay is separated from the outer by the strait near Actium, and the outer is separated from the Ionian sea by the strait near Anaetorium³⁹. Antony's plan of the war is not to be easily explained; it seems to have been equally capricious with all the rest of his proceedings. His fleet was gradually assembled within the interior bay: a stout squadron anchored in the strait of Actium; his land forces, part of which was yet expected, encamped in Acarnania, on the shore immediately contiguous to the station of his fleet. His position was ill-chosen in point of salubrity. The sides of the bay were marshy, and emitted pestilent vapours, by which both the fleet and army began to be great sufferers. Antony was seldom with either; he delayed to take the command in person, until the whole force should be collected; there was much relaxation in discipline; and the rowers in particular, a confluent from different nations generally pressed into the service, were indulged in the neglect of all healthy exercise, and thereby infected with every disease that indolence and profligacy can engender.

Octavius
crosses the
Hadriatic—
his post near
the enemy.

In this situation of the enemy, Octavius, whose fleets had been ordered to rendezvous at Brundisium and Tarentum, sent Agrippa

³⁸ Polyb. l. xxii. c. 13. Conf. l. iv. c. 61.

³⁹ Thucydides, l. i. p. 37. Polyb. l. iv. c. 63. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Scylax. From inattention to local circumstances the

historians of this battle are very obscure in their accounts both of the action itself and of the movements preceding it.

with

with some choice squadrons across the Hadriatic. This able commander made successful descents on the coasts of Peloponnesus; possessed himself of the convenient harbour of Methonè; and captured a large convoy of victuallers from Egypt and Syria, steering for the Ambracian gulph. Having shortly afterwards returned to his employer, it was determined that they should put to sea with their united armaments, to give battle to the enemy. They sailed with 260 nimble gallies, and the numerous transports requisite for the conveyance of 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and all that ingenious apparatus which the arts of civil life must supply for the service of war, when it is carried on with skill and energy. They arrived in the bay of Acroceraunus; and Octavius debarked on the same ground where his adoptive father had first landed, when he came to combat Pompey. The army marched southward towards the Ambracian gulph: the fleet coasted in the same direction; and in its way took possession of Corcyra, just abandoned by the enemy. Having proceeded within fifteen miles of the strait of Anaetorium, the squadrons first anchored in Glycys-limen⁴⁰, the sweet harbour, so named because its salt waters were freshened by boiling springs in the sea, and by the conflux of the rivers Acheron and Cocytus. But this station they soon quitted for one nearer the enemy, called the harbour of Comarus. This is a creek which verges towards the inner and wider bay, leaving an isthmus between them six miles broad. On this isthmus, Octavius encamped at a place afterwards called Nicopolis, directly opposite to Actium. The situation was dry and elevated, viewing on one hand the bays of Ambracia, and on the other, the open sea and the creek Comarus⁴¹. This creek, Octavius had leisure to join by fortifications with his camp, his infatuated adversary employing no means to prevent a very dangerous lodgement in his

⁴⁰ Strabo, l. vii. p. 324.

⁴¹ Dion Cassius, l. l. p. 426. Conf. the Ambracian gulph made by the Venetians. D'Anville Mem. de L'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. vol. xxxii. p. 513. His in-

formation is chiefly derived from a map of

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neighbourhood. To keep on the defensive seems to have been his sole object. His fleet commanded the strait of Actium: he had raised strongholds on both sides; and this strait, or rather the swelling inner bay behind it, was interposed between his camp and that of the enemy. In such situations both parties continued during the remainder of summer, the events which happened in the interval, being greatly unfavourable to Antony. The harbours, to which he trusted for supplies, were seized by Agrippa; his officers were defeated in partial encounters by sea and land: above all, the desertion was most alarming among persons of the highest rank, whether Romans or auxiliaries.

Battle of
Actium 2d
September.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 2.
B. C. 31.

From these difficulties a battle only could extricate him. His best officers exhorted him to avoid fighting by sea; but Cleopatra, on the contrary, recommended this measure. She was impatient, it seems, to return to Alexandria; and Antony knew no pleasure equal to that of compliance with her will. He determined to accompany Cleopatra by the readiest way into Egypt, and to fight the enemy if his passage was obstructed. In this design, his fleet was equipped either for a battle or a voyage: sails not usually employed in the former were taken on board; his whole treasures were embarked; his gallies, of superior rates, were at the same time equipped with all those warlike engines which their commanding loftiness would enable them, it was hoped, to employ with decisive effect. In his armament of 500 sail, there was not any scarcity of engineers or marines: his only want was that of rowers: a resolution was therefore taken of burning a hundred and forty of the least serviceable ships. They were those belonging to Egypt, which reduced the squadron supplied by Cleopatra to sixty gallies. The commotion occasioned by this measure apprised Octavius that the enemy meant to quit his station. He therefore prepared for battle, and committed the command to Agrippa⁴²: under him, Livius led the right, and Arruncius the left

⁴² Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 84.

wing. Antony also devolved the command on his lieutenants Publicola, Sosius, Justeius. Octavius failed within the strait of Anactorium; but stormy weather and a high sea which set into the gulph, prevented Antony during four days from venturing through the strait of Actium. On the fifth morning, his fleet formed in that strait, and, before noon, began to clear it. Upon observing this movement, Agrippa expanded his front, in order to inclose the enemy; to avoid which danger, Publicola on his side also extended so widely, that his wing was entirely separated from the center. This movement brought other squadrons from the strait to support him, and the battle thus commenced in the outer bay about noon with equal spirit, but with great diversity in the mode of engagement. On the part of Octavius the vessels being nimble, and manned with able rowers, could exert the whole of their impetuous weight in wounding the enemy's sides, and sweeping away his oars. The loftier ships of Antony endeavoured to break the force of the assailants with long poles, or to seize them with grappling irons, in which case they were knocked in pieces with hatchets, or overwhelmed with showers of javelins. In this manner the combat raged for two hours, when Cleopatra, who had viewed it from behind the line, darted through the midst of the combatants, and with crowded sail made all haste to escape from the bay into the open seas. Her vessel, being known by its purple sails and gilded poop⁴³, was followed by the sixty Egyptian gallies, to which she made signals for this purpose. Antony, also, followed her, and though his departure was known to both sides, the battle still continued with emulation, the combatants at sea being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies on shore, that of Antony commanded by Publius Canidius, that of Octavius by Statilius Taurus. The strength and iron defences of Antony's quinqueremes and vessels of still higher rate, had blunted

⁴³ Florus, l. iv. c. 11.

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or broken the prows of the Liburnians and triremes by which they were assailed. Octavius, though fire might have been employed successfully against such large unwieldy vessels, delayed to avail himself of this expedient, because he was unwilling to lose the treasures and valuable effects aboard the hostile fleet. He thought fit, however, at length to have recourse to ignited weapons, and live coals darted from his machines; and by this means the action concluded with the destruction or capture of 300 ships, and 18,000 of the enemy killed or wounded⁴⁴. To secure the fruits of victory, Octavius remained all night on board.

General submission of
armies and
kingdoms to
Octavius.

The battle of Actium⁴⁵ was fought on the second day of September, a day which historians particularise, because it was usual to date from it the years of Octavius' reign⁴⁶. Antony's flight abandoned to him nineteen legions left under Canidius. For seven days, indeed, these legions rejected the terms offered them, during which time they received no message from Antony: their patience was put to a severe trial: orders at length arrived that they should march towards Macedon and Thrace, and thence pass into Asia: part of them remained in their camp; the greater number sorrowfully followed Canidius, who, upon hearing that those in the camp had made their peace with Octavius, escaped secretly from a growing defection, in which he must have been an accomplice, or to which he must have fallen a victim. His deserted army accepted the liberal conditions at first offered to it: a part reinforced the conqueror; the veterans, whose years of service had expired, were sent home to their rewards in Italy. The allies, or rather subjects of Antony, his lieutenants commanding in various provinces, and his tributary kings, were all alike forward to make their submissions to a far worthier master. Egypt alone offered a doubtful retreat to the vanquished triumvir;

⁴⁴ Orosius, l. vi. c. 19. Conf. Dion & Plutarch in Anton.

⁴⁵ The place is still called Azio, and the

temple of Apollo is replaced by a church dedicated to the Pan-hagia, the Virgin Mary.

⁴⁶ Dion, l. li. p. 442.

for

for beyond the limits of that kingdom not a partisan remained to him in any part of the empire, except a company of gladiators, who had been long in training at Cyzicus, to celebrate, by their bloody sports, his expected triumph. These men, whom the correctness or softness of modern manners classes with the worst of ruffians, maintained their allegiance with a high point of honour, and forced their way from the shore of the Propontis into Syria, where they were deceived by false promises, divided, and murdered⁴⁷.

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Octavius' victory was used with great mildness towards both Romans and provincials. Three of the kings created by Antony, he allowed to reign; Herod of Judæa⁴⁸, Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Amyntas of Galatia⁴⁹. One of his first cares was to alleviate the scarcity, and to remove the oppressions, which afflicted Greece and neighbouring countries, recently occupied by the armies of his adversary, and a sport to their rapacity and cruelty. He resolved, indeed, to pursue Antony and Cleopatra, and to make conquest of Egypt, wonderfully enriched at the expence of neighbouring countries, by a woman alike insatiable in all her passions, and who had long trampled under foot the eastern and wealthiest division of the empire⁵⁰. But his haste to attain this great object did not betray him into the imprudence of his adoptive father, whose rash invasion of Egypt had nearly destroyed his life and his renown. The scenes which Octavius had experienced in the West, taught him that his greatest danger proceeded from the instruments of his victories. Agrippa had been sent into Italy, who, while Mæcenæ carried on the civil government, might repress undue pretensions in the troops, and controul those fiery spirits always liable on success to blaze into mutiny. But this delicate task required the hand of the master himself; and the

His able management after victory.

⁴⁷ Dion, l. li. p. 447.

⁴⁸ Josephus Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 2.

⁴⁹ Dion, l. li. p. 443.

⁵⁰ "Antony spoiled even the richest tem-

ples to gratify Cleopatra: the ornaments which he had lavished on this Egyptian harlot, Augustus restored to the gods." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595.

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Antony excluded from
Cyrenè and
Parætonium.

skill with which Octavius, now in his 36th year, performed it", sealed the supreme dominion which he thenceforward enjoyed in the world for the space of forty-four years.

A war of little difficulty remained for him in Egypt, the inhabitants of that country shewing no inclination to fight for the tyranny of Cleopatra; and Cleopatra being, on every occasion, ready to betray Antony. That infatuated man having followed the queen, was received on board her flying galley; and some pity is excited for him, when we are told that for three days he rested on the prow, his face covered with the palms of his hands, in the deepest anguish. By this time he was joined by some ships of burthen, which brought news that his army remained unbroken, and firm in allegiance. The intelligence roused him from his stupor: he sent the orders which we have above mentioned to his troops; and, after an easy reconciliation with Cleopatra through the interposition of her female attendants, he separated from her to sail towards Cyrenè, which he had committed to the government of Pinarius, and allowed the queen to return in all the lying pomp of victory to Alexandria, lest the truth, if made known to her subjects, should cause her exclusion from that harbour. The artifice of Cleopatra succeeded; but Antony's hope in Pinarius was disappointed. That governor refused all connection with him, and shortly afterwards surrendered the Pentapolis, with four legions, to Cornelius Gallus, whom Octavius, while he prepared for invading Egypt on the side of Pelusium, sent to take possession of its rich western dependancy. Excluded from Cyrenè, Antony joined Cleopatra in Alexandria, from whence he sailed to Parætonium, to secure that principal Egyptian stronghold on the side of the Pentapolis. But Gallus, with Pinarius' legions, had anticipated his design; and when Antony, in hopes of causing defection among troops who had formerly worn his name on their shields, rashly ventured into the harbour, most of his ships were burnt or sunk, after being

⁵¹ Dion, Sueton. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 42.

grappled

grappled by a chain under water, skilfully prepared for this purpose⁵².

Meanwhile Octavius advanced on the side of Pelusium. Both Antony and Cleopatra plied him with abject embassies: Antony sent to him in bonds Turullius, a Roman senator, and one of Cæsar's murderers. Cleopatra sent him a crown and sceptre⁵³, and gave orders to Seleucus, her governor in Pelusium, to open the gates of that strong city⁵⁴. These late submissions could be productive of nothing but contempt, those who made them having contracted guilt too deep to be forgiven. Antony was now a prey to all the agitations and contrarieties incident to the fiercest minds under the most tormenting circumstances. At times, he shut himself up in his Timonium, a tower which he so named from Timon, the notorious hater of human kind: returning again from this solitude, he would relapse into his usual intemperance, and endeavour to forget his cares in wild revelry. In a fit of this latter kind, he invested with the manly gown Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son by Julius Cæsar, that he might thus leave behind him a dangerous rival to Octavius. Cæsarion paid the forfeit of this idle provocation, as well as Antyllus, Antony's elder son by Fulvia, who had been joined with that ill-fated youth in the same untimely ceremony. Antony's other children survived him; and three⁵⁵ of his descendants by Octavia, were raised to the empire.

At the approach of Cæsar to Pelusium, Antony sallied with his horse from Alexandria, and defeated an advanced party of the invaders, fatigued with their long march. Transported at the return of good fortune, with which he had long been unacquainted, he hastened back to the palace, embraced Cleopatra in armour, and presented to her one of his horsemen who had most distinguished himself in

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Antony's
mean sub-
missions and
unseasonable
provoca-
tions.
Olymp.
clxxxvii. 3.
B. C. 30.

Proceedings
of Cleopatra
—her trea-
chery to
Antony.

⁵² Dion, p. 448, 449.

⁵³ Dion, p. 447.

⁵⁴ Plutarch in Anton.

⁵⁵ Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Plu-
tarch in Anton. et Sueton. in Cæsar.

the

CH A P. the engagement. This horseman deserted that same evening to the
 XXX. enemy⁵⁶. Amidst the terrors of approaching invasion, the chief
 care of Cleopatra had been to save the royal treasury accumulated by her depredations at home and abroad. For this purpose, she at first intended to embark with her riches on the Red Sea, and to form an establishment in some remote part of the eastern world, beyond the reach of the Roman arms. But the vessels which in this view she transported across the Isthmus of Suez, were burned by the Nabathæan Arabs, at the instigation of Didius, now Octavius' governor in Syria⁵⁷. The next anxiety of Cleopatra had been to make her peace with the conqueror, who, on his part, was solicitous to possess himself of her treasures to content his soldiers, and of her person to adorn his triumph. To secure both, he had flattered her with hopes of forgiveness. By this time she had provided a mausoleum, adjacent to the royal palace. It was a tower of great solidity, and the entrance so contrived, that when shut within, it could not by any ordinary means be opened from without. The upper part of it was yet unfinished. Into this sepulchral monument she had deposited her treasures, purposing to follow, if necessary, in person. To obtain pardon from the conqueror, there was not any treachery that she was unwilling to practise against his adversary, who had lost the world for her sake. Antony had got ready his fleet and army for a new battle. The fleet, by Cleopatra's orders⁵⁸, struck; the cavalry deserted; and the infantry, being defeated, fled with trepidation into the city.

His death.

Cleopatra, with two women and a eunuch, now shut herself up in the mausoleum, causing a report to be sent to Antony that she was dead. He rushed forth, desiring a slave retained for that purpose to kill him; the slave plunged the dagger into his own breast. Antony then stabbed himself. The uproar occasioned by this catastrophe brought Cleopatra to the top of her mausoleum. The sight

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Anton.

⁵⁷ Dion Cassius, p. 447.

⁵⁸ Dion, p. 449.

of the queen, believed to be dead, excited new commotion. Antony turned up his longing eyes towards the sepulchral monument, into which, while he bled to death, he was hoisted by the machinery at hand for raising the materials necessary to complete the edifice. Cleopatra, in whose arms he expired, caused the event with all speed to be communicated to Octavius; but remained in the mausoleum until she should receive farther assurances of safety.

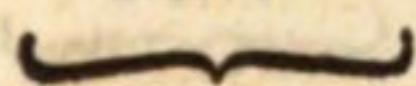
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Octavius sent to her Proculeius a Roman knight, and Epaphroditus a freedman, who, while they yet talked of terms, contrived, by a mixture of force and persuasion, to make her remove with them into the palace. There, she was treated as a queen; had her apartments and her attendants; and speedily received a message that Octavius was coming to visit her. She expected this honour, and was accordingly well prepared for it. She was cloathed in mourning, the dress which most became her: her chamber was adorned with busts and figures of Julius Cæsar: she was surrounded by his papers and memorials, and held a bundle of letters from him in her hand. At the approach of his son, she rose blushing, accosted him as lord and master, "titles which the gods," she said, "had taken from herself; yet Cæsar had declared her queen of Egypt, and thought nothing too lofty for her, as the letters which she tendered bore proof." She then threw herself before the images of Cæsar, and expressed her fond adorations in those accents and attitudes which displayed to the best advantage the charms of her voice and person. "Alas! what are Cæsar's letters to me! Why did I survive Cæsar!" Again, she would chide her sorrow: "Why do I lament the father, who revives in you, his son!" All her arts and allurements were thrown away on Octavius, who only exhorted her to be of good courage. She continued to be treated respectfully, was allowed to pay the customary honours to the remains of Antony; but being apprised of the design of carrying her in a few days to Rome, contrived to withdraw herself from the shame of appearing as a captive in that city where

Octavius
visits Cleo-
patra.

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she had formerly domineered with such imperious haughtiness⁵⁹. Epaphroditus, who had been employed to watch her, was dismissed with a letter, which she feigned of great importance, to Cæsar, but which only expressed her exultation at the defeat of his relentless purpose⁶⁰.

Her death.

Meanwhile the queen destroyed herself with the assistance of her women, Eiros and Charmion. A wound in her arm was the only violence that appeared on her person, leaving it doubtful whether she died from the bite of an asp, or the puncture of a poisoned instrument⁶¹. Her pride accompanied her to the last. She reposed on a couch of state, was royally attired, and her head encircled with the diadem. Eiros lay dead before her couch: Charmion was ready to expire, but seeing the diadem ready to drop from her mistress' head, made an effort to fasten it⁶².

Octavius' arrangements in Egypt. Olymp. clxxxvii. 3. B. C. 30.

By the ruin of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavius was master, without any capitulation, of Alexandria and all Egypt. He entered the market-place, accompanied by Areius, a Platonic philosopher, and a native of Alexandria, with whom he had long lived in confidential friendship. The citizens were addressed in a Greek oration, removing all apprehensions with regard to the safety of their persons, which, by the laws of war, lay at the disposal of the conqueror, but intimating that they must compensate for this forbearance by large sacrifices of property. Two thirds of their fortunes were demanded; and this enormous exaction should seem to have extended to the wealthy classes all over Egypt: for soon after the reduction of that country, the price of lands doubled at Rome, and the interest of money was reduced to a third of its former rate⁶³. Both changes, however, must have been owing, in part, to the greater security of all kinds of property, after an end had been put to the civil war, and indeed to all those dangerous wars which threatened

⁵⁹ See above, c. xxix.

⁶⁰ Dion, p. 450. & seq. Conf. Plutarch in Anton.

⁶¹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

⁶² Id. ibid.

⁶³ Dion, p. 459.

either

either the head of the empire or any of its essential members. An object of the utmost importance to the conqueror was the facility with which the riches of Egypt enabled him to gratify his legions. This resource he determined to retain entirely in his own hands, for which purpose he appointed a prefect amenable only to himself, and chosen not from the senatorian, but the more humble equestrian order⁶⁴. The first prefect was Cornelius Gallus: he commanded about 18,000 men, who were distributed in cohorts on the frontiers, and in the principal strongholds of the country. The civil government, particularly the concerns of the revenue, belonged to intendants and judges, accountable to Octavius only: his freedmen, indeed, were intrusted with affairs of the greatest importance, as well as of the most trivial nature⁶⁵. To the contemptible Ptolemy Auletes, Egypt paid annually in money⁶⁶ 12,500 talents: this sum greatly augmented under the vigilant government of Octavius. The annual contributions in corn amounted to 20 millions of Roman modii⁶⁷ sufficient for the supply of Rome during four months⁶⁸.

The short war against Antony, thus, not only gave to Octavius a new division of the empire, but made him more absolute than formerly at Rome. His eastern acquisitions are not to be estimated by the present deplorable condition of those countries. The extinction of enemies enabled him to diminish his army; but when his military establishment may be computed at 250,000 men, and his revenues at 20 millions sterling, the countries east of the Hadriatic defrayed half the subsistence of the one, and paid more than half the amount of the other⁶⁹. The East, also, exclusively supplied learning and science, arts and elegance; so that the capital of the

Confirmed
dominion of
Augustus.

⁶⁴ Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 11. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 797. Arrian de Exped. Alexand. l. iii. c. 5. Dion, p. 455.

⁶⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 798.

⁶⁶ Strabo, ibid. The sum is equivalent to 2,421,875l.

⁶⁷ 625,000 quarters: almost the precise

number consumed annually in London.

⁶⁸ Publius Victor. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman. ii. 10.

⁶⁹ Conf. Dion Cassius, l. iv. p. 564. Joseph. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 5. & Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman. i. 4.

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empire, long before its translation to Constantinople, was completely converted into a Greek city. But the provinces of the East and West were alike governed by the sword. They had not any public force, nor any constitutional freedom, and felt not the influence of any principle either of reason or custom operating in behalf of the subject. They had been the property of the republic; and now, with the republic itself, became the property of a master. In this manner, flourishing commonwealths and once powerful kingdoms passed under the sole dominion of Octavius Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, a title, expressive of every thing at once good and great; mighty in power or sacred in character⁶⁹.

Its effects.

Four centuries of imperial despotism succeeded, during which, both the victors and vanquished gradually ceased to act from the impulse of their own minds, and thereby totally lost all elevation and energy. Beyond the Euphrates, the Parthians, indeed, defied the Roman arms: towards the Danube, the limits of Roman dominion could be adjusted with the Thracians and Illyrians only by the sword and pilum. In the country between the Rhine and the Weser, the destruction of Varus and his three legions taught Augustus that the former of these rivers was the safer boundary⁷⁰; his expeditions conducted by Ælius Gallus, and Petronius⁷¹ to Arabia and Ethiopia above Egypt, proved so unprofitable or so disastrous, that no conquest on that side was ever afterwards attempted. But in the countries of the East and West, which we have seen successively reduced into provinces, though there happened occasional insurrections, there were no longer any formidable wars: and even these insurrections were excited, not by the hope of emancipation, but by the intolerable smart of suffering. Four years before the death of Augustus, Bato the Dalmatian, when asked why he had rebelled against Rome,

⁶⁹ The title of Augustus was conferred four years after the battle of Actium by the senate and people, ὡς καὶ πλεον τι η κατα ανθρω- πως αυ, &c. Dion, l. liii. p. 507.

⁷⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 61. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 117.

⁷¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 780. & seq. Conf. Dion, l. liii. p. 516. et l. liv. p. 524.

replied

replied boldly and truly ; “ you Romans affect to treat all nations as your flocks and as your property, but you entrust the care of them to ravenous wolves, not to shepherds and their dogs ⁷². ”

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Augustus, however, was the father of Rome, meaning thereby the capital of the Roman empire. He expended to the amount of eleven millions sterling in embellishing that city, which, having found it of brick, he bequeathed to his successors of marble : its citizens were gratified to the full in their passion for public shows ; and 200,000 of them were supported by gratuitous distributions of corn. Recommended by such indulgences, an usurper, who ruled by the sword, kept only three cohorts, not 2,000 men, in his capital ⁷³ ; and the merits of this politic and peaceful reign were emblazoned by the fine writers whom the prince and his minister Mæcenas alike cherished. These writers descended to them from the tumultuary civil wars, when the principles wound up in the republic had not yet spent their force ; for a government absolute and military was not calculated to promote their growth, or even to perpetuate their succession ⁷⁴. This inevitable degeneration was accelerated by the unworthiness of the immediately following emperors, through whose tyranny, the more liberal portion of their subjects, being deprived of all independance and dignity, became careless of those motives, and blunt to those feelings most propitious to high attainments in arts and letters ; and essential, as it should seem, to compositions stamped with excellence as works either of refined taste, or of original genius.

Glory of his
reign.

The reduction of Egypt into a province, 302 years after its conquest by Alexander, completed the long series of triumphs gained

His vassal
kingdoms—
and nomi-
nally free
cities.

⁷² Dion Cassius, l. iv. p. 570. The barbarous Dacians and then despised Britons were afterwards added to the catalogue of Roman provincials. The empire, however, was not benefited by extension beyond the Danube : and its greatest vigour in point both of arts and arms coincided with the reign of Augustus. But the illustration of

this topic belongs not to my present subject.

⁷³ Neque tamen unquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus, easque sine castris. Sueton. Cæsar. Octav. c. 49.

⁷⁴ Postquam bellatim apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri, pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere. Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 1.

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over Greeks in all divisions of the world. Through the interposition, as we have seen, of the Parthians, by whom the eastern portion of the Macedonian empire had been subdued, the legions, however, were intercepted⁷⁴ in their progress to India, a country abounding in productions not only of peculiar value, but, in pagan times, of indispensable use. Had the maxims of the Romans been more favourable to commerce, they would therefore have wanted power to repair those links of communication, to restore those temples, factories, and emporia, through which the central regions of Asia had been improved and adorned by Alexander. Their national pride still further disqualified them from reviving his liberal institutions and impartial laws, and thereby introducing among the nations of Asia, together with an easy intercourse in commerce, a reciprocity in sentiment and affection, a community of rights and interests⁷⁵. A policy chiefly military was their highest boast; and conformably with its dictates, after they had degraded into provinces Macedon, Pergamus, Cyrenè, Syria, and Egypt, they still permitted tributary kings to reign in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bosphorus, Judæa, and Mauritania. These vassal kingdoms appeared to them fit appendages to their warlike greatness; out-posts, as it were, and feelers on the side of distant and dangerous frontiers; but all of

⁷⁴ The Romans did not always respect the Euphrates, their boundary with the Parthians. Trajan, An. Dom. 106. over-ran many countries east of that river; and his historians vainly boasted that he was approaching the confines of India. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 113. Conf. Xiphilin. in Trajan. But the eastern conquests of Trajan were prudently resigned by his successor Hadrian in the first year of his reign, A. D. 117. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 114. Half a century after this resignation, the war with the Parthians was renewed, A. D. 162. in the reign of the admired M. Antoninus; and ended, A. D. 165. with the sack of Seleucia, and the treacherous murder of 400,000 persons belonging to that

Greek colony. Conf. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 116. Jul. Capitolin. p. 151. Dion, l. lxxi. p. 802. How different was Alexander's treatment of the Babylonians! See above, vol. i. p. 193, &c.

⁷⁵ See in Dion, p. 455, Augustus' harsh, and to Egyptians impious, answer concerning the god Apis. Yet, in sound policy, Augustus was not equalled, surely not surpassed, by any of his successors. The oppression of the provinces in the century after him is keenly arraigned by Juvenal, (Satyr. viii. v. 90. & seq.)

Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis, &c. and confirmed by the evidence of all contemporary history.

them,

them, as well as the 500 Greek republicks on the coast of Asia, many of which were also flattered with the name of independance⁷⁶, alike unconditionally obeyed the stern mandates of Rome⁷⁷.

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The present work having continued and completed my "history of Antient Greece, its colonies and conquests," will naturally lead the reader to contrast the wretched misery of the Greeks under the Roman yoke, with the happiness and dignity which they might have secured through better management, in other words, by a strict adherence to their primary institutions⁷⁸. Many of their kingdoms enjoyed inestimable advantages in point of situation and of climate: they were disciplined by laws, adorned by arts, and well fortified by arms. But into the heart of states, externally specious and blooming, the contagion of Asiatic manners introduced weakness and rottenness. Limitations to royal power were abolished; and kings being acknowledged absolute, and deemed sacred, while even the restraint of acting by responsible ministers was unknown, the condition of the people was left to depend on the personal character of the sovereign. But how little, either of wisdom or of valour, could be expected from princes moulded in the haram, and whose tender years, as in all countries where polygamy prevails, had been entrusted to emasculated slaves, or to women without estimation? Accordingly, of the only European dynasty that ever bore sway throughout the central regions of Asia, the whole spirit evaporated in the course of little more than a century, and precisely at that crisis when it was most endangered by the power of the Romans in the West, and that of the Parthians in the East. Careless of these formidable enemies, the unworthy heirs to the bold Macedonian

Causes of the
extinction of
the Greek
kingdoms.

⁷⁶ *Αυτονομία*, Cicero adopts the word, but shows how improper it was in the mouth of a Roman, when he says to his brother Quintus, proconsul in Asia, "in istis urbibus cum summo imperio ac potestate verfaris," and again, "in eos quos tuæ fidei, &c. Senatus populusque Romanus commisit." Conf.

Salust. Bell. Catalin. c. 10. & c. 12. For the tyranny exercised over Greek cities, see Cicero ad Attic. l. vi. Epist. 1.

⁷⁷ 'Αἱ πεντακισιοὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις :: ἵνα προσκυνοῦσι ἡγεμόνα. καὶ τὰς ὑπατάκας ἐκείνης. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

⁷⁸ See above, vol. i. p. 652.

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captains, while they continued to build baths and theatres, suffered their fortresses and arsenals to moulder in decay; and instead of training their subjects to arms after the example of Alexander, chose to confide solely in mercenaries maintained at extravagant expence and indulged in the wildest disorders, because knowing their own odiousness to their people, they feared lest passion disciplined into valour, might prove more dangerous to domestic oppressors than to foreign enemies. Polluted by incestuous marriages, torn by family dissensions, distracted by parricidal murders, abominated by the public, while treated as superior beings by their courtiers, they perished just victims to all the vices that tyranny, envenomed by flattery, can engender.

State of the
Greek com-
monwealths
in their
neighbour-
hood.

Amidst the last and vilest abasement of the Greek kingdoms, some cities or republics in their neighbourhood still exhibited examples of patriotism and of manhood. Occasions occur on which these cities afforded the promise of such firmness in federal union, as might have secured their own independance, and thereby have gradually diffused their liberality and ingenuity among surrounding nations. That this never took place, cannot be ascribed to ignorance or inexperience with regard to representative government, of which we have seen conspicuous examples among the Amphictyons, the Ionians, the Lycians, the Sicilians, and the Achæans; not to mention that the Arcadian republic of Mantinæa, which communicated its laws to the Greek colonies in Africa, employed delegates of delegates; that is, a double representation. It may be thought that the prospect of such a confederacy was blasted, rather through the want of ready communication, and the difficulty of giving seasonable impulses to the public mind on critical and important emergencies⁷⁸. We have shown, however, in the preceding history, how

⁷⁸ The destruction of Greek confederacies has been ascribed to their want of representative government and of printing, their want of posts and resident ambassadors, &c. &c. but the greatest of all their wants was a

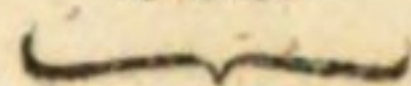
strange defect in point of probity; a certain measure, at least, of which, and of the other three cardinal virtues being essential to the safety of communities and individuals. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 1.

correspondence was carried on by a symbolic character among the Pythagoreans, and maintained among innumerable temples and emporiums in the three divisions of the ancient world. What advantages, in a political point of view, might have been derived from this and other expedients, particularly signals by fire and telegraphs⁷⁹, which were well understood in Greece and more eastern countries, it is not easy to ascertain: they were all of them greatly inferior to the modern invention of printing. But there is another invention, which should seem to have been kindly withheld, as far as concerns the safety of free cities. Before the discovery of gunpowder, walls, manfully defended, set at defiance the strongest armies; and though recourse was often had to blockade, yet as corn might be long preserved in most climates inhabited by Greeks, great magazines of it were generally stored up by every community zealous for freedom. The security thereby enjoyed, made such cities the safest asylums both for persons and property. With the little republic of Prienè, Olophernes of Cappadocia entrusted part of his great treasures, which, at his need, was faithfully restored to him. Demetrius Soter sent his two sons to Cnidus, at the moment when he was in danger of losing his life and kingdom. The friends of Seleucus Philopator resided securely at Miletus, after their master's throne had been usurped by the blood-thirsty Antiochus Epiphanes. Arsinoë, rival to Cleopatra, found protection in Ephesus. History presents innumerable facts of this kind; and attests also, as might naturally be expected, that the same republican colonies which extended their concern to persecuted strangers, deprived kings, or disgraced ministers, often displayed the noblest warmth in defence of each other: witness the generous assistance to the Chians by Pontic Heraclæa, when these islanders had provoked the rage of Mithridates; and the firm interposition of Massilia in behalf of the Phocæans, when this people had exasperated Rome, by abetting the pretensions of Andronicus

⁷⁹ See above, p. 172.

C H A P.

XXX.



to the throne of Pergamus⁷⁹. Examples of patriotism and prowess not unworthy of the best ages of Greece, occur in the times immediately contiguous to the dominion of the Cæsars. The citizens of Xanthus in Lycia perished to a man, rather than obey the cruel requisitions of the conspirator Brutus. By the assistance of Greek sailors, Sextus Pompey, master only of Sicily, defied the triumvirs with their forty-five legions: his naval descents made Italy almost untenable: he compelled his adversaries to share with him their emoluments and highest honours, and might have maintained this ascendancy, had not his imperious temper provoked and alienated the Grecian commanders in his service.

Causes of
their ruin.

Yet, notwithstanding particular instances of vigour, maladies without remedy afflicted the Greeks in all parts of the world. Without any convulsion of the elements, or any resistless invasion of desolating Barbarians, they had declined in circumstances, and degenerated in character, through the canker of corroding time, or rather through that satiety inseparable from man, and which, however counteracted by wise discipline, perpetually impells him to prefer novelty to excellence. During their heroic royalties, the Greeks had been chiefly governed by religion; in the manhood of their republics, they acknowledged, also, the authority of equal laws; but amidst the dregs of later times, they became the sport of opinions and fashions which set religion and laws at defiance. In addition to this universal and incurable mischief, a peculiar virulence had early infected their maritime republics, stretching above 1,600 miles along the western coast of Asia, and which cannot be estimated at a populousness of less than five millions⁸⁰. When communities, inured to arts and industry, grow up in the vicinity of barbarous or savage nations, they may long preserve, unimpaired, their characteristic ex-

⁷⁹ All these facts are above recorded.

⁸⁰ Cös is called a small city, though it contained from 5,000 to 10,000 Greek inhabitants. Conf. Strabo, l. xix. p. 657. & Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 20. and

my Introduction to Lysias, &c. p. 6. Taking the medium of populousness at 10,000, and limiting the number of cities to the 500 in Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. their collective population will amount to 5,000,000.

cellencies;

cellencies; but when similar establishments are formed in countries already civilised and corrupted, the colonists are found by experience too easily to degenerate into natives. The latter was the case with the Greek settlements on the coast of Asia. Phrygians, Lydians, and Syrians were their neighbours; nations noted for voluptuousness, vanity, and perfidy. This contagion is said to have passed from Lesser Asia into Achaia, and to have prepared that once virtuous commonwealth for reduction into the form of a province; at which æra the Achæans are branded by their own historians, as men whose integrity the smallest temptation could vanquish, and whose frauds neither shame nor fear could restrain⁸¹. But, without a certain measure at least of good faith, what confederacy can be upheld, what national struggle was ever successfully maintained? Thus did the growing dishonesty of the Greeks, the proud tyranny of the Romans, the barbarous despotism of the Parthians and all succeeding Asiatic dynasties⁸², conspire to defeat the sanguine hopes concerning the improvement of the eastern world, that had been entertained by Alexander, and by him partly realised. In *his* military *chlamys*⁸³ Pompey gloried to triumph: Augustus spared Alexandria for the sake of its founder⁸⁴: his life was read by Trajan⁸⁵, as his statue had been contemplated by Cæsar⁸⁶, with a sigh of humbled ambition. All conquerors admired Alexander; but none, perhaps, have ever had the power, and none, certainly, both the power and the will to imitate his example.

⁸¹ Conf. Cicero Orat. pro Flacco. et Polybius, l. vi. c. 56.

⁸² The revived empire of the Persians succeeded to that of the Parthians, A. D. 226. Agathias, l. ii. p. 63. and was destroyed, with its last king Jezdegird, by the Arabs, A. D. 651. Abulpharagius, Compend. Dynast. p. 116. Conf. D'Herbelot. Artic. Jezdegird. From that time forward, the great central regions of southern Asia

have been governed by different dynasties of Arabs and Tartars down to the present times.

⁸³ This chlamys Pompey acquired at Tauris among the spoils of Mithridates. Appian. Mithridat. & Plut. in Pompeio.

⁸⁴ Dion Cassius, l. li. p. 454.

⁸⁵ Julian. Cæsares, p. 850.

⁸⁶ Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 7. Conf. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 594, Καίσαρ Φιλαλεξάνδρου, &c.

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- 18, line 2 from bottom, for *in*, read *on*.
- 19, line 1 from bottom, read *Media Atropolitena*.
- 24, note 74, for *rigodos*, read *episodos*.
- 25, line 7 from bottom, for *ranks*, read *rank*.
- line 12 from bottom, for *fine*, read *five*.
- 80, line 11, for *Sakara*, read *Sahara*.
- 93, line 4 from bottom, for *forwardness*, read *forwardness*.
- 287, in marginal note, read *Aridæus*.
- 621, line 13, for *motion*, read *position*.

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- 12, line 6, for *national*, read *municipal*.
- 94, top, for *to not*, read *not to*.
- 160, line 6, for *its*, read *his*.
- 175, line 3 from bottom, for *τη*, read *την*.
- 644, note 59, read *andres*.
- 647, line 13 from bottom, read *Armenia*.
- 664, line 1, for *Manlius*, read *Manilius*.
- 686, in the margin, for *Antiochus XI.*, read *Antiochus XIII.*

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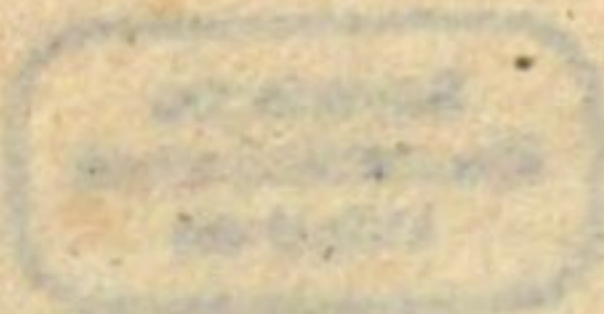
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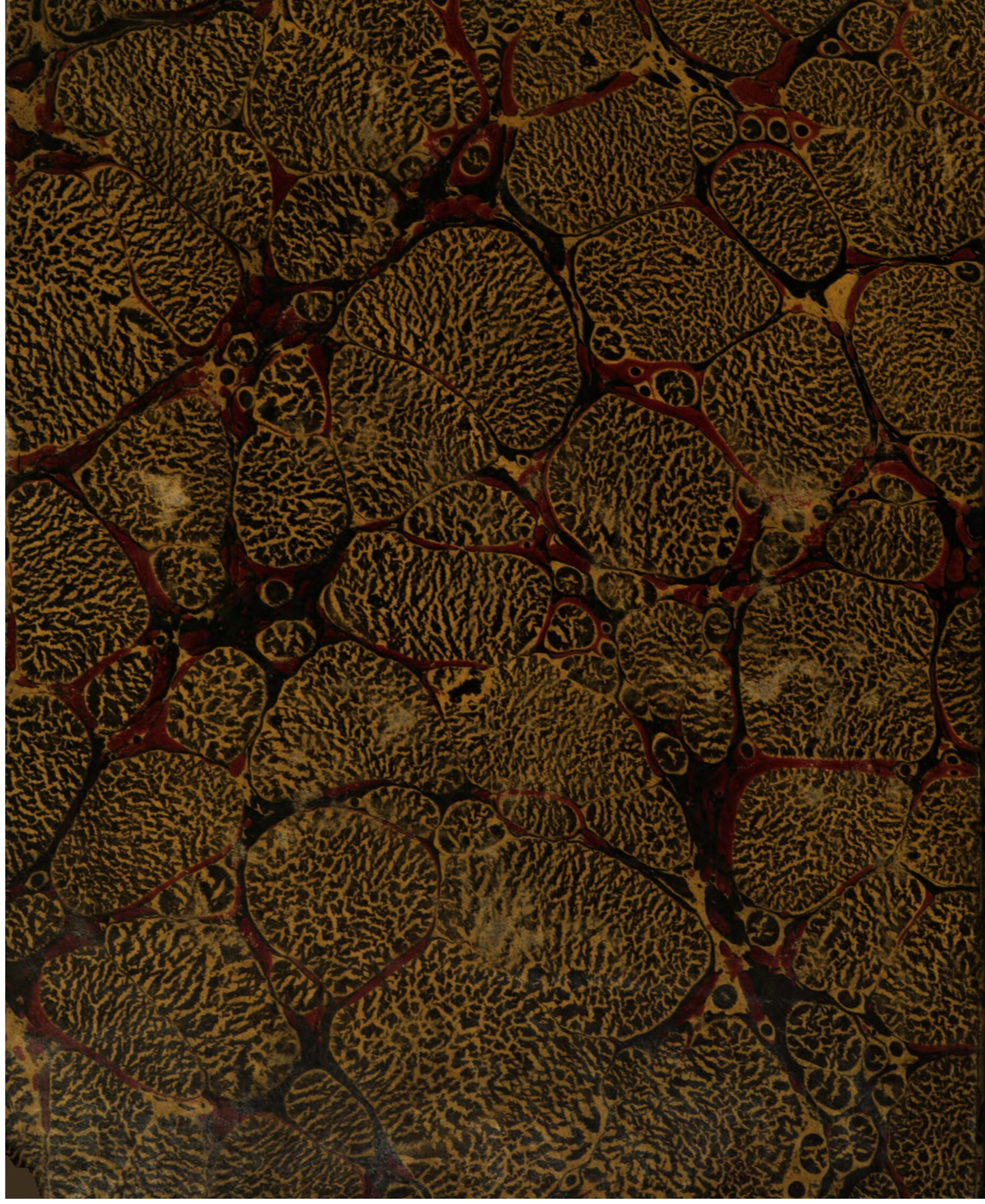
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